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THE INDIAN ANNUAL REGISTER

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**TO
MY COUNTRYMEN.**

CALENDAR FOR 1919.

January.

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Issued
from 1919

THE INDIAN

2nd Year
of Issue

ANNUAL REGISTER

An Annual Digest of Public Affairs of India

Recording the Nation's Activities each year in matters Political,
Economic, Industrial, Educational, Social Etc.

1919 - 1947

Volume I] 1920 [Volume I

Edited by

H.N. MITRA M.A.B.L

Introduction
by

BIPAN CHANDRA

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INTRODUCTION

The years 1919 to 1947 are undoubtedly the most momentous years in Indian history. During these years the national movement entered its mass-struggle phase, communalism gradually assumed a menacing form leading to the partition of the land, and modern industry developed so that India was industrially the most developed of the post-colonial states. These years witnessed the rise of a powerful left movement resulting in the coming into being of powerful socialist and communist parties, and for a while a revolutionary terrorist movement. Student, youth and cultural movements as also the movement for women's liberation came into existence. Social reforms, especially the struggle against untouchability, were integrated with the national movement. The oppressed and lower castes founded their own organizations. Modern trade unions were developed as also peasant organizations. The people of princely states entered the political arena. The princes too organized to defend their interests. The colonial state followed highly complex policies. While mass movements were sought to be repressed, simultaneous efforts were made to coopt sections of nationalist movement into the colonial administrative structure. The nationalists countered this strategy by utilizing the legislatures and municipal organs to promote the national movement while at the same time avoiding cooption.

Despite the historical significance of this period, it is still relatively unresearched. Researchers are, however, now rapidly opening up this field and entering it in large numbers, especially as academic status and promotion is now increasingly being linked with research work. The major sources for this period are national and state archives, India Office records, private papers of administrators and political leaders, proceedings of political parties and other voluntary organizations such as those of students, workers, peasants, capitalists, women, depressed classes and communalists, institutional papers such as those of All-India Congress Committee, Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha, newspapers, oral history transcripts, collections of writings and speeches of Gandhi and other leaders, Government reports, and proceedings of Central, provincial, and states' legislatures. Undoubtedly, one of the major handy sources is the Indian Annual Register, edited by H.N. Mitra and N.N. Mitra, which appeared twice a year from 1919 to 1947. The Annual Register or Mitra's Register, as it is popularly known among students and scholars, gathers in one place, in full or in summary form, most of these sources except for Government records and private papers. It is no exaggeration to say that no researcher in the history of the period 1919-47 can afford to do without the basic source represented by the Annual Register.

II

The first issue of the Annual Register appeared in 1919 and covered the year 1918. The World War I had witnessed two major political movements by Indians at home and abroad. One was the dramatic effort of the Ghadar Revolutionaries, coming mostly from Punjab and residing in the United States and Canada, who planned a violent rebellion in India to overthrow British rule. Even though they failed to launch a major revolt, they succeeded in planting the germ of nationalism among Indian soldiers, stirring up the Punjab peasantry, and in general deepening national consciousness all over the country. Large number of Ghadar leaders were hanged or imprisoned for long periods. Most of the latter and other survivors were to lay the foundations of secular nationalist and peasant movements in Punjab.

The second war-time movement was that of Home Rule initiated in 1916. Arousing the people from almost total political inactivity from 1909 to 1915, the two Home Rule Leagues led by Lokamanya Tilak and Annie Beasant set up branches all over India and organized whirlwind nationalist political agitation through the press, pamphlets and platform. The movement grew despite efforts of the Government to suppress it in various ways, including the arrest of Annie Beasant and her close associates. As the Secretary of State for India, Edward Montagu, wrote in his diary: "Shiva cut his wife into 52 pieces only to discover that he had 52 wives. This is really what happened to the Government of India when it interned Mrs. Beasant." One result was a certain change in British policy. Montagu declared in the House of Commons in August 1917 that His Majesty's Government desired "increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Consequently a scheme of reforms-the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms-was announced in July 1918. The Home Rule Movement reached its zenith in early 1918 and then declined, partially because the reforms divided the nationalist rank. A large number of nationalists wanted to work the reforms even though they were seen to be highly unsatisfactory. But the Home Rule Movement had performed two major functions: It had revived nationalist political activity and given it an all-India shape, and it had created a new generation of nationalist workers who were to play a crucial role in the coming mass phase of the national movement.

Meanwhile a new leader, who had trained himself in new techniques of politics based on mass struggle, evolved a new style of leadership, and came back to India in 1914. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi had gone to South Africa as a young barrister in 1893. There he had been drawn into the leadership of the Indian migrants' struggle against racial discrimination. Gandhi had 'experimented' with the Satyagraha form of struggle based on truth and non-violence and succeeded in bending the South African

III

Government. After coming back to India in 1915, Gandhi spent an entire year in travelling all over India understanding the Indian people and then organized the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad. He then set out to experiment with his new method of struggle. In 1917, he took up the peasant struggle against the indigo planters in Champaran in North Bihar and led the textile labourers of Ahmedabad against the Indian mill-owners. In 1918, he took up the struggle of the peasants of Kheda district in Gujarat against the British authorities on the question of the remission of land revenue due to famine conditions. It was in these struggles that Gandhi recruited some of his life-long co-workers such as Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel and J.B. Kripalani.

The British Government had for long been following in India a policy of the carrot and the stick. At this moment, the carrot was represented by the Reform proposals of July 1918; the stick was to take the form of the Rowlatt Bills which would authorize the Government to suspend the right of Habeas Corpus and to imprison any person without trial and conviction in a court of law. The Indian people reacted with horror. They were like a hungry person who is expecting bread and is offered a stone. They were expecting major political gains after the war, but were shocked to find that instead they were being offered the Rowlatt Bills. The main bill was passed into an act with indecent haste in March 1919 even though every single Indian member of the Central Legislative Council opposed it and public opinion expressed itself strongly against it through the press and public meetings.

Gandhi now decided to repeat the South African experiment on the wider scale of the Indian sub-continent. He formed a Satyagraha Sabha and gave a call for an all-India movement of protest against the Rowlatt Act during March 1919. The movement would initially take the form of a nation-wide hartal (strike). Later civil disobedience was to be offered against specified laws. 30 March was fixed as the day of the hartal and mass demonstrations. This date was later changed to 6 April, though Delhi observed hartal on 30 March as information regarding the change in date did not reach there in time. In Delhi, as also elsewhere including Ahmedabad, the hartal was most successful but was accompanied by violence and disorder. For various reasons, the protest took a strong form in Punjab, especially in the cities of Amritsar and Lahore. Gandhi decided to go to Punjab to quieten down the people but he was arrested on the way and deported back to Bombay. Still, he tried his best to pacify the people.

The Government was determined to suppress the mass agitation. It repeatedly lathi-charged and fired upon unarmed demonstrators at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Delhi and other cities. Events took a tragic turn in Punjab. The arrest of popular leaders Saif-ud-din Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal on April 10 led to a public demonstration which turned violent and attacked the townhall and the post-office. The city was now handed

IV

over to General Dyer. On 13 April 1919 occurred the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre when a peacefully gathered crowd was fired upon by an army unit and thousands were killed or injured. Punjab was placed under Martial law. A wave of horror ran through the country as the knowledge of Punjab happenings spread. The ugliness and brutality of colonial rule was bared as if in a flash. The entire nation took up the cause of the people of Punjab and decided to get the wrong done to them redressed. The Indian people were further horrified by the insensitivity shown to their feelings on the question in the British Parliament and by the Hunter Commission appointed by the Government to enquire into Punjab disturbances.

While the entire country was discontented due to the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and the disappointing Reforms, a new ground of discontent was created among Indian Muslims. The Allies headed by the British partitioned the Turkish Empire after the war and threatened the position of the Sultan of Turkey who was regarded by many as the Caliph (Khalifa) or the religious head of all Muslims. A Khilafat Committee was organized under the leadership of the Ali brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Hakim Azmal Khan to agitate on the question. In January 1920, Khilafat Committee accepted Gandhi's suggestion to start a non-cooperation movement on the issue and authorized him to lead the movement from 31 August 1920. The National Congress too, after a heated debate, decided at its special session in September 1920 at Calcutta to start a non-cooperation movement to redress the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and achieve Swaraj. The programme of non-cooperation was to include boycott of legislatures, of law courts and affiliated schools and colleges and foreign cloth, and surrender of government-endowed titles and honours. It was to be later extended to adoption of mass civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The Calcutta decision was endorsed at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1920. The more moderate sections of leadership were in favour of accepting the government's Reform proposals and opposed the non-cooperation programme. Beginning with 1918 they gradually left the Congress and formed separate organizations with different nomenclatures, taking the name of National Liberal Federation in the 1920s.

The years 1921 and 1922 witnessed an unprecedented political upsurge of the people. Thousands of students left schools and colleges and joined national schools and colleges. Hundreds of lawyers, including C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari, gave up their legal practice. Over 30,000 persons, including women, went to jail. Boycott of foreign cloth was organized on a large-scale. Charkha and spinning became popular and Khadi (hand-spun and hand-woven cloth) became "the livery of freedom." The Government once again took recourse to large-scale repression. On 1 February 1922, Gandhi announced that mass civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, would be started unless the

political prisoners were released and controls on the press removed immediately. But suddenly struggle was transformed into retreat. On 5 February occurred the Chauri Chaura tragedy. A crowd in this U.P. village, inflamed by brutal police firing, attacked and set the police station on fire causing the death of 22 policemen. Other incidents of violence by crowds had occurred earlier in different parts of the country. Gandhi, feeling that the country was not yet ready for non-violent mass struggle, decided to withdraw the mass movement. The Congress Working Committee ratified his decision on 12 February 1922. In the meanwhile the Khilafat question had also lost relevance as Mustafa Kamal Pasha led a popular revolt against the Sultan in Turkey. He abolished the Caliphate and separated the state from religion. The Government decided to take advantage of the situation, arrested Gandhi on 10 March 1922 and tried and sentenced him to six years' imprisonment.

The Annual Register of 1919 to 1922 starts with the last phase of the Home Rule Leagues and gives in detail the proceedings of the Congress sessions and the Khilafat Committee and the course of the Non-Cooperation Movement. The trial of Gandhi is fully covered. The political activities of the moderates or liberals are given in detail. The administrative measures against the national movement are properly chronicled. The summary of the Report of the Hunter Committee, the discussions in the British Houses of Parliament on the Jallianwalla massacre and the report of the Congress Sub-Committee on the Punjab events are also given in a summary form. A summary of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report is given while the Rowlatt Act and the Government of India Act of 1919 are reproduced in full.

II

The withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement led to the spread of demoralization in the nationalist ranks. It also unleashed furious political debate in the country. The leadership of the national movement had to decide how to prevent the movement from lapsing into passivity. Two schools of thought arose in trying to provide an answer. One school, which came to be known as the Swarajists and was headed by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru argued that the nationalists should end the boycott of the legislatures, enter them and expose their true character before the people and thus "wreck them from within." C.R. Das put forward the Swarajist programme before the Congress at its Gaya session in December 1922. The second school, known as the No-Changers, was headed by Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari. The No-Changers argued for the continuation of the programme of boycott and non-cooperation and for the implementation of the Constructive Programme of the promotion of Charkha, spinning and Khadi, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and grassroots work in the villages and among the poor. The country would thus be gradually prepared for the resumption of civil disobedience.

VI

There was great deal of tussle and fierce controversy between the two political trends. Both were, however, determined to avoid a split and repetition of the disastrous experience of the 1907 split at the Surat session of the Congress. In the end a compromise was brought about between them at the end of 1923. After his premature release from jail in 1924, Gandhi endorsed the compromise. As the President of the Congress for the year, he gave the Swarajists majority of seats on the Working Committee.

The Swarajists participated in the elections to the central and provincial legislatures in 1924 and did quite well, capturing 42 out of 101 elected seats in the central legislature where they soon forged a political front with the Liberals, the Independents led by M.A. Jinnah and individuals such as Madan Mohan Malaviya. They succeeded in electing Vithalbhai Patel as the President of the Central Legislative Assembly. The nationalist front repeatedly defeated the Government's budgetary grants, outvoted the Government on many other issues and agitated through powerful speeches on questions of self-government, civil liberties and industrial development. The Congress also captured municipal committees and corporations on a large scale. The Swarajists faced many problems arising from internal dissension because of the very nature of parliamentary work and the pervasive communal atmosphere of the 1920s. They still succeeded in keeping nationalist enthusiasm alive among the middle classes and other newspaper readers. They finally walked out of the legislatures in 1930 with the beginning of a fresh phase of mass struggle.

By 1928, the forces of nationalism had regrouped. As we shall see later, there was the rise of peasant and trade union movements, and the youth were active. The youth had been advocating the acceptance of complete independence as the goal of national struggle. The years 1923 to 1929 marked the emergence of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose on the political scene. The two led the movement of the youth, presided over hundreds of student and youth conferences and encouraged the left-wing tendency to grow in the ranks of the national movement. In February 1927, Jawaharlal Nehru represented India at the Brussels Congress of the League Against Imperialism and came back to India a strong advocate of socialism.

The catalyst to the new phase of the movement was provided when at the end of 1927 the British Government appointed the all-white Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission after its Chairman, to recommend what was to be the basis of further constitutional progress in India. Outraged at the exclusion of Indians from the Commission and by its under-lying assumption that India's political future was to be decided in Britain by the British Parliament, nationalists of all shades decided to boycott the Commission. The Commission landed at Bombay on 3 February 1928 and was greeted with a complete hartal and a massive black-flag demonstration. As the Commission toured India inviting evidence, it was everywhere met by a sea of black flags, massive

protest demonstrations and cries of "Go Back Simon." Everywhere the police tried to repress the demonstrations through brutal lathi charges and occasional police firings.

Indian leaders also tried to respond to the challenge of the Simon Commission by getting together and trying to evolve an alternative scheme of constitutional reforms. Tens of conferences and joint meetings among leading political workers were held. The end result was the Nehru Report named after its chief architect, Motilal Nehru, and finalized in August 1928. The Report could not, however, get universal consent.

The issues of the Annual Register covering the years 1922-29 give extensive coverage of the rise of the Swarajist Party, the contention between the Swarajists and the No-Changees, the full Report of the Congress Enquiry Committee on Civil Disobedience, the electoral fortunes of the Swarajists, the internal functioning of the Swarajist Party, and the political role the Swarajists played in the Central and provincial legislatures. The appointment of the Simon Commission, the discussions on its appointment in the Houses of British Parliament, its terms of reference, its country-wide tour, the hostile demonstrations against it, the evidence given before it by more loyalist and conservative elements in Indian political life, and its final report are all given in the issues of the Annual Register. The Register also gives details of the all-party conferences leading to the formulation of the Nehru Report as also the Report itself. Jawaharlal Nehru's participation in the Brussels Congress of the League Against Imperialism and the later activities of the League are also given adequate coverage.

III

The anti-Simon Commission demonstrations transformed the political atmosphere in the country and showed that the country was once again in a mood of struggle. The young, radical nationalists led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose were already dissatisfied with the goal of Dominion Status laid down in the Nehru Report. They had succeeded in passing a resolution in favour of complete independence at the Madras session of the Congress in December 1927. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1928, they fought for confirmation of the Madras decision. But Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and other leaders got a resolution passed giving the Government one year in which to accept the demand for Dominion Status, failing which the Congress would adopt complete independence as its goal and would launch a powerful mass movement to make the Government accept it.

In May 1929, a Labour Party government came to power in Britain and initiated discussions with the Indian leaders on further constitutional reforms; but the discussions proved infructuous. The Congress held its annual session at Lahore in December 1929 under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru. The historical resolution declaring Poorna Swaraj or complete independence as the goal of the Congress was passed. The Working Committee was authorized to launch the programme of Civil

VIII

Disobedience.

The first step in the coming struggle was the organization all over the country on 26 January 1930 of public meetings at which the people took the Independence Pledge that it was "a crime against man and God to submit any longer" to British rule. On 31 January, Gandhi gave an ultimatum to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, setting out the Eleven Points constituting the minimum nationalist demands. On 2 March, he informed the Viceroy of his plan of action. On 12 March, he set out with 78 of his co-workers of the Sabarmati Ashram on a 240 mile march to Dandi, a village on the Gujarat sea-coast, where he would break the provisions of the salt laws. Day after day, newspapers reported his progress, his speeches and the impact on the people. Hundreds of village officials on his route resigned their jobs. On 6 April, he reached Dandi, picked up a handful of salt, broke the salt law as a symbol of the Indian people's refusal to live under British-made laws, and thus inaugurated the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The Movement now spread rapidly as defiance of the salt laws started all over the country. Local marches were organized and salt manufactured illegally. A special feature was the peaceful raids on the depots where the Government stored salt. The 'raiders' remained non-violent even when faced with brutal attacks by the police armed with iron tipped lathis. A new front of the national movement was opened in the North-West Frontier Province by the sturdy Pathans under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan who had organized a militant but non-violent band of volunteers known as Khudai Khidmatgars or Red Shirts. A massive demonstration was organized at Peshawar leading to the city administration being seized by non-violent volunteers. The effort to drown the upsurge in blood led to the famous incident of the soldiers of the Garhwali regiment refusing to fire on the unarmed and non-violent crowd.

Violation of salt laws was soon followed by defiance of forest laws in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Central Provinces and refusal to pay the rural **chaukidari** tax in Eastern India. In Gujarat, in Kheda district and the Bardoli taluka of the Surat district, the movement was raised to the higher form of non-payment of land revenue though it led to the confiscation of the peasants' lands, cattle and household goods. In U.P. a no-revenue no-rent campaign was organized in several districts. Vigorous boycott of foreign cloth and picketing of liquor shops were an important part of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Movement was also marked by the heightened role that women, students and youth played in it, especially in the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor.

The Government made every effort to crush the movement, special ordinances were regularly promulgated imposing restrictions on the press, the Congress and political activity in general. Nearly 100,000 satyagrahis were imprisoned. Over 110 persons were killed and many more injured in police firings. Thousands had their heads and bones broken in lathi charges.

Simultaneously the Government negotiated with the Congress leaders through the mediation of the Liberal leaders. It also persisted with the holding of the Round Table Conference in London in November 1930. In late January 1931, it released unconditionally Gandhi and members of the Congress Working Committee and entered into prolonged negotiations with Gandhi. The outcome was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on 5 March, 1931. According to the agreement, the Government agreed to release all political prisoners who had not been convicted for violence and conceded the right to make salt for consumption in the coastal areas as also the right to peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops. The Congress agreed to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement and to attend the next Round Table Conference. The most outstanding achievement of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was the heightening in the prestige of the Congress for it placed the Congress on an equal footing with the Government.

Gandhi sailed for London on 29 August 1931 as the sole delegate of the Congress at the Second Round Table Conference. Other delegates, consisting mostly of loyalists, communalists, careerists, and representatives of big landlords and princes, were used by the Government to deny the Congress the position of representing the Indian nation. Meanwhile, the complexion of the British Government had also changed. The Labour Government had fallen and been replaced by a Conservative Party-dominated Cabinet headed by the Labour leader, Ramsay MacDonald. At the Round Table Conference, Gandhi found himself opposed and checkmated at every step. Finally, the demand for freedom was rejected; Gandhi came back to India empty-handed at the end of December 1931. But, in the meantime, Government policy had undergone a change. Lord Irwin had been replaced as the Viceroy by Lord Willingdon. The new Viceroy as well as his official advisers believed that a major error had been made in signing a truce with Congress. They were determined and prepared to crush the Congress in the next round of struggle.

The beginning was made even before Gandhi returned to India. Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on 26 December for launching a no-rent, no-revenue campaign in five districts of U.P. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested a day earlier and the peasant movement under his leadership subjected to strong repression. In Bengal, repression had already been institutionalized in the name of fighting terrorism. On 29 December, the Congress Working Committee announced that it would resume civil disobedience if the national demands were not met. On 4 June, 1932, the Government made a preemptive strike, arrested Gandhi, promulgated ordinances giving the authorities unlimited powers, and put leading Congressmen all over the country behind bars. The second phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement had begun. Soon over 80,000 satyagrahis had courted arrest while hundreds of thousands faced lathi charges and bullets while picketing shops selling foreign cloth and liquor. The

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movement was, however, effectively crushed within a few months ; it began to gradually wane. By August 1933 only 4,500 satyagrahis were behind bars. The mass movement was first suspended in May 1933 and finally withdrawn in May 1934.

Once again many political activists felt despaired. As early as 1933, Subhas Bose and Vithalbhai Patel had declared that "the Mahatma as a political leader has failed." But in reality this was not so. True, the movement had not succeeded in winning freedom, but it had succeeded in further politicizing the people, in further deepening the social roots of the freedom struggle.

The Annual Register for the years 1929-1934 deals at length with the Congress decision to go in for mass struggle, the negotiations between the Congress and the Government, mediatory efforts by the Liberals, the Salt Satyagraha and the Civil Disobedience Movement during 1930-31, the negotiations leading to the Gandhi-Irwin pact, the proceedings and politics of the Three Round Table Conferences, the second round of the Civil Disobedience Movement and its gradual fizzling out, and the Government's policy of repression. The special ordinances used to crush the movement are reproduced more or less fully.

IV

The withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement led to a fresh series of controversies in the rank of the Congress. While Gandhi emphasized constructive work, another section of Congress leadership led by Doctor M.A. Ansari and Satyamurthy argued for the revival of the Swaraj Party and participation in the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly. A third perspective was opened up by the growing left-wing led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose. The left-wing advocated the continuation of the non-constitutional mass struggle. Gandhi once again acted as the conciliator. While himself favouring the satyagraha mode of struggle, he agreed that those who wanted to fight through the legislatures should be able to do so. There was, however, to be one change from the 1924 situation. Congressmen were to fight elections and enter the legislatures in the name of the Congress and under its central discipline. Elections to the Central Assembly were held in November 1934; the Congress captured 45 of the 75 elected seats.

Having successfully wielded the stick, the Government once again proffered the carrot. The Third Round Table Conference had met in London in November in 1932, once again without Congress representation. As a result of its deliberations, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act of 1935 extending franchise to nearly 15 per cent of the population and granting provincial autonomy though the Governors retained special powers. The Act also provided for the establishment of an All-India Federation which was to be based on a union of the provinces of British India and the Princely States. The representatives of the States to the bicameral federal legislature were not to be elected by the people but were to

be appointed directly by the rulers. The federal legislature was, moreover, denied any real power. The federal part of the Act was never implemented; but the provincial part was soon put into operation. The British strategy was to strengthen the Liberals and other moderate nationalists and wean them towards constitutional politics and away from the path of mass struggle. They also hoped to split the Congress leadership along left versus right and provincial versus Central lines. The Act of 1935 was condemned by the Congress which declared that a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise alone had the right to frame a constitution for India.

The second major controversy among Congressmen occurred on the question of office acceptance. The Government had announced that elections to provincial legislatures would be held in early 1937. Even while opposing the 1935 Act, the Congress had to decide what attitude to adopt towards the coming elections. There was of course full agreement on the necessity of fighting the elections. But what should the Congress do in provinces where it might get a majority? Should it accept office and form governments or should it refuse to do so in view of the limited character of provincial autonomy and omnipresence of colonialism and colonial state? Nehru, Bose, Socialists, Communists and other left-wing groups and persons were totally opposed to office acceptance for it would mean that Congress was cooperating with British imperialism and weakening, if not abandoning, its revolutionary character. Those who favoured office acceptance denied that they were taking to the path of constitutional politics or getting coopted by the colonial state. They argued that since a mass movement was not just then possible the Congress should accept office as a part of political work among the masses. Moreover, if the Congress rejected office, the reactionary loyalist, communal and casteist parties and groups would occupy the new positions of administrative vantage. Lastly, they said that even the limited provincial powers could be used to promote the constructive programme and to give relief to the people. In the end, the Congress decided at its Lucknow and Faizpur sessions during 1936 to fight the elections and postpone the decision on office acceptance to the post-election period.

The whirlwind election campaign of the Congress met with massive popular response, even though Gandhi did not address a single election meeting. The elections held in February 1937 resulted in clear-cut Congress victory in most provinces. In the beginning the Congress refused to form ministries unless the Government gave an undertaking that the Governors would not use their special powers to interfere in the administration. A compromise was soon worked out and the Congress formed governments in six provinces: Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, U.P., Bihar and Orissa. A few months later it also assumed charge of the administration in the North-Western Frontier Province and Assam. Punjab was ruled by the Unionist Party, Bengal by a coalition of the Krishak Praja Party and the

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Muslim League. Sind too had a coalition ministry. A Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Congress Working Committee with Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Azad as its members assumed the overall guidance of the Congress Ministries and Congress legislative work in the non-Congress states.

To fulfil the expectations of the people, the Congress Ministries had to take steps to improve the condition of the people even though they were constrained by constitutional provisions. The Congress ministers reduced their own salaries drastically to Rs. 500 per month. They set new standards of honesty and public service. They undertook positive measures in several fields. They extended civil liberties, repealed restrictions on the press and radical organizations, permitted trade unions and Kisan organizations to function and grow, curbed powers of the police, and released thousands of political prisoners including large number of revolutionary terrorists. And when in a few instances the Congress Ministries tampered with civil liberties, as for example in the S.S. Batliwala case, Congressmen all over the country raised a storm of protest. The Congress Ministries, as also some of the non-Congress Ministries, passed agrarian legislation dealing with tenancy rights, security of tenure, rent reduction and relief and protection to the debtors. Efforts were also made to protect the interests of the factory workers, though the emphasis in several provinces was on government-sponsored conciliation and arbitration. The Congress Governments introduced prohibition in selected areas, undertook Harijan uplift and promoted primary, higher and technical education. Support was given to Khadi and other village industries. Modern industries too were encouraged. A significant step was the appointment of the National Planning Committee by the Congress President in cooperation with several provincial Governments. One of the major achievements of the Congress Ministries was their firm handling of communal riots. Despite many achievements, the Congress organization during the ministry period revealed many weaknesses. The left-wing, Nehru and Gandhi made a critique of these weaknesses. In fact, many felt that the positive role of the ministries and constitutional politics was getting exhausted.

The Annual Register covers the debates within the Congress on the questions of participation in elections to the Central Assembly in 1934, attitude towards the Act of 1935, and office acceptance. The election results of 1937 are reproduced extensively, and the functioning of the popular ministries in both Congress and non-Congress provinces is adequately detailed. The legislation passed by the popular ministries as also the debates around them are reproduced.

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World War II broke out on 1 September 1939 when Nazi Germany invaded Poland. The Government of India immediately, without consulting Indian leaders or even the provincial governments and elected members of the Central Assembly, declared India also to be at war with Germany. After

a great deal of debate, the Congress, even while condemning Nazi Germany, decided not to join the war so long as Britain did not agree to establish full democracy in India and promise to give India freedom after the war. At the same time it would not take advantage of Britain's difficulties by starting an immediate struggle. The British Government's response was utterly unhelpful. Branding the Congress a Hindu organization, it tried to pit the religious minorities and Princes against the Congress. It also refused to define its war aims so far as its colonies were concerned. The Congress reaction was to reiterate its refusal to join the war efforts and to ask the Congress Ministries to resign in protest. But in view of its desire not to embarrass those fighting Nazi aggression, it still did not give a call for struggle.

The people were, however, restive. The left-wing was critical of the leadership's wait and see attitude and urged immediate action. Meeting at Ramgarh in March 1940, the Congress declared that "nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people" and threatened civil disobedience. The Government, however, remained adamant and refused to budge. Instead it issued a large number of ordinances taking away the freedom of speech and the press and the right to organize into associations. It also arrested a large number of left-wing political workers. The Congress now decided to initiate a satyagraha campaign which was, however, to remain limited. Only carefully elected individuals were to offer satyagraha in defence of freedom to speak and protest against participation in the war. By 15 May, 1941, more than 25,000 satyagrahis had been jailed.

Two major international developments occurred during 1941. On 22 June, Germany attacked the Soviet Union and on 7 December, Japan attacked the United States and joined the war against the Allies. Japan conquered in quick succession Phillipines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya and Burma and brought the war to India's borders. The recently released Congress leaders denounced Japanese aggression and once again offered to fully cooperate in the defence of India and the Allied cause if Britain transferred the substance of power to India immediately and promised complete independence after the war. Under pressure from President Roosevelt of the USA, President Chiang Kai-shek of China, and the leaders of the British Labour Party, the British Government sent a mission to India in March 1942. The mission, headed by Stafford Cripps, was to negotiate a political settlement with Indian leaders and seek their cooperation for the war effort. The terms of the Cripps proposal were, however, found unsatisfactory by the Indian leaders. It was clear that the British Government was not willing to transfer the substance of power. The negotiations, therefore, soon broke down.

The Annual Registers from 1939 to 1942 deal with the Congress stand and the government response, and the positions taken up by other political parties and groups. The tensions and debates within the ranks of the

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Congress leadership are adequately reported. The course of the Individual Satyagraha is traced. The complex negotiations between Stafford Cripps and the Indian political leaders are reproduced and analysed.

The Indian people were embittered and angry at the failure of the Cripps Mission. Their discontent was further funnelled by war-time shortages and rising prices. They found the existing political situation intolerable. They must now act. The period from April to August 1942 was one of daily heightening tension with Gandhi becoming more and more militant as Japanese forces moved towards India and the spectre of Japanese conquest began to haunt the people and their leaders. The Annual Register faithfully portrays the rising tempo of nationalist feeling and the desire to struggle of those months.

Finally, the All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay on 8 August and passed the famous Quit India Resolution proposing to start a non-violent struggle under Gandhi's leadership. This time, declared Gandhi, the nationalists would not "be satisfied with anything less than freedom." He exhorted the people to "Do or Die." Gandhi, of course, in his usual strategic and political style, planned to open negotiations with the Government to persuade it to accept the nationalist demand. But the Government had already made full preparations to meet the challenge. It struck hard. On the morning of 9th August, it arrested all the major leaders gathered in Bombay and took them to unknown destinations. The people were thunder-struck, and reacted with anger and passion. There were spontaneous disturbances all over the country. Hartals, strikes in factories, schools and colleges, and public demonstrations and processions were the order of the day. The Quit India Movement had begun.

In several areas, the movement took the form of popular rebellion and the formation of parallel governments in Ballia in Eastern U.P., Tamluk in Midnapore district of Bengal, and Satara district of Bombay. Underground organizations appeared all over the country, and they organized sabotage of communications by blowing up bridges, cutting telegraph and telephone wires and derailing goods trains. The Government took every conceivable step to suppress the popular upsurge. The press was completely muzzled. Lathicharges, firing, machine-gunning and even bombing from the air were frequent occurrences. Over 10,000 persons died in police and military firing. In the end, the Government succeeded in crushing the movement. Because of war-time Defence of India Rules, all this could not be reported, or only very barely, in the press or the Annual Register except in the form of official critique of the movement.

A dramatic political development occurred in February 1943, when Gandhi went on a 21-day fast, holding the 'leonine violence' of the Government responsible for the violent response of the people. The fast led to intense political activity by prominent non-Congress leaders who tried to persuade the Government to release Gandhi. Three members of the

Viceroy's Executive Council, M.S. Aney, N.R. Sarkar and H.P. Mody, resigned in protest against the Government's obduracy.

Even though the Quit India Movement was suppressed, this movement and the popular response to the earlier Individual Satyagraha had made it evident that the British would no longer find it possible to rule India against the wishes of the people. Gandhi was released from jail on 6 May, 1944 and political activity once again gained strength. Other major Congress leaders were released in June 1945 and asked to participate in the Simla Conference convened by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell.

Meanwhile, Subhas Bose had escaped from India in March 1941 and gone first to Germany and Italy and then, in July 1943, to Singapore. There he had built on an earlier organization of patriotic Indian soldiers and officers, organized the Indian National Army (INA) and set up the Provisional Government of Free India on 21 October, 1943. Contingents of the INA had joined the Japanese Army in its march on India from Burma to free India. The march failed. All this could not of course be reported in India under war-time regulations.

With the end of war in Europe in April 1945, India's anti-imperialist struggle entered a new phase. That Britain would have to quit India became evident from several major political developments which were now fully reported in the Annual Register. One major development was the tumultuous welcome given by large crowds to leaders as they came out of jails from June 1945 onwards. When the Congress Working Committee met in Bombay, several lakh people braved rain to line the streets to welcome their leaders.

Another major development came in the form of the massive campaign all over the country for the release of the INA men who were brought to India after the end of the war in the East and threatened with serious punishment. The campaign reached a crescendo when the Government put on trial for treason three senior INA Officers, Generals Shah Nawaz, Gurdial Singh Dhillon and Prem Sehgal, who were earlier officers in the British Indian army. During this campaign two major upsurges, virtually amounting to insurgency, occurred in Calcutta in November 1945 and February 1946. The Government had in the end to bend and release these officers and give up the attempt to punish other men and women of the INA. Another massive popular upsurge occurred from 18 to 22 February 1946 in Bombay when the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy went on strike for their demands and the city of Bombay responded with a hartal and massive demonstration. Naval ratings in many other ports went on sympathetic strike. Soldiers and airmen in cantonments in different parts of India had already broken discipline in several instances. Large segments of the bureaucracy were already penetrated by nationalist sentiments. It became clear that Britain could no longer rely on the loyalty of their old instruments for keeping the people down.

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A third major development was the outburst of a strike wave among workers and government employees on economic issues. There were, for example, strikes by postal and telegraph workers and railwaymen and even by policemen in Bihar. Peasant movements also became more pervasive and militant. Struggles for land and against high rents took place in Malabar, Bengal, U.P., Bihar and Maharashtra. Many of the Indian Princely states—Hyderabad, Travancore, Kashmir among others—were enveloped by popular up-surges and revolt.

Elections to provincial assemblies, held in early 1946, provided the fourth major political development. The congress won an overwhelming majority of general seats while the Muslim League did the same for Muslime seats.

All these indicators pointed to the mood of the people. In the meanwhile in 1945 elections in Britain, a Labour Government headed by Major Attlee had come to power. The Labour Party leaders had long been sympathetic to Indian freedom struggle and, what is more important, they read the signs of the time correctly. On 19 February, 1946, Attlee announced in the House of Commons that the Government was sending a Cabinet Mission to India to negotiate with the Indian leaders the terms for the transfer of power. There followed nearly 1½ years of hectic and tortuous tripartite negotiations between the Government, the Congress and the Muslim League, leading to the formation of an Interim Government in September 1946 and eventual achievement of independence as also the partition of India. These negotiations and other political events are dealt with at length in the issues of the Annual Register.

VI

(A) The Indian National Congress was the chief vehicle and organiser of India's anti-imperialist struggle. The Annual Register contains detailed reports of all its annual sessions and the proceedings of all the All-India Congress Committee sessions and the meetings of the Congress Working Committee. The resolutions passed by all the three bodies of the Congress are also reproduced. It is undoubtedly the handiest source for this major aspect of the national movement. The Congress underwent two major organizational changes, once in 1920 and then again in 1934. The Register contains all the relevant details. The economic and political programme and policies of the Congress underwent regular evolution in a radical direction. This evolution is traced in the Register. Particularly important in this respect are the proceedings and resolutions of the Congress sessions at Karachi in 1931 and at Lucknow and Faizpur in 1936. The Congress was not free of internal dissension, groupings, factionalism, and inner-party struggle. From 1918 when the Congress split on the question of attitude towards Montagu-Chemsford Reforms to Subhas Bose's election in 1939 followed almost immediately by his resignation internal struggles within the Congress were endemic and are detailed in the Annual Register.

As pointed out earlier, an important achievement of the Congress was

the use of and participation in colonial legislatures from 1924 to 1947 without falling prey to the imperialist strategy of cooptation and absorption into the imperial constitutional structure. Otherwise also, the nationalists of many hues used the legislatures both to fight for Indian interests and as organs of propaganda. Activity in legislatures also throws light on the efforts of different social classes and interest groups to bend administrative policies in direction of their own interests. Annual Register digests—but at considerable length—the proceedings of the central and provincial legislatures over the years. This alone would make Annual Register a major source for modern Indian history.

Next to its mass campaigns and constructive work, the Indian national movement relied heavily for politicization of the people on provincial, district, taluka and local conferences. The Register gives basic details of the provincial conferences over the years.

The Indian national movement followed an active foreign policy of anti-colonialism, peace and Asian solidarity. The culmination came with the Asian Relations Conference of 1947. The Register brings out the evolution of Indian nationalist foreign policy as also the details of the 1947 Conference.

(B) The Indian National Congress represented the mainstream of the Indian national movement; there were, however, many other strands which were often parts of the Congress but also maintained independent organizational structures. Such was the case with Revolutionary Terrorists, the Communist Party of India, the Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc. Many of the activities of the first two were perforce conducted underground because of legal bans on them. Still the Register deals with the Kakori Case, Assembly Bomb Case and Lahore Conspiracy Case involving Bhagat Singh and his comrades, the Revolutionary Terrorists of Bengal and the strong measures the Government took against them, especially in Bengal. The first legal conference of the Indian Communists at Kanpur in 1925 is reported as is also the Meerut Conspiracy Case. An interesting detail is the Gandhi-Skalatvala correspondence. Once the Communist Party is legalized in 1942, its political activities are duly reported. All the Congresses of the Congress Socialist Party starting with the founding Congress at Meerut in 1934 are covered as are also many of the provincial conferences of the socialists. Once the Forward Bloc comes into existence its activities are reported at length.

The Liberals represented the major constitutional and right-wing strand of Indian nationalism after 1918. They formed and reformed many organizations, though perhaps the National Liberal Federation remained their premier body. The annual sessions of the Federation, the occasional conferences of the Liberal organizations, and their general political activities find a due place in the Register.

The impetus of the social and religious reform movements of the

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19th century was strengthened during the post-1918 years. The Annual Register provides details of the Akali Movement, the Vaikom and Guruvayur Satyagrahas, the movement of Harijan uplift including Gandhi's campaign of 1932-33, and the formation and activities of various 'depressed classes' organizations to organise the struggle of the lower castes against caste oppression and discrimination, including Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's endeavours.

(D) Several segments of the Indian people were mobilized during the years 1918-47 both for the anti-imperialist struggle and for their own class and sectional demands. The Annual Register covers these fully. There was, for example, the student and youth upsurge from 1927-29. The student movement took a more organised form in 1936 when the All-India Students Federation was formed. The annual sessions of the Federation and other student organizations find a due place in the Register's pages.

Women's movement was initiated in early 1920s culminating in the first session of the All-India Women's Conference in 1927. Since then the Conference met more or less every year. Simultaneously provincial conferences of women, women's educational conferences and many similar conferences were organized and duly reported.

The All-India Trade Union Congress was founded in 1920. Its annual sessions marked the high water-mark of the working class movement. These sessions as also the major industrial strikes can be studied in the pages of the Register. The Kisan (peasant) movements in India were initiated in the immediate post-First World War years. The Register falters in reporting them, though it does discuss the Kheda struggle, Moppilah Rebellion, the Bardoli Satyagraha, the no-rent, no-revenue campaign in U.P., and the peasant movement in North-Western Frontier Province led by Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Once the peasant movement takes an organized form with the founding of the All-India Kisan Sabha, the Register begins its coverage in a more regular manner.

From the middle 1920s the Indian capitalists start acting as an organized pressure group. They also start making a systematic critique of colonial economy and economic policies and simultaneously start supporting the national movement. Their main organ in this respect was the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The Register reports the activities of the Federation, as also of several other organizations of Indian manufacturers and traders. As opposed to the Federation, the British capital's interests were represented by the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce whose proceedings are also reported in the Register.

(E) The pattern of the National Congress was followed by many professionals, etc., who organized into all-India bodies and held annual conferences. Indian Science Congress was the first to hold a session in 1919, then came Indian Economic Conference, Indian Industrial Congress,

Indian Philosophic Conference, All-India Library Conference, All-India Educational Conference, All-India Journalists Conference, Indian Civil Liberties Union, All-India Medical Conference, the All-India History Congress, the All-India Oriental Conference, All-India Newspaper Editors Conference, and so on. The basic details of these and many other annual conferences are given in the Annual Register.

(F) A major political advance in India during the 1920s was the political awakening of the people of the princely states. To give this awakening an all-India dimension the Indian States' Subjects Conference was held in 1924, 1925 and 1927. A more organized shape was given to the movement when the All-India States People's Conference was founded in 1928 and then held regular meetings except during the phases of the mass movements in British India. From 1938, intense political activity and mass movements were initiated in many of the states. The Register records most of them, including all the sessions of the States People's Conference.

(G) Communal riots broke out in India on a large-scale after 1922. Efforts were made to defuse communal tension through unity conferences and all parties conferences. Communal parties had remained dormant during the Non-Cooperation Movement. They once again became active after 1922. The Annual Register deals at length with the tens of communal riots, the annual conferences of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha and of other all-India and provincial communal organizations over the years from 1922 to 1947. The nationalist efforts to appease and conciliate the communal parties and groups during the late 1920s as also during 1937-41 and 1945-47 as also the politics of these parties and groups find a prominent place in the pages of the Register.

(H) Princes, organised in the Chamber of Princes, and the Europeans, organized in the European Association and other associations, were another pillar of colonialism. Their politics and proceedings can also be studied in the pages of the Register.

(I) Caste organizations, especially the non-Brahmin movements and organizations of South India and Maharashtra, played a dual role in Indian politics. They were a vehicle for the struggle against upper caste domination of Indian society; but they were also a divisive force used by colonial authorities to weaken Indian nationalism. By early 1930s the positive aspects of the non-Brahmin movement were absorbed by mainstream nationalism and most of the non-Brahmin cadre and leader joined the National Congress. Those representing the negative aspects were completely defeated and isolated politically. The Annual Register deals with the politics, activities, organizations, and conferences of this kind of politics beginning in the early 1920s and tapering off by late 1930s.

(J) The Register deals at length with the Government of India's policies, and policy pronouncements. It gives details of the Secretary of States' India Council, the Viceroy's Executive, the Governor's Councils, the names of the

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members of Indian and provincial legislatures at different times. Details of most of the laws enacted by the central and provincial legislatures are given. The Government of India appointed a host of committees to investigate problems and issues. Their reports are a basic source of modern Indian history. The Register gives, year after year, page after page, in full or in summary form, nearly all the important reports starting with the Report of the Industrial Commission, 1918.

(K) Till 1927, the Register reproduces extensively questions and debates on India in the two Houses of British Parliament. This coverage becomes more and more skeletal in the later years. The major activities in Britain and the USA in support of Indian national movement, the position of Indians in South Africa, East Africa, Fiji and other parts of British Empire, and Indian issues and personages at the League of Nations, the ILO, and the United Nations are discussed in a separate section headed "India abroad" in most issues of the Register.

(L) Lastly, one of the most useful parts of the Register is the very large section which gives chronicle of events and the details of major political and other happenings during the year concerned.

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The Annual Register is not available in most Indian libraries and has been out of print for years. It is a happy publishing event that it is being made available to the scholarly world. Its publication is most welcome at the present time, for Indian academic world is undergoing a research explosion with thousands of students enrolling for M.Phil. and Ph.D. courses. Yet, research materials are not available to most of them unless they are studying and teaching at metropolitan centres where national or state archives exist. The Annual Register can enable many of these students in history, political science or sociology departments to work on their seminar papers and M.Phil. dissertations. Even Ph.D. students can use the Registers both for framing a hypothesis and gather their preliminary data so that they can later go to the archives and national libraries for the more detailed primary materials with a certain economy of time as also with a better idea what data to look for and search. In fact, no college, university or other major library should be now without the Annual Register.

B.C.

Foreword

In this compilation an attempt has been made to supply the need, now growingly felt in the country, of a small but comprehensive annual digest of all Public activities—political, industrial, educational, etc., in and concerning India. A good deal of Indian affairs is discussed and decided outside India, in England in the Houses of Parliament, for instance, of which the average Indian hears little and perhaps knows even less. Times are moving fast and even in India people are getting less leisured, and those who have the inclination to read and know more about India and her progress in any direction have rarely the time or the means to go through the bulky original Reports, Bulletins, Proceedings, etc., issued by Governments or by Public bodies and associations. It is increasingly felt, also, alike by those who are already in public life as by those who are gradually coming into it, that parochial interests so long cultivated must now give place to a wider outlook, and that facts and events of the immediate past are too valuable to be speedily forgotten, and instead may be made to yield a much wider experience and better equipment than heretofore : a handy volume of the nature of an annual Progress Report would eminently serve this purpose. Also, with the recent high tide in Indian aspirations has come a general desire to know more of India as a whole. The different Provinces and States of India want to know more of each other ; and the long and rapid strides taken by such States as Mysore and Baroda in administrative matters have given an edge to the all-round spirit of enquiry now so perceptible in the country. Any enquirer who wants to know the political, or other conditions of India, say five years back, or say, who wants to trace the ontogeny of a particular movement, must first give most of his time to the collection of rare papers, gazettes, journals, reports, etc., and then proceed to piece together the small fragments of information that he secures after an enormous loss of energy and time.

The Indian Annual Register was started to obviate to some extent at least some of these difficulties. In its first issue last year nothing more than the most burning topics of the day were given rather incompletely, but still the reception that was accorded to it by a generous public was more than could have been claimed. In this, its second issue, we confess much remains still to be done in the way of improvements and great as are its shortcomings we fully trust and hope that the indulgence that was shown to it a year ago may still be extended to a work which after all is a pioneer work in this country.

Annual Register Office
Sibpur, Calcutta.

EDITOR

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India and Her Rulers.

The King-Emperor.

His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fifth, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

The only surviving son of His late Majesty King Edward VII and of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra.

Born.—At Marlborough House, June 3, 1865.

Married.—Her Serene Highness Princess Victoria Mary Augusta Loise Olga Pauline Claudine Agnes of Teck—July 3, 1893.

Succeeded.—To the throne, May 6, 1910.

Crowned.—At Westminster Abbey, June. 22, 1911.

Issues :—

1. H.R.H. Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patric David, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, Duke of Cornwall, High Steward of Windsor, K.G., G.M.M.G., G.M.B.E., M.C., R.N., *Born* June 23, 1894.

2. H. R. H. Albert Fredrick Arthur George.

Born December 14, 1895.

3. H. R. H. Victoria Alexandra Alice Mary.

Born April 25, 1897.

4. H. R. H. Henry William Fredrick Albert.

Born March 31, 1900.

5. H. R. H. George Edward Alexander Edmund.

Born December 20, 1902.

6. H. R. H. John Charles Francis.

Born July 12, 1905. *d.*—January 18, 1919.

Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India.

Salutes	Name and Title.	Area in				Revenue	Tribute,	etc.
		Sq. Mile	Thousand	Population	in 1000 £			
21	His Exalted Highness The Nizam of Hyderabad, Sir Usman Ali Khan	1911	82	13,374	3,000			
Guns	His Highness the Maharaja of—							
"	Mysoor, Sir Krishnaraja Wodeyar	1885	29	5,806	1,600	223,333		
"	Marcda, Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar	1873	8-1	2,032	1,100	25,000		
"	Gwalior, Sir Madhav Rao Scindia	1886	25	3,093	905			
19	Kashmir, Sir Pertab Singh	1883	84	3,158	750			
"	Travancore, Sir Balarama Varma	1885	7-1	3,428	761	54,133		
"	Indore, Tukoji Rao Holkar	1903	9-4	1,004	400			
"	Kolnapore, Sir Sahu Chatterpati Maharaj	1884	3-2	833	382			
"	H. H. the Maharaja of Mewar, Sir Fateh Singh	1884	12	1,293	176	13,333		
"	H. H. the Begum of Bhopal, Sultan Jehan Begum.	1901	6-9	730	200			
"	H. H. the Khan of Kalat, Sir Mahomed Khan.	1893	7-1	470	51			
"	His Highness the Maharaja of—							
17	Bikaner, Sir Ganga Singhji	1887	23	700	220			
"	Bharatpur, Sir Vrijendra Sewai Kishen Singh	1900	1-9	558	210			
"	Jaipur, Sir Madho Singh	1880	15	2,636	533	26,667		
"	Karauli, Sir Banwar Lal Deo	1886	1-2	146	40			
"	Jodhpur, Sir Sumar Singhji	—	34	2,057	440	6,533		
"	Patiala, Sir Bhupendra Singh	1900	5	1,407	498			
"	Reva, Sir Venkal Raman Singhji	—	13	1,514	187			
"	H. H. the Nawab of Tonk, Sir Ibrahim Ali Khan	1867	2-5	303	130			
"	H. H. the Nawab of Bhawalpur, H. Saadiq, Md. Khan Bdr.	1907	15	780	192			
"	H. H. the Raja of Cochin, Sir Rama Varma	1914	1-3	918	254	13,333		
"	H. H. the Maharao Raja of Bundi, Sir Raghubir Singh	1889	2-2	218	46	8,000		
"	H. H. the Maharao of Cutch, Sir Khengarji Nawai Bah.	1876	7-6	313	167			
"	" Kotah, Sir Umed Singhji	1889	5-6	639	224	15,648		

RULING PRINCES OF INDIA

Salutes.	Name and Title.	Accession	Area in Sq. Mil.	Population in 1900	Revenue in 1900	Tribute etc.
15	His Highness the Maharaja of—					
"	Alwar, Sir Jay Singhji Sahab Bahadur	1892	3.1	791	232	
"	Bhatia, Lokendra Sir Govinda Singh	1907	.9	154	15	
"	Dewas, Sir, Sir Tukaji Rao Iwar	1899	.4	74.1	25	
"	" " Sir Mallu Rao Iwar	1892	.4	63	25	
"	Dhar, Sir Udayji Rao Iwar	1819	1.7	154	56	
"	Idar, Sir Dowlat Singhji	1911	1.6	202	44	
"	Kishangarh, Sir Madan Singhji	1900	.8	87	56	
"	Oreliu, Sir Pratap Singh	1874	.2	330	50	
"	Sikkim, Tashi Nam Gyol	1914	2.8	87	15	
"	H. H. The Maharawal of Banskarn, Sir Sambhu Singh	1913	1.6	165	15	
"	" " Luagarput, Sir Bijay Singhaji	1898	1.4	159	16	
"	" " Jasaulmir, Sir Jawahar Singhaji	1914	1.3	202	44	
"	" " Patnagarh, Sir Raghu Nath Singh	1890	.8	62	18	
"	H. H. The Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, Sir Uday Bhan Singh	1911	1.1	263	80	
"	H. H. The Mir of Kohlpur, Sir Imam Bux Khan	1909	.6	223	100	
"	H. H. The Maharao of Shirahi, Sir Kaishree Singhji	1875	1.9	189	34	
	His Highness the Maharaja of—					
13	Benaras, Sir Probhunarayan Singh	1889	.8	346	112	12,667
"	Bhavanagar, Sir Bhavasingji Taket Singhji	1896	2.8	441	287	
"	Cooch Behar, Sir Jitendra Narayan Rhoop	1913	1.3	592	164	
"	Dhrangadra, Sir Ghanshyam Singhji	1911	1.1	79	40	
"	Jind, Sir Kanabir Singh	1847	1.2	271	87	
"	Kapurthala, Sir Jagatjit Singh	1877	.6	268	167	8,723
"	Nawanagar, Sir Ranjit Singhji	1907	3.7	349	151	
"	Porbandar, Nawar Singhji Bhavasinghji	1908	.6	82	55	
"	H. H. The Raja of Rutlam, Sir Seijan Singhji	1893	.6	75	60	
"	H. H. The Raja of Tiptera, Sir Hirendra Kishore Dev Manikya	1909	.4	229	112	
"	H. H. The Nawab of Rampur, Sir Mohammed Hamid Ali	1889	.8	531	240	
"	" " Junagar, Mahabir Khanji	1911	3.2	134	190	

RULING PRINCES OF INDIA

Ranks	Name and Title,	Succeeded	Area in Sq. Mile	Population in Thousand	Revenue in 1000 £	Tribute, etc.
13	H. H. The Nawab of Jaora, Sir Mahamed Iftikhar Ali Khan	1895	.5	75	50	
	His Highness The Maharaja of—					
11	Ajgaib, Sir Ranjor Singh Bahadur	1859	.8	87	15	
"	Chakhar, Sri Ganga Singh Deo	19 4	.8	132	33	
"	Chatarpur, Sri Bhawanath Singh	1867	1.1	166	50	
"	Manipur, Sri Chura Chand Singh	1891	8.4	346	90	3,333
"	Jhalawar, Sir Bhawani Singh	1899	.8	96	32	
"	Nabha, Sri Ripudaman Singhji	1911	.9	248	103	
"	Panna, Sri Jaiabendra Singh	1902	2.5	228	33	
"	Sirmoor, Sir Amar Prakash Bahadur	1913	1.1	438	57	
"	Rijawar, Sir Sawant Singh					
"	Jhabna, Sri Day Singhji					
	His Highness The Raja of—					
"	Chamba, Sir Bhure Singh	1904	.3	135	34	
"	Faridkot, Sri Brij Indar Singh	1906	.6	130	74	
"	Mundi (Jalandar), Sri Joginder Sen	1913	1.2	181	39	
"	Tadukota, Sir Martanda Bhairab Tardiman	1886	1.2	411	101	
"	Rajauri, Sir Bir Indra Singhji	1916	1.5	218	12	
"	Rajpala, Sri Bijaysinghji Chattersingji	1915	1.5	111	67	
"	Sallana, Sir Jaswant Singhji	1895	.3	27	26	
"	Tehri, Lt. Narendra Shah	1913	.4	301	44	
"	H. H. The Thakur Shateb of Gondal	1869	.1	162	94	
"	H. H. The Thakur Shateb of Morvi	1870	.8	90	78	
"	H. H. The Nawab of Janjira	1879	.3	89	33	
"	" The Dewan of Palanpur	1877	1.7	226	35	
"	H. H. The Nawab of Raoni. H. H. The Nawab of Cambay, Jafar Ali Khan.					
"	Jalaluddin Khanji. H. H. The Nawab of Malerkotla, Sir Muhammad Ahmad Ali Khan.					
"	of Narsinghgarh, Sir Arjun Singhji. H. H. The Raja of Suket, Sir Bhimrao. H. H. The Raja of Nitalma, Sir Ram Singhji.					
"	H. H. The Raja of Nantbar, Sir Bir Singh Deo. H. H. The Raja of Kahar, Sri Bije Chand					
"						And 86 other Chiefs with 9 Guns.

And 36 other Chiefs with 9 Guns.

The Government of India, 1920

THE HOME GOVERNMENT.

Secretary of State.

The Right Hon. Edwin S. Montagu M.P.

Under-Secretaries of State.

The Right Hon. Baron Sinha of Raipur.

Sir W. Duke, G.C.I.E.

Assistant Under-Secretaries of State.

Sir Malcolm Seton

„ Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B.

The India Council.

Sir Charles Arnold White.

„ Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

„ Charles S. Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.R.O.

„ Marshall Frederick Reid, C.I.E.

„ James Bennett Brunyate, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

„ Prabhaskanker D. Pattani, K.C.I.E. (Retd. Sir C. Sankaran Nair 1920)

„ G. O. Roos Keppel, G.C.I.E.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan.

Rhupendranath Basu.

Frederick Cranford Goodenough.

William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E.

General Sir E. G. Parrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Clerk of the Council,—Sir Malcolm Seton.

Deputy Clerk of the Council,—E. J. Turner.

Private Secretary to the Secretary of State,—S. K. Brown.

Assistant Private Secretaries,—A. L. R. Parsons, and Miss Frith.

Political A. D. C. to the Secretary of State,—Lieut.-Col. Sir J. R. Dunlop.

Smith, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.I.E.

Private Secretary to Lord Sinha—R. H. A Carter

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

H. E. Rt. Hon. Baron Chelmsford —5th April 1916,

Personal Staff of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Private secy.—J. L. Maffey, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Asst. pte. secy.—Capt. W. Buchanan Rickell.

Mily. secy.—Lt. Col. R. Verney, Rifle Brigade.

Personal asst.—R. Parsons.

Comptlr. of household.—Maj. J. Mackenzie, C.I.E., 35th Sikhs.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Government of Bengal.

Governor—H. E. Earl of Ronaldshay—27th March 1917.

Personal Staff.

Private Secretary—W. R. Gourlay, on special duty.

Attending " —H. R. Wilkinson.

Military " —Capt. Henry George Vaux.

Members of Council.

Mr. J. S. Took his seat on 9th April 1917.

Mr. J. S. Took his seat on 9th March 1918.

Mr. J. S. Took his seat on 9th March 1918.

Mr. J. S. Took his seat on 9th March 1918.

Government of Bombay.

Governor—H. E. Sir George Ambrose Lloyd—17th December, 1918.

Personal Staff.

Private Sec.—William Patrick Cowie I.C.S.

Military Sec.—Lt. Col. J. G. Greig.

Members of Council.

Sir George Carmichael K.C.S.I. I.C.S.

Mr. G. S. Curtis, C.S.I. I.C.S.

Sir Ebrahim Rahimtullah, Kt. C.I.E.

Government of Madras.

Governor—H. E. Baron Willingdon—10 April 1919

Personal Staff.

Private Secy.—T. E. Moir, I.C.S.

Military "—Captain W. S. E. Morry.

Members of Council.

Diwan Bahadur Sir P. Rajagopala Achariyar, C.I.E.

Mr. Lionel Davidson, C.S.I., I.C.S.

Mr. C. G. Todhunter.

Government of Behar & Orissa.

Lt. Governor—Sir Edward Gait K.C.S.I.—19th November 1915.

Members of Council.

Havelland Le'Meurier, C.S.I. C.I.E. I.C.S.

Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahai.

Walter Maule, C.S.I.

Lt. Governor of U. P.—Hon. Sir S. H. Butler—15th February, 1918.

" Punjab— " Edward MacLagan—May 1919.

" Burma— " Reginald Craddock.

Chief Commissioner of C. P.—Sir Frank G. Sly—December, 1919.

" Assam— " B. Benson Bell—1st April 1918.

" N.W.F.P.— " A. Hamilton Grant.

Chronicle of the Year

1919

January

- 1st All India Ladies Conference held at Delhi under Mrs. Besant.
Proclamation parade at Calcutta in presence of His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and His Excellency the Governor of Bengal.
Death of Reverend G. A. Lefroy D. D., Bishop of Calcutta.
Message of Her Majesty the Queen Empress to the women of India deeply sympathising with their war sacrifices.
- 2nd His Majesty the King sends message to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief appreciating the assurances of loyalty and devotion of the British Army.
- 3rd The notorious Imam-Clayton case ended in Hon'ble Clayton's tendering unqualified apology for his barbarous behaviour and his appeal to Mr. Hasan Imam's well-known magnanimity.
- 9th Big Mill strike in Bombay—100,000 hands go out—nearly 75 out of 85 Mills had to suspend work.
First Session of the Baroda Representative assembly presided over by the Dewan.
- 10th Sir S. P. Sinha appointed Under-Secretary of State for India and announcement of his elevation to British peerage.
- 13th Conference of Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners at Delhi to discuss the Reform scheme.
- 13th to 18th Indian Science Congress opened by H. E. the Governor and presided over by Sir Leonard Rogers.
- 14th An appeal issued to the Princes and People of India by H. E. the Viceroy to subscribe another hundred lakhs of Rupees to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund.
- 15th Serious development of labour trouble in Bombay, futile attempt to restart work, by force Military fire on the mob resulting in two killed and four wounded.
- 16th First Convocation of the Hindu university held at Benares—H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, the chancellor of the university, presides.
- 18th Deputation of the Bombay Mill strikers waited on the Governor—His Excellency listened very sympathetically to their grievances and promised to secure redress.

- Death of Prince John, the youngest son of H. M. the King.
- 20th H. E. the Viceroy opens the Chiefs' Conference at Delhi.
Elevation to Peerage of Sir S. P. Sinha, under-Secretary of State for India, officially announced in London.
- 21st Bombay Mill strike settled by concessions from Millowners ; other strikes continue.
- Meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council—Governor presides—resolution of thanks for appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to be under-Secretary of State passed.
- 24th Investiture at Viceregal Lodge Delhi for K.C.S.I., etc.
U. P. Legislative Council met at Allahabad—Sir Harcourt Butler presides—resolution of sympathy on the death of Prince John passed.
- 25th H. E. The Viceroy on behalf of the people of India wires to His Majesty expressing grief and sympathy on the death of Prince John.
- 5th Chiefs Conference at Delhi presided over by Viceroy—presentation of sword to Maharaja Patiala.
- 26th Bombay Mill-strike partially settled.
Allahabad university convocation under Sir H. Butler. The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Banerjee unveiled portrait of the Late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Bombay.
- 30th Big protest Meeting of Citizens of Madras against proposed Rowlatt Bills, cable sent to Prime-Minister, Peace Conference and Lord Sinha.
- 31st Public Meeting of Moderates at Calcutta, Town Hall, thanking Prime-Minister for appointing Lord Sinha as under-Secretary—Sir K. G. Gupta presides.
- Annual Meeting of Bombay Trades Association.
- Government of India announces that owing to high prices of Cotton Cloth, the Cotton cloth Act of 1918 would immediately come into operation.

February

- 1st to 4th All India protest meetings against proposed Rowlatt Legislation at all important places representing all influential public opinion of India. Intense agitation everywhere.
- 1st Hon'ble Sir D. Wacha wires to Viceroy earnestly requesting postponement of Rowlatt Bills.
- 2nd Committee to Report on India Office Reform appointed under Lord Crew.
- 5th Madras Legislative Council—Governor presides—the Hon'ble Sir A. Cardew presents the Draft Financial statement for

1919-20; Non-official Indian members protest against Rowlatt Bills.

H. E. the Viceroy reviews Nepali Troops at Delhi—his speech appreciating their friendly services—investiture of Nepali Generals, officers and rank of various honours.

Report of the Indian Silk Industry published.

6th Viceroy's opening speech in the Imperial Council recommending Rowlatt Bills, placating I.G.S and Anglo-India. Sir W. Vincent introduced the Rowlatt Bills. Hon'bles Mr. Patel and Mr. Banerjee opposed and moved for postponement. Hot debate on this motion finally adjourned till next day. Punjab Legislative Council—Punjab Dt. Amend. Bill and food adulteration Bill passed.

7th Long debate on Rowlatt Bill in Imp. Council—non-official Indians opposing to a man. Mr. Patel's motion defeated and Sir W. Vincent's carried by 36 to 21 against unanimous Indian opposition. Bill referred to select committee.

8th Moderates *Pour Parler* with Home Member (Vincent) on the Rowlatt Bills.

10th Imp. Council—Sir W. Vincent announced that in deference to unanimous non-official opposition the Rowlatt Act was to be in operation for three years and not permanently. He also introduced the Second Bill which was referred to select committee against unanimous non-official opposition.

Influential protest meeting at Mahajan Sabha, Madras—non-official council members issued mandate on Indian members of the Imperial Council to oppose the Rowlatt Bill.

11th Lord Sinha sworn in as Privy Councillor.

12th Secretary, European Association, Calcutta, wires to Government of India, protesting against the concession announced by Sir W. Vincent whereby Rowlatt Bill would be in force for three years only.

Madras Legislative Council—City Municipal Bill discussed.

13th The Moderates at Bombay decided at a meeting to form Western India National Liberal Association.

Bombay Government Communique—on Finacing Co operative Housing Societies issued.

Calcutta Indian Association protest meeting against Rowlatt Bill under Maharaja of Cassimbazar and all influential moderates.

Death of Nawab Syed Mahammad at Royapeta, Madras.

14th The Secretary, European Association, Calcutta issues the Association's statement regarding the Rowlatt Bills and reforms. Public meeting at Gokhale Hall Madras under Mr. V. P. Madhva Rao to protest against the I.C.S. Memorandum.

- 10 *CHRONICLE OF THE YEAR* [MARCH
- 15 „ **Bombay protest meeting under Mrs. Besant denouncing the Rowlatt Bill ; very largely attended.**
- 16 „ **Home Rule Campaign against the Rowlatt Bills opened by Mrs. Besant at Bombay.**
- 17 „ **Travancore industrial Exhibition opened by the Maharaja. Travancore Popular Assembly—sittings began for this and the next 8 days.**
- 19 „ **Imperial Legislative Council—Sir James Meston introduced Excess Profits Bill which was referred to Select Committee.**
The Announcement by the Secretary of State of revised rate of pay for officers of Imperial Indian police from rank of Deputy Inspector-General downwards issued.
- 20 „ **Tata Industrial Bank—first meeting of Directors at Bombay presenting last years report.**
H. M. Amir Habibulla Khan of Afghanistan shot dead at Jelalabad by some unknown hand.
- 23rd **Tilak V. Chitrol Privy Council Case finished—judgment in favour of Chitrol. Popular faith in British justice shaken.**
Bombay Presidency Association protest meeting against Rowlatt Bill under Sir D. Petit ; largely attended.
Madras monster protest meeting under Mr. T. V. Venkattraya Iyer hotly denouncing the Rowlatt Bill—Mr. B. C. Pal's lecture on same. Other meetings follow.
- 25 „ **Lord Sinha takes his seat in the House of Lords.**
- 26 „ **Imperial Legislative Council—Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Electricity Bill and Negotiable Instr. Act Amendment Bill introduced ; Local Authorities Bill passed.**
- 27 „ **Southborough Committee Report presented to Government of India—Lord Southborough and party leaves Delhi for England.**
- 28 „ **Annual Meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta.**

March

- 1st Imp. Council—Sir W. Vincent presented report of Sel. Com. on Rowlatt Bill, Indian Members of Committee all signing Dissident Notes and opposing the Bill.
Financial Statement 1918-19 issued.
Mahatma Gandhi's Manifesto on Satyagraha vow taken by Home Rulers at Bombay and the great campaign started.
- 3rd **Mr. Vijayraghavachari of Salem took office as the Dewan of Cochin, S. I.**
- 4th **Lord Sinha's maiden speech in H. of Lords snubbing Lord Sydenham on the Katarpur-Arrah riot debate.**

- 5 „ Govt. of India's first despatch to the Sec. of State on the Indian Reforms, trying to whittle down Reforms.
- 6 „ Mahatma Gandhi at Delhi invited and interviewed by Viceroy *re* Satyagraha. Gandhi advocates 'Soul force' and Viceroy "Brute force;" they could not come to terms.
- 7 „ Calcutta European Association Annual Meeting.
- 8 „ Imp. Legis. Council—Budget Debate began.
- 11 „ Imp. Leg. Council—Budget Debate and non-official Resolutions. Lokmanya Tilak's representation to the Peace Conference, Paris, on behalf of Indian People and Congress.
- 12-13th Imp. Legis. Council—Sir W. Vincent moved consideration of Sel. Com. Report on Rowlatt Bill—a hot debate followed, non-official Indians opposing in one voice.
- 14 „ Imp. Legis. Council—Debate on Rowlatt Bill hotly continued till late at 8-30 P. M.
- 18 „ Imp. Council—Rowlatt Act passed, after strenuous non-official fight, by sheer Govt. Vote of 35 to 20 (Indians). Hon. B. N. Sarma at once resigns. Apalling depression in Indian Polity.
- 19th Imp. Council—Excess Profits Bill presented and a few other bills passed. Bill for Punjab H. Court passed.
- 20th Bombay European Association annual meeting strongly criticising proposed Indian Reforms.
- 21st Imp. Council—Budget in final form presented. Session closed.
- 23rd Gandhi's message to hold 6th April as a "Day of National Protest and Humiliation" against outrageous passage of Rowlatt Act unanimously accepted by the country.
- 25 „ Viceroy arrived at Baroda on tour.
- 26 „ Calcutta European Association special meeting to denounce Indian Reforms, and for reorganisation of Anglo-Indians against Indian claims of political equality.
- 27th Bengal Council—Hon. S. N. Roy's Primary Education Bill passed.
- 28 „ Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah resigns seat in Imp. Council in protest against Rowlatt Act.
- 31st Satyagraha demonstration at Delhi—in recent unarmed mob of Satyagrahis (passive resisters) wantonly fired upon by Police and Military and dispersed after killing a few.

April

- 1st Delhi—Shops closed : people attending funeral processions of those fallen. Military parading the streets.
- 2nd Amritsar—Dra. Satyapal and Kitchlew prohibited to address public meetings for promoting Hindu-Moslem union.

- Bombay Chamber of Commerce—Annual Meeting under Hon'ble M. N. Hogg** Anglo-Indians resolved to take militant part in Indian Politics against Indian aspirations.
- 3rd Government of India Communique on Delhi disturbances issued to the Press**
- Madras Council—Hon'ble Narasinha Iyer's Resolution allowing Vernacular in Council Meeting** hotly debated and lost by Government Votes.
- 4th Delhi—Col. Beadon convened meeting of Delhi leaders at which he abused Satyagraha, sought their co-operation, and presented a hand bill for circulation broad cast—Satyagraha Sabha repudiated the Beadon allegations.**
- Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu acquitted by Madras H. C. of conviction for Sedition by the lower court.**
- Hon'ble Mr. B. D. Shukul resigns his membership of the Imperial Council as a protest against the Rowlatt Bills in his letter to H. E. the Viceroy.**
- Madras Council—Budget Debate.**
- 5th Government of India communique explaining Rowlatt Act.**
- 6th All India Hartal, penance, humiliation, fasting and prayer as a passive protest against the Rowlatt Act. Civil disobedience of Press laws in Bombay by sale of proscribed and unregistered literatures started,—the unregistered paper "Satyagrahi" issued by Gandhi.**
- 7., Parting Kick of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to Indian Agitators warning them of a "Day of Reckoning" soon to come. Madras Council—Budget Debate.**
- 8., Bengal Council Meeting—Village Self-Government Bill discussed and passed next day.**
- 9., Mahatma Gandhi arrested at Palwal while travelling by train to Delhi on a Peaceful Mission to Pacify the Panic-stricken People ; was served with a notice of exterriment. Amritsar—Ram Nayami Day processions, peacefully carried out—playing the English National Anthem and paying homage to King and the Deputy commissioner.**
- 10th Punjab in open riot, Amritsar—Arrest and Deportation of Drs Satyapal and Kitchlew. All India Protest.**
- Mob outrage, Riot, incendiarism in Amritsar—mob fired at ; Mob then turned and looted Banks, Telegraph office, Post office, Zenana Hospital, C. M. S. Girl's School and burnt them, and also killed with gross brutality several Europeans.**
- Lahore—huge mob marching towards Government House was fired upon by the Police and the Military near Anarkali ; many killed and wounded.**

Aeroplane hovering over the city.

All India closing of shops as mark of sorrow for Gandhi's arrest.
Ahmedabad—mob outrage, riot and incendiarism on hearing Gandhi and Anusuya Devi arrested. Two Europeans killed; Mills, Station yards burnt down; Mob dispersed by Police fire.

H. E. Lord Willingdon assumes charge of the Government of Madras Presidency.

11th Quiet at Amritsar and Lahore.

All India Hartal and suspension of business continued.

Kasur—Public meeting against Rowlatt Act.

Ahmedabad—Further Mob outrage.

Mr. Gandhi brought to Bombay and set free; ordered not to leave Bombay Presidency; in the evening he attends a huge meeting where he condemns the mob violence and disturbance.

Calcutta shops closed down and business suspended on Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

Great Satyagraha demonstration in Calcutta; Police fired on mob.

Big meeting at Madras under Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyanger to protest against Government action in arresting Mr. Gandhi.

Remarkable letter of Sir Rabindranath to Mr. Gandhi eulogising latter's Satyagraha movement.

15th Lahore—Badshahi Mosque meeting; C. I. D. pugree burnt.

Mob fired upon by troops. Huge crowd attacked and looted Railway station on being fired upon by soldiers travelling in a train. The train was stopped, derailed and burnt.

Kasur—Excited mob fired at by 2 European Soldiers from a train. Mob murdered the Soldiers, burnt the Station, wrecked the train, and looted and destroyed all Government property.

13th Amritsar—Jhallianwala Bagh massacre, Peaceful meeting of twenty thousand men fired upon continuously unprovoked for ten minutes by Gen. Dyer; 509 killed, 1500 wounded and left for two days exposed to the elements without medical or any relief.

Delhi—Rumour of deportation of Leaders afloat—Great consternation in town; Mob provoked to assume threatening attitude.

14th Gujranwala—Jhallianwala Bagh news received. Whole town on Hartal. A big Baisakhi day held at Wazirabad. Booking stopped and the huge excited crowd stopped the train, pulled down passengers and set fire to the station yard. Mob further excited by slaughtered cows and pigs and assaulted Mr. Herron, S. P. who fired and caused death. Excitement leaped up

into a flame resulting in acts of incendiarism—Post Office, Dak Bungalow, Court houses, Railway godown and the Church burnt down, Aeroplanes hovering over town dropped bombs, some on the Khalsa High School and neighbouring villages killing women and children. Martial Law Resolution condemning Anti-Rowlatt agitation published.

Batala (in Gurdaspur)—Telgraph Wires cut by mob

Wires also cut between Lahore—Amritsar and between Sialkot-Wazirabad.

Rohtak—Riotous mob attacked Ry. line, and cut it, damaged the Ry. Bridge and attacked a train.

Delhi—Mob begins to appear armed with Lathis on rumoured deportations of popular leaders. Town hall conference between officials and leaders comes to nothing.

15th. Martial Law declared in Punjab last night.

Mr. Gandhi condemns violence in retaliation at a huge meeting in Ahmedabad.

16 „ Gujranwalla—Col. O' Brien, Dy. Com. taking reprisals for last day's outrage. Hindu and Moslem Barristers, Vakils and leading men arrested right and left with aid of Military, Armoured car and police, Aeroplane hovering overhead, and handcuffed and insulted and then *challaned* to Lahore. At Hafizabad mob rushed police to rescue men arrested, cut wires, and was then dispersed by police fire. At Chuharkhana the Ry. station with wires and lines cut was burnt ; so too Dhaban Singh and Momun stations. At Wazirabad mob looted Station, burnt house of Rev. Bayley.

Mob disturbance also at Sialkot, and Gojra.

Gujrat—a crowd attacked Ry. Station and destroyed Telegraph Instruments—dispersed by police-fire.

Kala—(Jhelum) Mob attacked and derailed train.

16 „ Guzerat—Mob rushed Townhall at Jalalpur Jaten and cut and destroyed Ry. line near Malakwal, derailling a train next morning.

Telegraph wires were cut and communication stopped in parts of Lahore, Jhang, Sialkot, Gujranwala and other districts of the Punjab.

17 „ Telegraph wire cutting continued at various places in Gurdaspur, Jhullunder, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi and Lahore Districts. At Lyallpur a stack of Govt. *Bhoosa* (husk) worth Rs. 50,000, set on fire and destroyed.

Delhi—Mob armed with Lathis fired upon by Police and dispersed. Security of Rs. 5000 on the A. B. Patrika, Calcutta, forfeited under Press Act, fresh deposit of Rs. 10,000 ordered.

- 18 „ Wire cutting continued in Punjab.
Mr. Gandhi wires to Press to suspend civil disobedience owing to the development of a critical situation.
- 20 „ Emergency meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay to discuss the situation caused by the Satyagraha movement, Pt. M. M. Malaviya presides.
- 24 „ Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmednagar, Mr. J. Baptista presides.
- 25 „ Annual meeting of the Millowners Association at Bombay, Mr. C. N. Wadia presides.
- 26 „ Mr. Horniman, Editor, "Bombay Chronicle" secretly arrested and at once deported to England by order of Bombay Government.
- 27 „ Security of "Bombay Chronicle" forfeited under Press Act.
Directors of "Bombay Chronicle" ordered to submit all matters to the Government before publication; Directors decide to suspend publication.
All India Moderate Conference Committee met at Calcutta. Mr. S. N. Banerjea presides: resolution condemning repressive measures passed.
- 29th Congress deputation left for England to press Congress views on constitutional reforms.

May

- 2nd Afghan Invasion of Indian territory near Khair Pass—Open hostility and state of war between Afghanistan and British India.
Madras Mahajan Sabha protest meeting against Government repression in Punjab and elsewhere.
Mysore Representative Assembly—closing speech of Dewan delineating new policy of the state.
- 3rd Madras Labour Union, special meeting addressed by John Scurr M. P. (Labourite) encouraging Labour Organisation in India.
Government of India appoints Prison administration Committee.
- 5th Calcutta Meeting of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to consider steps to be taken against inhuman atrocities of Military in Punjab.
- 6 „ Mr. K. N. Roy, Editor, *Tribune*, Lahore, placed before Martial Law Tribunal on charge of sedition, without proper legal help disallowed by Government.

- 8 „ Mrs. Besant, Mr. Wadia and Mr. J. Scurr M.P. left Madras for England—enthusiastic send off by Home Rulers, Labour Unions and Nationalists.
- 9 „ Afghans occupy British Indian Territory.
- 10 „ Viceroy's appeal to Indian People against Afghan aggression.
- 12 „ Sir Michael O'Dwyer of Punjab bids farewell to the land of his tyrannical oppressive rule and heinous record of blood and sword. All India heaves sigh of relief.
- 13th Maharaja Bikaner delivered historic speech on Indian Co-operation with Dominions at the Royal Colonial Institute, London, presided over by Duke of Connaught.
- 15th Viceroy issues proclamation to the Afghans warning them of consequences of their headstrong action.
- 16th Reports of the Franchise and Functions Committee re Indian reforms published.
Heavy Afghan defeat at Dakka.
- 21st Sir Sankaran Nair resigns seat in Government of India as a protest against continuance of Martial Law in the Punjab and attitude of Government on Indians.
- 22nd House of Commons Indian Budget introduced by Mr. Montagu ; interesting debate on Indian Reforms.
- 25th Sir Edward Maclagan formerly Secretary to Sir Sankaran Nair in Government of India, assumes Lieutenant Governorship of Punjab.
- 26 „ Government of India 4th despatch on Reforms after consulting Local Governments and Governors published—highly reactionary and aims at whittling down Montford Scheme.
- 29 „ Indian Currency and Exchange Committee appointed by Secretary of State, with Mr. Dalul of Bombay as non-official Indian member.
- 30 „ Indian Reforms Bill published by Parliament ; Secretary of States memorandum on same also issued.

June

- 3rd Afghan Amir's letter suing peace received by Viceroy and replied favourably setting forth armistice terms.
- H. of Com. interpellation on cause of Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation elicited the truth about his strong dissent from India Government on Martial Law in Punjab.
- 5th Second Reading of Government of India Bill moved by Secretary of State in H. of C. and passed.
- 6 „ Travancore Popular Assembly passes Revenue Amendment, Agricultural loans and a few other Bills.

- 7th Bombay Home Rule League meeting strongly condemning Government of India's reactionary despatches on Reforms.
- 8 „ Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Saukat Ali, the famous Moslem internees, again arrested at Chhindwara and deported under Government of India Order, Regulation III of 1918.
- 9 „ Government of India at last abrogates Martial Law in Punjab after its continuance for 7 weeks.
Sir M. Visveswaraya, Dewan of Mysore, retires. Sirdar M. Kantaraja Urs appointed new Dewan.
Annual Meeting of National Indian Association at London under Lord Carmichael strongly supporting the Montagu Reforms, Lord Sinha emphasising equality of treatment to Indians.
- Judgment delivered by Martial Law Commission in the Supplementary Gujranwalla Case, transporting 13 persons for life and forfeiting their property !
- 11 „ Congress Deputation at London interviews Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha on the Reforms and strongly press the last Delhi Congress demands.
- 12 „ Deccan Sabha, Poona, under Sir H. A. Wadia passes strong resolution condemning Government of India 5th March Despatch attempting surreptitiously to whittle down the Reforms.
- 13 „ Bombay Presidency Association protest meeting on deportation of Mr. Horniman and Pre-censorship of Bombay Chronicle—Resolutions passed strongly condemning Government action and inviting open enquiry.
- 16 „ Government of Bengal's repression under Press Act of "Calcutta Samachar," a Hindi Daily by demanding security of Rs. 2000.
- 17 „ Martial Law Comm. under Justice Broadway passes judgment on Gujranwalla Conspiracy Case, sentencing to Death Lala Amarnath, Pleader, and Mohanlal ; eight to life transportation.
- 18 „ Afghan Amir's reply to Viceroy received announcing acceptance of Armistice terms and despatch of Peace delegates to Rawalpindi.
- 19 „ Government of Bombay withdraws Pre-censorship on "Bombay Chronicle" after it had deposited Rs. 10 000 as security.
- 20th Mysore Legislative Council. Bill to amend council regulation extending privilege of moving resolutions passed—Interpellations and Budget Discussion.
- 21st Government of Bengal's further repression under Press Act of "Bharat Mitra" another Hindi Daily of Calcutta by demanding security of Rs. 2,000.

- Madras Gokhale Hall Protest meeting against Martial Law conviction of Mr. Kalinath Roy of *Tribune* on Sedition.
- 25th Bombay Citizens including Sir N. Chandavarkar, Sir D. Wacha, Hon'ble Mr. Parekh etc., send memorial to Viceroy to release Mr. Kalinath Roy pointing out that there is nothing seditious in his writings.
- 26 .. Calcutta Town Hall protest meeting under Mr. B. Chakerburty against Martial Law procedure, and beseeching His Majesty to recall the Viceroy.
- 27 .. Government of India curtly refuse representations from all over India praying postponement of execution of Martial Law Death sentences pending appeal to Privy Council and H. M. the King Emperor.
- 28 .. German Peace Treaty signed in Paris.
- 30 .. Martial Law judgment passed in Moman Station Case—Mr. Harnam Sing sentenced to death, 2 others with life transportation.
- Peace day celebration by firing of salute of 101 guns—H. M.'s message issued. Viceroy telegraphs congratulation to H. M. No public enthusiasm under weight of all-round repression.

July.

- 1st. Royal Proclamation appointing 6th July as day of general thanksgiving on termination of War issued.
- 2nd. Secretary, Indian Press Association, cables to Prime Minister and Sec. of State for repeal of the too oppressive Press Act.
- 3rd. Appointment of Members of Joint Committee of Parliament on Government of India Bill passed by H. of C. by 336 votes to 23, Col. Yate bitterly opposing.
- Sir Abdur Rahim, Kt. appointed Chief Justice of Madras High Court.
- 5th. H. E. the Viceroy commutes 2 years rigorous imprisonment on Mr. Kali Nath Roy to three months. Death sentence on Amarnath and Mohon Lal reduced to transportation.
- Martial Law Commissioner Mr. Justice Leslie Jones finishes Lahore case, transporting for life Lalas Harkishenlal, Duni-chand, Rambhuj Dutt and others with forfeiture of all property !! A ring of horror throughout the land.
- Martial Law Commissioner Mr. Justice Broadway finishes Amritsar case, transporting for life Drs. Satyapal, Kitchlew, Bashier, Swami Anubhavanand and others !!!

- 7th. Bombay Council—Poona sittings—Peace congratulations resolution passed—Budget discussion. Private resolutions discussed next two days and then session closed.
- 8th. Sir Sankaran Nair left Simla and bade farewell to the Government of India after his bitter experience of that body.
- 10th. Sir D. Wacha in the name of Western India National Liberal League wires appeal to Viceroy to relent in unjust sentence in the Lahore case (q.v.). Calcutta Indian Association pass similar resolution.
- 14th. Summary of Crew Committee Report on India House Reforms published in India.
- 16th. Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Reform Bill began its sittings at London.
New Advisory Council instituted in Jamnagar by H. H. the Jam Sahab Sir Ranjit Singhji for his State.
- 17th. Arrival of Maharaja Bikaner at Bombay from Peace Conference, Paris,—enthusiastic reception by Indian Princes and Leading men.
Hon' Khan Bahadur Mian Mohamed Shafi appointed successor to Sir Sankaran Nair in Government of India.
- 19th. Peace celebration organised by Government officials and Anglo-Indians all over India—was not joined by the people due to scarcity, famine, distress, high prices, terrible influenza and great Khilafat agitation of Mahomedans.
All India Congress Committee of Calcutta passed strong resolution condemning the mad sentence passed on Punjab Leaders by Martial Law Tribunals.
- 21st. Mahatma Gandhi issued Press Manifesto postponing his promised resumption of Satyagraha about this time on pressure from Government and moderate friends.
- 23rd. Sir Sankaran Nair laid down office this day and handed over charge.
Lokmanya Tilak's Birthday (64th) celebrated all over India with great *ecst.*
- 24th. Full text of the Report of Lord Crew's Committee on India House Reforms issued in India.
- 25th. "Tribune" of Lahore reappears after suspension of about 3 months.
- 26th. Afghan Peace Delegates and Sir Hamilton Grant and party met at Peace Conference at Rowalpindi to settle terms.
- 27th. All India Congress Committee meeting at Calcutta pass resolutions cabled to England urging a Declaration of Rights in the new Reforms Act.

- 28th "Patrika" security appeal case in Calcutta High Court against Government order forfeiting security and making fresh demand of Rs. 10,000 dismissed with cost.
Hon. Shafi takes charge of educational portfolio in Government of India.
- 29th Pundit Malaviya, president, all India Congress Committee, cables Prime Minister, Sec. of State and Lord Sinha urging public enquiry into Punjab Affairs.
Com-in-Chief's despatch on part played by India in the War issued.
- 31st Influential public meeting under the Madras Mahajan Sabha to consider steps to be taken in view of administrative atrocities committed under Martial Law in the Punjab, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyenger presiding.

August

- 1st King George reviewed Indian troops in London.
- 2nd Home Rule League Deputation to Joint Committee on Reforms (Messrs. Hasan Imam, B. C. Pal, Rangaswamy Iyenger) left Bombay for England.
Prominent citizens of Bombay meet under Sir Dinshaw Petit to hear Pundit Malaviya on Punjab Frightfulness—Relief fund opened and Rs. 1 lakh subscribed at spot.
- 3rd South African Indians' Conference at Johannesburg (South Africa) to protest against recent Anti-Indian legislation and other inequities.
- 4th Punjab Govt. announced that 852 persons were tried under Martial Law of whom 582 were convicted and 270 acquitted.
Commander-in-Chief's Despatch on part played by India in the War published.
- 5th Congress Deputation's memo. on Reforms presented to Joint Committee of Parliament by Mr. Patel.
- 6th Mr. Lloyd George, British Premier, in public speech on war anniversary day thankfully eulogised India's contribution in men and money in the late war.
Famous House of Lords Debate on Earl Russell's enquiry *re* Punjab Massacre.
- 8th Afghan Peace treaty signed at Rawalpindi—Text published.
- 9th Judgment in the notorious Katarpur Riot case delivered—but of 165 accused 10 sentenced to death, 135 to life-transportation and 20 acquitted..
Report of Sadler Commission on Calcutta University Reform—five large volumes published, other volumes to follow.

- 12th Madras Legislative Council—the first reconstituted council under Lord Willingdon opened—a clear non-official majority elected in anticipation of the proposed Reformed Councils. Government Resolution that the business of the council should be conducted in English adopted by a majority and passed. H. E. explained that the measure was necessary in view of what Mr. Narasimier did some months ago.
- 17th "White paper" published giving Viceroy's explanations, regarded as very unsatisfactory, about the breakdown in medical arrangements in the Afghan campaign for which Government of India was seriously censured in Parliament.
- 22nd to 24th Madras Provincial Conference opened at Trichinopoly under the presidency of the Hon. the Raja of Ramnad. Continued for next 2 days : strong resolutions condemning Government action in Punjab passed and cable sent to Prime Minister.
- 23rd Andhra Provincial Conference at Anantpur opened, Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao presiding.
- 27th Mr. Kalinath Roy released from Jail—received grand public ovation.
- 28th Mr. Montagu receives a mixed Indian and European deputation to protest against the Transval Trading Act and promises to recommend Indian representation on proposed commission of enquiry.
- 29th Senator Malone of the U. S. A. Senate addressed the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate on behalf of India, urging complete Home Rule to India and complaining of the foreign domination over her by England as being inconsistent with the principles of the League of Nations.

September

- 1st Bengal Chamber of Commerce Committee meeting at Calcutta to discuss with Mr. Howard the Finance Member the question of exchange position. Hon'ble Mr. W. E. Crum Presides. Public meeting in the Essex Hall, London, to protest against the enforcement of Martial Law and the outrageous conduct of Civil and Military Authorities in Punjab, before a large number of English ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Syed Hasan Imam was voted to the chair.
- 3rd Imperial Council opened by Viceroy with an unsympathetic speech re Punjab massacre—several minor bills passed. Bengal Legislative Council at Calcutta, H. E. the Governor presides. The Calcutta and Suburban Police Bill passed. Mr. Phelps's resolution to appoint a commission to investigate

into the causes of High rent and excessive land value accepted.

5th Government of India Press Communique regarding the new recruitment to the I.C.S. issued.

8th Text of the Dacca University Bill published at Simla.

9th Text of Anglo-Persian agreement published in India.

New Reform in the Travancore Legislative council promulgated by H. H. the Maharaja. Power of interpellation and Budget discussion conferred on the Reformed Council now made more representative.

Munificent Gift of Rs. 500000 and a recurring grant of Rs. 24000 a year to the Hindu University by H. H. Maharaja of Patiala for the promotion of instruction in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering.

10th Imp Council, Simla, presided over by H. E. the Viceroy ; Pandit Malaviya's resolution on the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry on Punjab Disturbances. Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's resolution of thanks to the Army, Navy and Air force passed.

11th Imperial Legislative Council. The Indian coinage Act Amend. Bill, the Cantonment Act Amend. Bill, the Cinematograph Act Amend. Bill, the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, the Indian Tariff Act and the Dacca University Bill introduced.

Public meeting at Madras under Dr. Subramania Iyer to protest against H. E. the Viceroy's opening speech at the Imperial Legislative Council regarding Punjab affairs.

12th Imperial Legislative Council. Pundit Malaviya's resolution for the appointment of a committee of Enquiry into the Punjab Disturbances to be composed of men unconnected with Indian administration discussed and negatived by official votes. The Indian Peace Contingent leaves London for India.

13th Madras Provincial Congress Committee annual meeting. Travancore Council—Dewan's important closing speech.

15th to 17th Imperial Legislative Council—minor resolutions.

15th Annual Session of the Bombay Provincial co-operative conference at Poona. H. H. the Governor presides.

18th Imperial Legislative Council. The Punjab Indemnity Bill introduced by Sir William Vincent. Hot debate continued upto 25th when the Bill was passed against the majority non-official opposition.

Bombay Legislative Council at Poona opened for the session, and continued up to the 20th.

22nd U. P. Council—Town planning Bill passed—Hon. Raza Ali's resolution on shoe-removal question lost—so also other non-official resolutions.

23rd Imp. Council—Private resolutions, Mr. B. N. Sarma's resolution for establishment of State Bank rejected by Govt.

October

- 1st Government of India Resolution on Female Education in India issued.
- 5th Punjab Relief Fund opened with a Bazar in Gokhale Hall, Madras, by Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Ayyar.
- 8th Sir Michael O'Dowyer, the Hero of Punjab, gave evidence before Parliamentary Joint Committee on Reforms condemning "dualism" and the educated Indians who are, in his view, all seditionists ! !
- 10th Mysore University Convocation. Justice Sir Abdur Rahim delivers address on invitation from H. H. the Maharaja.
- 13th Indian Railway Conference opened at Simla under Col. Cameron.
- 14th Mysore Representative Assembly—Last day meeting.
Sir Sankaran Nair's evidence before Joint Committee on Reforms strongly urging further liberalisation of the Bill.
Order of externment against Mahatma Gandhi of 9th April last under Defence of India Act cancelled on this day. Similar order on Lok. Tilak also cancelled.
- 16th Government of India Resolution setting out conditions under which members of Public services may resign published.
- 17th The Khalifat Day—day of fasting and prayer as enjoined by the Khalifat Conference at Lucknow.
- 18th U. P. Provincial Political Conference at Saharanpur—Dr. M. N. Ohdhdar presides—strong condemnation of Punjab Frightfulness and Reign of Terror.
Government of India published correspondence with colonial Governments regarding reciprocity question on India. Emigration.
- 21st Maharaja Bikaner in closing his Legislative Council opened on the 18th. made famous speech regarding Political Reform in India.
Rev. Andrews on tour in Punjab wired message that impartial enquiry on Punjab disturbances impossible owing to harrassing Police interference.
- 22nd Government of India appoints two special officers to survey the water-power resources of India. H. E. the Viceroy at Patiala—state Banquet.
- 24th Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Lahore on his mission of peace—a rousing and enthusiastic reception by the whole population.

- 29th Mysore Council—Bill to amend constitution enlarging Council from 21 to 30 members, each District to send a representative, passed.
- 30th London Times severely condemns Government secrecy about the Afghanistan Peace treaty.
- 31st Disorders Enquiry Committee under Lord Hunter opened its first public sittings in Delhi to examine witnesses on Punjab misrule and oppression.

November

- 1st Mahatma Gandhi issued message that Indians cannot participate in peace celebrations so long as the Khalifat wrong remains unredressed.
- 2nd Akola District conference with Mr. J. Baptista, president, proposal to subscribe to Labour organisations of England to secure Indian aims carried.
- 3rd Conference of Indian Princes and Chiefs opened at Delhi, Viceroy presiding. Creation of a Chamber of Princes or Narendra Maha Mandal proposed—closed on 8th.
Bombay Educational Conference under Principal Pranjpey.
- 4th Second Railway Conference at Surat under Mr. P. Thackersay strongly condemning policy of Government of encouraging company-management of Railways.
- 5th First Oriental Conference opened at Poona by Governor Llyod, Sir R. E. Bhandarkar, presiding, delivered important address.
- 8th Nationalistic conference opened its first sessions at Madras with Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar as president.
- 10th Mr. W. N. Hailey, Chief Commissioner, Delhi, appointed Finance Member, Government of India *vice* Sir James Meston. Punjab Council—last day of the year, Sir E. MacLagan presiding.
- 11th Armistice Anniversary day celebration throughout the Empire—2 minutes complete silence and stop of all work, all locomotion, all sound, by Royal Command.
- 14 to 16th All India Libraries conference at Madras with Mr. J. S. Kudalkar of Baroda as President.
- 15th Public meeting at Lahore to bid farewell to Rev. Andrews starting for South Africa in support of the Indian cause.
Government of India Resolution on Industrial Commission Report with the Sec. of State's despatch of 25th Sept. issued.
- 21st Recommendations of Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reform Bill published.

H. E. H. Nizam inaugurated new executive council for his dominions with Sir Ali Imam as President replacing personal rule.

- 22nd Big Mill-hands strike at Cawnpore, 17,000 go out, 5 mills closed down. Strike continued for 10 days
- 23rd Government of India communique preventing Germans from coming to India first for 3 years after conclusion of war.
- 27th Government of India communique on new rates of pay and allowances for I.C.S. men, both British and Indian.
Bombay Nationalist and Home Rule Leagues present address to Lokmanya Tilak who in reply made a long speech on present nationalist outlook and standpoint.
- 29th St. Andrew's Dinner at Calcutta, Lord Ronaldshay presides.
Patna University Convocation, L. G. given Honorary Degree of Ph.D. Sir R. N. Mookerji invited to address on future outlook.

December

- 1st Viceregal tour in Mysore lasting over a week ; then in South India.
- 2nd Pundit Moti Lal Nehru, president elect of National Congress, issued appeal to Moderates to join Congress.
London "Times" strongly commented on "extraordinary ineptitude of the Simla authorities, both military and civil" in respect of the scandalous Afghan War and Peace muddle.
- 3rd and 4th. Government of India Bill went into House of Commons in Committee—the Bill considered clause by clause with amendments.
- 5th Government of India Bill—Third reading in the Commons passed. Mr. Montagu's triumphant speech in conclusion.
Sir G. Barnes receive deputation from British Guiana sent to India to open up Indian emigration despite keen protest of Indians.
- 10th to 12th—Bombay Council—Gambling Act passed—village Panchayat Bill introduced and referred to select committee—Non-official Resolutions.
- 11th Government of India Bill—2nd reading moved by Lord Sinha in a long speech in the House of Lords.
- 12th House of Lords Debate on Government of India Bill—2nd reading passed.
- 13th Indian Peace Celebrations commenced, Indian public not joining enthusiastically following Mahatma Gandhi's lead owing

- to national grievances on Punjab atrocities and Khalifat wrong remaining unredressed.
- 15th House of Commons interpellation on Jhallianwala Massacre.
- 16th Sir J. C. Bose's lecture and demonstration of his epoch-making discoveries at the India House, Mr. Balfour presiding.
House of Lords went into Committee to consider Government of India Bill, Lord Donoughmore presiding,—various amendments moved but all rejected.
- 17th London *Times* and other papers strongly comment on the Punjab Massacre, condemning in unmeasured terms the action of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the officers concerned.
Big Public meeting in Madras to present address of welcome to Lokmanya Tilak from local provincial Congress Committees and Home Rule Leagues.
- 18th Third reading of the Government of India Bill in the House of Lords passed after Lord Sydenham and a few others vainly tried to throw it over.
- 19th Moderate's reply to Congress President declining to accept invitation and setting forth reasons for abstention.
- 22nd Famous speech of Col. Wedgwood on the Punjab atrocities in the House of Commons.
- 25th H. M. the King-Emperor's message to Princes and People of India announcing enactment of Reforms Bill—his gracious message of amnesty to all political prisoners and appealing to all to forget the past and work in concord for the future.
- 26th Indian National Congress at Amritsar opened by President the Hon'ble Pundit Moti Lal Nehru—10,000 delegates attend from all over India.
- 27th 33rd Mahomedan Educational Conference at Khairpur Mirs, (Sind), Hon'ble Justice Sir Samsul Huda delivers presidential address.
- 29th All India Muslim League opened at Amritsar by President Hajiq-ul-Mulk H. Ajmal Khan.
- 30th All India Moderate Conference opened at Calcutta by President Sir P. S. Shivaswamy Iyer and some 300 delegates.

India in 1919

INDIA IN 1919 was the scene of the most sanguinary and outrageous oppression followed by political reforms of a type which has since the late war become obsolete. The ruling

India in 1919 class ran mad with rage because the people clamoured for popular institutions and refused to submit to an order of things belonging to an old world, forgotten during the war, and sought to be imposed despotically upon the people. The year, however, will remain ever memorable in her history for the beginning of breakdown of a despotic bureaucracy and the inauguration of political reforms on a popular basis. Early in the year Indian polity was swamped by a sudden release of those passions held in restraint during a serious war-tension which in recent years have been swaying it from the very bottom. In 1918 the great German menace was threatening the very existence of the Empire, and from His Majesty down to the Provincial Governors and District officers 'suching' appeals went forth to the people to rally to the Empire against the common danger and to sacrifice all to furnish man-power and war-materials. The people nobly responded to the call and rose to the height of the occasion. The Viceroy held a war-conference at Delhi in April 1918 in which Princes and People, European and Indian, all shades of political opinion joined, and said His Excellency: "The guns are thundering and men are dying on the fields of Flanders and of France to settle the great issue "Is right might" or "Is might right" ! We hold that moral purpose is the achievement of right. Remember blazing Louvain, we hear the cries of children. Old men are shot, women are outraged and butchered."

And alas ! within a year of this rodomontade Jhallianwala out-martyre ! Louvain, Indians too heard the cries of children ; they too saw old men shot, women outraged, towns bombed by aeroplanes—and all this under the very nose of the noble Viceroy ! ! !

And again "I want to feel that I am carrying India herself along with the Empire at large. I want her to realise that this is her war and that her sons go forth to fight for their own motherland". We must close our ranks, expostulated His Excellency, "in the face of a common danger there is no room for smaller issues. The liberty of the world must be ever won before our aspiration for libera-

lising of Indian Political Institutions can acquire any tangible meaning.'

Before the "common danger" all ranks were closed ; for a time all thought, all action were led into a single channel, that of war-preparation. In every province, in every district, war-loans were floated and largely contributed, recruiting centres were opened and recruits more than could be equipped and trained by the authorities volunteered. India did contribute beyond her capacity. Prince and peasant, Government officers and political leaders, Anglo Indian merchants and platform demagogues—all joined unto a common cause. Princes emptied their coffers ; popular leaders consented to colossal War loans, and people bowed to every demand for the Sirkar was in peril.

As said the Maharajah of Bikaner at the Jubilee Dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute held in June 1919 at the residence of the Duke of Connaught :—

"The essential aims of the Allies appealed strongly to the moral sense of the people of India, and their growing consciousness of nationhood attached them the more deeply to

War Contribution the British cause. India's opportunities were in many respects limited. She sent overseas to every theatre of the war contingents of highly trained men in the critical early days before the new armies of Great Britain and the Dominions had been raised and trained. Lord Curzon wrote that the Indian Expeditionary Force arrived on the Western front in the nick of time and helped to save the cause both of the Allies and of civilization (Cheers). Altogether India had put into the field close upon one and half million men and her casualties amounted to over 106,000. In addition to substantial contributions from the general public for war purposes and charities, India had made a free gift of £100,000,000 to the British Exchequer, and last September she made herself responsible for a further £46,000,000. Her military Budget had risen from some twenty one and one fourth millions in the last pre-war year to nearly 32 millions in 1918-19.

"India also rapidly improvised manufactures for export, and poured forth an ever-growing supply of munitions, foodstuffs and produced clothing and equipment. Shortly after the conclusion of the Armistice a writer in *The Times Trade Supplement* laid it down as indisputable that "if the resources of India had not been placed at the disposal of the Empire, the difficulties of the Allies would have been enormously increased, and the prosecution of their campaign on the great scale ultimately reached would not have been possible."

Dealing with the war record of the Indian Princes and States, the Maharajah spoke of the valuable services of the Imperial Service

Indian Princes Troops which some of the Indian Princes voluntarily provided for the service of the Emperor. Further, with the active co-operation

of the Princes, the number of men recruited from States for the Indian Army ran into six figures. Fifteen Ruling Princes went on active service to various theatres of war, and those who were compelled to stay behind did all in their power to help.

"The free contributions of the Princes towards the war and to relief funds—supplementary to their military expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, amounted to over £4,000,000, or at the present rate of exchange to more than £5,000,000. Their gifts included tanks, aeroplanes, armoured cars, and machine-guns, hospital ships and hospitals, motor ambulances, and comforts for troops, launches, horses and other animals, and supply of equipment and foodstuffs. Railway locomotives and rolling stock were made available for military purposes overseas, and munitions were manufactured in the workshops of several States. In addition the two Indian War Loans were considerably augmented by subscriptions from the Princes, their Governments, and their subjects.

"The cessation of hostilities came when India was suffering from famine conditions, owing to the failure of the monsoon, and was passing through an exceptionally virulent epidemic

Tribulations. of influenza, affecting in some parts 80 per cent. of the population and costing the lives of some

6,000,000 people. Moreover it was impossible for India to remain unaffected by the irresistible sway of world forces arising from the war. It was inevitable that the convulsions of this mighty struggle should be felt for many months after the sword was sheathed. The fountains of the great deep had been broken up, and the unrest and unsettlement produced were world wide. The difficulties had been further accentuated by the unrest caused among the 67 millions of Indian Mahomedans arising from uncertainty and alarm in respect to the fate of Turkey and their spiritual Khalif. There had recently been lamentable disturbances among certain sections and portions of India. Whether or not further untoward manifestations of unrest had to be faced, it was earnestly to be hoped that public opinion would not allow itself to be perturbed by these events or by alarmist statements or propaganda. The outstanding fact was that India, having rallied to the cause of the Empire in August 1914, and having been staunch in both faith and work in the darkest days of the war, was loyal to her King Emperor to the core, and faithful to the British connection."

Suddenly the war came to an end. The German offensive broke down. Armistice was signed in October 1918. The huge war-tension got a sudden release. Suddenly restraint was

The Armistice flung to the four winds, and abandonment to
October 1918. natural predispositions of the body politic became

as perfect as was the necessitous restraint imposed before. Arrogance sulking in retreat before German menace now raised its head, and trumpeted more loudly the more it felt popular derision was abroad. Anglo-India talked big of British Victory, while people knew that it was really the American Army and money which saved the allies from the mighty German thrust. President Wilson, that great saviour of Europe, began to be openly ridiculed. Prussianism smitten to the ground in Europe was smitten only in name; it re-erected itself in India, and flourished all the more as the war-detent was raised. The history of India in the early part of 1919 is a history of the sudden rise and decline of the most perfect piece of Repression framed on the latest model of the Kaiser.

Three years ago Lord Hardinge left the shores of India with the loving regrets of a loyal nation. His sympathetic administration at a particularly trying period awakened the

Lord Hardinge highest instincts of a grateful people who allowed themselves cheerfully to be "bled white,"

(to quote his own words) unto the cause of the Empire. At the beginning of the war, when things were going hard with the unorganised British forces in the fields of Antwerp and Marne, India had been depleted of nearly all her troops, Indian and European, save only a few thousand territorials, full trust was reposed on her by the Viceroy, and the people in return reposed full trust in him. In the notorious Cawnpore Mosque affair, Sir James Meston, the then Lieutenant Governor of the Province brought matters to such a head that a serious Mahomedan rising was imminent. Lord Hardinge, with that quiet tact which characterised him, personally hastened to the scene, brought the provincial satrap to a right sense of proportion, quietened the wounded feelings of the Moslems and brought peace and satisfaction where feelings were at the point of bursting. Under very similar circumstances in April 1919 the present administration countenanced nameless coercion and declared Martial Law: Lord Hardinge's strenuous fight for the unhappy plight of Indians in South Africa and elsewhere abroad, his nobility of soul and freedom from chauvinism, helped to create an atmosphere in India in which people began to feel that they too could live as men. Since then, however, more particularly just previous to Mr. Montagu's arrival here in connection with the Reforms, repression has taken place of trust, except where serious war-emergency dictated prudence.

Under the pretence of the Defence of India Act politicians and pressmen have been interned, Council members have been warned, an ex-Chief Justice has been dishonoured, public men have been forbidden entry into certain provinces, the press law rigorously applied, public speakers prosecuted, the Anglo-Indian Press have grown more and more abusive and insulting, and last came the crowning peice of despotism—the Rowlatt Act—in the face of the strongest popular feeling.

Such was India's heritage in 1919.

The first important public affair of the year was the annual meeting of the Princes and Chiefs of India at a Conference at Delhi presided over by the Viceroy. The most important question discussed at this conference was the distinction to be drawn between rulers enjoying full powers of internal administration and the others, with particular reference to eligibility for membership of the proposed Council of Princes. There was a divergence of opinion on the subject, a number of Princes being in favour of limiting the membership to States possessing full powers of internal administration, while others were for giving some kind of representation to the smaller States. There was no unanimous recommendation on this point. The Conference warmly endorsed the principle of the creation of a Council of Princes and proposed that it should be given an Indian name, the title suggested being "Narendra Maha Mandal" or "Chamber of Princes." The conference further approved the idea of a standing committee to which the Viceroy or the Political Department might refer questions of custom and usage, such committee to be representative of the more important groups of States, namely, Rajputana, Central India, Bombay and the Punjab. The principle was also endorsed of the proposal that all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India and the Conference supported the recommendations that two commissioners should be appointed, the one to deal with disputes that might arise between two or more States or between a State and Government, and the other to advise the Viceroy, when any occasion arose of depriving the ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers. The proposal for a joint deliberation on matters of common interest between the Council of Princes and the Council of State was left over for consideration when the result of the reform proposals relating to British India became known. With regard to the recommendation referring to the codification of treaty rights it was proposed to appoint a permanent committee to report to the next conference held later in the year in November (See pp. 81-100).

The newly awakened hydra of race-dominance raised its head in the form of wanton indignities offered to prominent Indians. Early in January 1919 was decided the notorious Imam-

Race-dominance Clayton case, in which Mr. Clayton, a high I. C. S. officer of the Behar Govt. was charged in the law court for his outrageous behaviour in a train towards Mr. Hasan Imam, the great moslem leader and ex-judge of the Calcutta High Court. While travelling in a train Mr. Imam was reclining on his bed and in a road side station Mr. Clayton boarded the same first-class carriage, and seeing that an Indian was there, at once sat down on his chest! Further abuse and threat followed on explanation being demanded. In the court Mr. Clayton made false counter-allegations which he had to withdraw and the case ended with Mr. Clayton unreservedly apologising in open court and throwing himself absolutely on the generosity and mercy of Mr. Imam! Similar cases of assault, insult, indignities inflicted on Indians cropped up in Bombay and elsewhere.

As if to lay bare the inner workings of the Anglo-Indian mind, about this time came to light the famous I. C. S. **I. C. S. Revolt** mutiny. On January 11th the *New India* of Madras published a document purported to have been indited by I. C. S. men of Madras in which reflections were made on Indians which were, to say the least, most unworthy of reasonable men. This matter has been fully discussed on pages 211-231 to which the reader is referred.

Clearly the atmosphere was becoming surcharged with suspicion. People long suspected that the Reform question was a mere camouflage, with no sincerity behind it, forged to bring discord in the ranks of the nationalist Congressmen by splitting it into warring sections. In the attitude of the ruling class they saw the re-enactment of the old principle of *divide et impera*. Whittling down was a foregone conclusion.

Then came the famous Viceregal pronouncement of February 6th 1919. In opening the Delhi session of the Imperial **Viceroy's Speech** Legislative Council the Viceroy delivered a speech 6th February which substantiated in the fullest manner possible popular apprehension of coming events. As a piece of junccker oration it was as best as the limited vision of His Excellency could make it and lacked only grandeur of delivery to make it genuinely Curzonian. It was a *volte face* of rare audacity. In clear terms the mutinous Civil Service, instead of receiving a well-merited snubbing, was fawningly placated; the real significance of the position of Indian Ministers under the new Reforms, where they

will be practically under the thumb of the Governor and his I. C. S. advisers, were laid bare ; foreign commerce was assured of Government protection, and Indians were once more declared unfit to take over the management of their country. The clear assurance given in the two previous years that *even* the invidious Arms Act racial distinctions would not be tolerated now became faltering and the "bristling difficulties of the subject and the knotty nature of the problem" were emphatically put before the Council. To crown all His Excellency firmly declared that his government was determined to carry the repressive legislations then on the anvil despite all opposition.

The Rowlatt Bill which was immediately after the Viceroy's speech introduced into the Legislative Council by the Home Member, Sir William Vincent, was to say the least, a measure of unparalleled coercion. Govt. wanted to have extreme summary powers and to do away with the least legal formalities. Under the new act there were to be no vakeel, no doli, no appeal. The executive will work in secret, will condemn in secret, verily in the manner of the infamous Star Chamber Courts. No rational ground was given of the necessity of such a despotic measure in time of peace. In the repressive armoury of the Govt. there was enough and to spare, and the power proposed to be taken under the new Bill was already there in the hands of the Govt. As Sir O'Moore Creagh, the ex-Commander in Chief in India, said :

"The present unrest about the Rowlatt Bill is typical of Indian maladministration. There would be no need for the Bill had certain old Bills of 1818 and earlier, now brought into action, been utilised. These having until now been declared obsolete or forgotten, new measures were considered unavoidable, but it is a matter of common knowledge that the Indian Government has a mania for legislation ignoring the amazing array of equally suitable Acts that it possesses in its legal armoury."

Popular agitation over the "Black Bill," as it was called, was intense. It started from Madras and Bombay and gradually spread over the whole country. It grew in volume with lightening rapidity not so much for the Bill itself as for the manner in which it was forced through the Council. It savoured of Potadam politics. All the Indian members of Council opposed it to a man. From every town, from every political organisation in the country mandates went forth to the Indian members of the Viceroy's Council to oppose it to the bitter end. And the firmer the opposition the speedier the Government's movements. The Bill was moved on the 6th February, the Select Committee report signed only by official members was presented on the 1st March, it was taken up

Rowlatt Bill
Passed

for consideration on the 12th, and the next three days the Viceroy forced the Council to sit continuously up till late at night to dispose of the 150 and odd amendments proposed by the Indian members. The official members exhibited a demeanour and used language towards their Indian conferees which can only be used in an Indian Council. At last on 18th March by sheer official vote the measure passed into law. At once the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma resigned in protest and other resignations followed soon after. Mr. M. A. Jinnah in tendering his resignation wrote the following letter to the Viceroy :—

Resignations "Your Excellency.—The passing of the Rowlatt Bill by the Government of India and the assent given
Mr. Jinnah's Letter to it by Your Excellency as Governor-General against the will of the people has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British justice. Further, it has closely demonstrated the constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council which is legislative but in name, a machine propelled by a foreign executive. Neither the unanimous opinion of the non-official Indian members nor the entire public opinion and feeling outside has met with the least respect. The Government of India and Your Excellency however have thought it fit to place on the statute book a measure admittedly obnoxious and decidedly coercive at a time of peace, thereby substituting the executive for the judicial. Besides, by passing this Bill Your Excellency's Government have actively negatived every argument they advanced but a year ago when they appealed to India for help at the war-conference, and have ruthlessly trampled upon the principles for which Great Britain avowedly fought the war. The fundamental principles of justice have been uprooted and constitutional rights of the people have been violated at a time when there is no real danger to the state, by an overiretful and incompetent bureaucracy, which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion, and their sole plea is that the powers when they are assumed will not be abused. I therefore, as a protest against the passing of the bill and the manner in which it was passed, tender my resignation as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, for I feel that under the prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council, nor consistently with one's self-respect is co-operation possible with a Government that shows utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the Council chamber and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside. In my opinion the Government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace, forfeits its claim to be called a civilized Government and

I still hope that the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, will advise His Majesty to signify his disallowance to this Black Act."

Subsequently, early in April 1919, Hon'bles Rai Bahadur B. D. Shukul, Pt. M. M. Malaviya, and Mr. Mazhar-ul Haque also resigned. Mr. Shukul in tendering resignation wrote :—

"My Lord.—I respectfully beg to tender my resignation...
Mr. Shukul's it is an overwhelming sense of duty which impells
Letter me to take this course.

"As your Lordship is aware, I never concealed my detestation of the Rowlatt Bill. I always regarded it as a most inopportune and an ill-advised measure, particularly at a time of peace, when nothing but calm prevailed throughout the country and I have always held that the Emergency Law, as now enacted, is not only subversive of the fundamental principles of liberty and justice, but is also destructive of the elementary rights of free citizenship on which is based the very safety of the country as a whole and the State itself, and as such it is fraught with dangerous consequences. I expected and hoped that in view of the critical situation created in the country by the passage of this obnoxious Bill into law, the Secretary of State of India, Mr. Montagu, would advise His Majesty to signify his disallowance to the Bill, and I waited so long but waited in vain...It is therefore with the greatest reluctance and regret that I decide to tender my resignation."

Meanwhile, colossal protest meetings unavailing the despairing people had taken recourse to the last plank in their forlorn hope. On March 1st, Mahatma Gandhi issued his famous Satyagraha manifesto. A careful and appreciative perusal of the Rowlatt report brought him to a conclusion just opposite to the authorities. The greatest alarm lay in the *setting* of the Bills. "Their introduction," said he, "is accompanied by certain assurances given by the Viceroy regarding the Civil Service and the British commercial interests," which cut at the root of civilised government. The Satyagraha Covenanters, therefore, determined to undergo every form of sufferings in order to secure the very objects which the Rowlatt Bills aimed by showing to the "believers in efficiency of violence as a means of securing redress of grievances," the infallible remedy which blesseth those who use it and also those against whom it is used. The text of the Vow was :—

"Bring conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. 1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. 2 of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of

The Vow

individuals, on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these Laws and such other Laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow the truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

The vow was at once taken by all the Home Rulers of Bombay and gradually secured increasing numbers of signatories from all parts of India. Within a fortnight Satyagraha permeated the country even back into the remote villages as a call of religion, and up rose people in religious animation to wash the gloom off their soul. Passive resistance, Satyagraha, Mahatma Gandhi, his words, his exposition, his Press notes, were the only topics of the day, and the great personality of the Mahatma, his easy march over to victory in every impossible struggle with a fierce soulless bureaucracy, breathed a rousing spirit of assurance in the success of the great venture.

On the 23rd March Gandhi issued his famous *hartal* manifesto, fixing the 6th of April for the observance of an All-India Hartal, to be devoted entirely to fasting, prayer and penance for the purification of the soul, preparatory to offering self-mortification to purge the body politic of its filth.

The local Satyagraha Sabha of Delhi made arrangements to observe the 30th March as a day of humiliation and prayer. Accordingly shops

Delhi Outrage.
30th March.

were closed on that day and *Bhajan* parties came out singing religious songs in the streets. Boys out for a fun and bawling street idlers enjoyed the pastime of stopping trams and carriages and with folded palms asking their occupants to get down. Such persuasions were easily heeded to. At midday some of the over-enthusiast demonstrators roaming about the streets proceeded to the Railway Station to persuade the station stall-keepers to close their shops. This they refused to do and quarrel ensued. The station police came out and took two of the mob into custody. Hearing of this more men hurried to the Station and asked for the release of those arrested. The gates were locked up and the mob cried abuse. The railings of the enclosure were partly damaged and panic reigned within the station yard. The Police was informed and soon after the additional Magistrate came on the scene armed with a small military force and machine guns. Fire was opened and in confusion the crowd took to its heels. The whole affair was finished in 3 hours. In another quarter of the town, Chandney chowk, the hartal crowd was fired at. About a dozen were killed or disabled. Swami Shradhanand, head of the local Satyagraha sabha hurried to the spot and quieted the

mob now mad with rage over the indiscriminate shooting of the military on the helpless unarmed crowd. He took them in a quiet procession to the place of meeting. About 15 thousand men were present and by evening the number swelled up to 40 thousand. A Military cordon surrounded the vast assembly ready with machine guns to open fire. The Chief Commissioner came, called the Swami and demanded to know what was being done. He went back on being assured of the peaceful nature of the meeting. The meeting resolved to suffer all violence in silence like true satyagrahis and passed resolutions protesting against the Rowlatt Act.

When Gandhi heard of the outrage, he said in a meeting at Bombay : **For Satyagrahis it was not a bad beginning.** No country has ever risen, no nation has ever been made without sacrifice and we were trying an experiment of building up ourselves by self-sacrifice without resorting to violence in any shape or form.

31st March saw Delhi *en masse* in mourning. Funeral processions, carrying biers of those fallen on the preceding day, attended by tens of thousands in hushed agony of

Delhi—31st March mourning, marched to the graveyards and cremation grounds of Muslims and Hindus respectively with a solemnity never to be forgotten. The military, however, were not unmindful of their duty of "keeping peace and order" and rattled with their machine guns in the rear of the processions.

Next morning the local leaders went round the Bazars and exhorted people to resume business ; after much persuasion shops were opened but soon closed on the appearance of the military near the Clock-Tower. Rumour ran afoot that there will be another firing. The popular leaders who had ever since been untiring in their efforts to pacify the crowd and dispel false fears, both on the part of the police and the people, requested the authorities not to exasperate the despairing people by a show of the Military, and pointed out how they had detected several spies and hirelings haranguing the crowd with a view to further excitement. The military was then withdrawn and for the next two days business ran as usual.

On April 1th Colonel Beadon, a man heartily disliked by the people for his rough insulting behaviour, called a meeting of the popular leaders, throw the whole blame on them,

Delhi—1th April and issued an insulting circular maligning the people. On the same day about 30,000 Hindus and Mahomedans assembled in the Jumma Musjid to pray for peace of the souls of the beloved innocents who fell on the fateful 30th March. Hindus and Mahomedans joined hands and prayed and

mourned together. The blood of the martyrs at last cemented their hearts.

Then came the Great Hartal of April 6th, set in motion by Mahatma Gandhi, and memorable in the history of Indian Nationhood as the day of political purification of a people long suffering from the sins of their fathers. As Dr. Subramaniam said at a mass-meeting at Madras: "the right way to carry out the pledge is to *will* day after day, as forcibly as one can, that the autoocracy now so much in evidence in the land, the exploitation to which it is exposed, should cease; the present servile state of the country is not an accident but the necessary consequence of our past collective Karma. It is no other than the punishment inflicted by Providence through the instrumentality of that Autoocracy. None who takes this rightful view of the matter ought to sit still, but atone by striving by all legitimate means to prepare for better conditions to our successors." From Simla to Cape Comorin, from Calcutta to Bombay, in the capital cities and in the mofussil towns, people in a holy suspended their daily avocations, passing it in fasting and bathing, in pujas and prayers, and organising meetings to deplore the passage of the Rowlatt Act. Prayerful protest meetings were held everywhere, attended by thousands in the mofussil and by hundreds of thousands in the big cities, imploring His Majesty not to allow the Black Act to sully the fair name of a loyal country and its people. There was no disturbance any where; there was nothing left to the authorities and the police but merely to look on, just as they do on such occasions as the Mohurram and Durga Puja. National protest thus came to acquire a religious meaning.

There was, however, a rift in the lute. Sir Michael O'Dwyer of Punjab detested the successful turn Satyagraha was taking. Mass movements were galling to him and popular demand was rebellion in his eyes. On the eve of his retirement, on April 7th, he held his last Council and in his last Council Speech delivered his hymn of hate of Indian Leaders as follows.---

Sir M. O'Dwyer Certain individuals at Lahore and Amritsar... whatever their motives, were openly endeavouring to arouse public feeling against the Government. The British Government which has crushed foreign foes and quelled internal rebellion could afford to despise agitators" and he threatened that the agitators "have a day of reckoning in store for them."

In the same blustering speech, however, he told the Council that Punjab was loyal to the core. "From the prince's palace down to the peasant's hut I found I could meet a Punjabee

whatever his class or condition as man to man without suspicion or mistrust." And yet but a couple of days later this very Punjab was declared to be in revolt by this very man.

On April 8th Mahatma Gandhi left Bombay for Delhi on a mission of peace, to assuage the sufferings of the people. When the train steamed in, the European travellers seeing people waiting for Gandhi laughed, jeered and cried 'Arrested'! Mr. M. Desai, Gandhi's secretary, alighted from the train and reported that "Mahatma Gandhi on his way to Delhi at Kosi was served

with an order not to enter the Punjab, not
Gandhi's Arrest to enter Delhi and to restrict himself to Bombay.

The officer serving the order said that it would be his painful duty to arrest him, if he elected to disobey. Mahatma Gandhi smilingly said that he must elect to disobey as it was his duty, and that the officer must also do what was his duty. He was accordingly arrested." The arrest took place at Palwal station on the 9th afternoon. The Mahatma's carriage was detached and brought back under Police escort to Muttra from where he was despatched by special train to Bombay.

On April 10th the news of the arrest was flashed all over the country: "Arrested and Deported"! The effect was terrific. India was dazed at this exhibition of "Might." Anglo-India at once sprang up in boundless merriment. Delhi and the Punjab were thick with rumours of further arrests.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the mighty apostle of the cult of the "Mailed fist", now had his opportunity. He wanted to teach a lesson to the public agitators, the galling hartal-makers, and the sinful opposers of bureaucratic Will and Might. "Remember, Ruizada Sahab," he said to L. Bhagat Ram "there is a mightier force than Soul force" (Gandhi's) to illustrate which he banged the table with his clenched fist! He applied the spark-plug to popular rising and then had his "Day of reckoning". On April 4th he signed the order of deportation on M. Gandhi. On April 9th he sent further orders of deportation on Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew of Amritsar. The Hartal was not much of a success in the Punjab for, Sir Michael had taken care to isolate his province by diverse prohibitive orders from the rest of India. Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew had therefore invited the Mahatma to the Punjab to organise Satyagraha in a wider scale. There was nothing unusual at Amritsar when the order for deportation reached the unsuspecting and amazed Deputy Commissioner Mr. Irvine, but he had to carry out orders much against his wish. The doctors were privately invited at Mr. Irvine's bungalow and at once secretly deported, military arrangements having been previously made to disperse anticipated mobs by fire. The

news of the deportation spread like wild fire and within a few hours Amritsar was ablaze with riot and incendiarism. At first a

huge procession marched to the Deputy Commissioner's place to make a representation for the release of the leaders; it was not allowed to proceed and was dispersed by fire. The huge crowd now mad with rage divided itself into parts which ran in different directions and committed hideous outrages in the way. Several Banks were burned down and looted, several Europeans were foully murdered, the Town Hall, the Post office and other Government offices were demolished, an Anglo-Indian Nurse and a Lady Doctor were brutally assaulted, and the whole town was in the hands of the surging rioters till late at night. The European population, men, women and children, were removed to the Fort and military reinforcements were summoned. Relief came from Lahore and Jhullunder. Next day the town was quiet and under military occupation.

At Lahore news of the deportations and of the Amritsar riot spread on the 10th about midday. At once shops were closed and disorderly crowds collected here and there but were dispersed by military fire. Stringent steps were taken to prevent any processions or demonstrations, and musket fire was freely indulged in. Many people were killed and wounded. There was no riot.

On the day previous, April 9th, Amritsar itself was *en fete* on the Ram Navami festival. The local officials all joined the orderly processions. Next day came the deportations and the acts of popular fury. On the 11th April the military was in occupation. Next two days the atmosphere was charged with panic.

Rumour of the deportations spread far and wide and local riots occurred. Sir Michael now had his chance: he wirelessed to Simla that there was

Rebellion and imperatively demanded declaration of Martial Law. But Amritsar remained still unpunished when late on the evening of April 14th General Dyer came over from Jhullunder with his brigade and occupied the town on the 12th. And then was enacted one of the most gruesome massacres known in history. There was a proposal to hold a meeting next day at Jhallianwalla bag—a plot of land used for national melas and festivals. On the morning of the 13th, General Dyer marched through the streets of Amritsar and prohibited any sort of gathering on pain of being shot—the warning given being “*gollee sa chittar bhitar dega*.” On hearing that a crowd had collected at the Bag he at once marched to the spot.

It was the *Saisakhi* day of Amritsar. Thousands annually meet here on this day to hold an annual fair and come over from long distance. Thousands of Sikhs and Jats assembled here from distant places innocent of riots and proclamations. Thousands also of Amritsar people collected not knowing that the prohibition in the morning included also a non-political national *mela*. The *mela* people numbered between 16 to 20 thousands: they were all collected inside the bagh which is a square plot of land surrounded on all sides by houses and high walls with only 4 narrow entrances allowing not more than 2 persons to walk abreast.

Such was the pin-hole, more congested now than the mythical Black hole, in which was enacted the most horrible massacre of modern history. On arriving at the scene the General entered with his troops through one of the entrances but had regretfully to leave the armoured cars outside because of its narrowness, and forthwith proceeded to a high ground, deployed his troops to the right and the left, and within 30 seconds opened fire. The firing was individual and not volley-fire. It continued for 10 minutes: from time to time he directed it against where the crowd was thickest. It continued till ammunition ran short. Altogether 1,650 rounds were fired. Some 5 to 6 hundred were killed outright, and three times the number lay wounded. People ran for their life as soon as the firing commenced. There was no warning, no demonstration. The unarmed innocent people, most of them villagers, sat at that time squatting on the ground, knew not what was happening. They fled and fell. They tried to climb up the high walls and fell. They cried, they shrieked, panic-stricken, terror-stricken, were *golle sa chittar-bhittered* -- their plight can better be imagined than described !!!

Before the Hunter Committee the General naively declared that he could have dispersed the crowd easily without firing but then, he said, "they would have come back and laughed at me, and I would have made myself, what I consider, a fool of myself." His object was to go on firing till the crowd dispersed and as, he said, a little firing would not have been sufficient, he considered it right to fire and fire well. After that awful carnage, the General went away with his troops and did not care for the medical or any relief for the dead and wounded lying on the field of his exploit: "That was not his job", he said. They were left there unattended for full two days and nights, and no relief came. "They could go to the hospital" was the General's opinion, and no body from the hospital or elsewhere could go to them. Children, babes in arms, women, boys and elders lay weltering there in their blood and mangled limbs, with the

April sun of Amritsar blazing full on their face and not a drop of water for the parched dying lips!

Martial Law was established in Districts of Amritsar and Lahore on the 15th April, in Gujranwala on the 16th, in Gujrat on the 19th and in Lyallpur on the 24th. It

Martial Law remained in force till the 25th August when it was abrogated throughout, though in the interval its operations had been partially removed from particular places for a short period. The towns of Amritsar, Kasur, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Ramnagar, Lyallpur, Hafizabad remained under its tyrannical heels up to 9th June, and Lahore up to the 11th midnight.

It is wearisome to detail all the horrors of the Reign of Terror of this period. The German atrocities in Belgium, to avenge which India, in the language of Lord Hardinge, "had been bled white", pales into insignificance before the ferocity of the Martial Law administrators of the Punjab. As says Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer: "The wholesale slaughter of hundreds of unarmed men at Jallianwalla Bagh without giving the crowd an opportunity to disperse, the indifference of General Dyer to the condition of hundreds of people who were wounded in the firing, the firing of machine-guns into crowds who had dispersed and taken to their heels, the flogging of men in public, the order compelling thousands of students to walk 16 miles a day for roll-calls, the arrest and detention of 500 students and professors, the compelling of school-children of 5 to 7 to attend on parade to salute the flag, the order imposing on owners of property the responsibility for the safety of the Martial Law posters stuck on their property, the flogging of a marriage party, the censorship of mails, the closure of the Bulshahi Mosque for six weeks, the arrest and detention of people without any substantial reason and especially of people who had rendered services to the State in connection with the War-Fund or otherwise, the flogging of six of the biggest boys in the Islamiah School simply because they happened to be schoolboys and to be big boys, the construction of an open cage for the confinement of arrested persons, the invention of novel punishments like the crawling order, the skipping order and others unknown to any system of law, civil or military, the handcuffing and roping together of persons and keeping them in open trucks for 15 hours, the use of aeroplanes and Lewis guns and the latest paraphernalia of scientific warfare against unarmed persons, the taking of hostages and the confiscation and destruction of property for the purpose of securing the attendance of absentees, the handcuffing of Hindus and Muhammadans in pairs with the object of demonstrating the consequences of Hindu Muslim unity, the cutting off of electric and water-supplies from Indian houses, the

removal of fans from Indian houses and giving them for use by Europeans, the commandeering of all vehicles owned by Indians and giving them for Europeans for use, the feverish disposal of cases with the object of forestalling the termination of Martial Law, are some of the many incidents of the administration of Martial Law."

Among the ghoulish horrors of Martial Law nothing could have been more debasing and inhuman than public floggings—"the kindest method of punishment" according to
Flogging Col. Frank Johnson, the Martial Law administrator of Lahore, and calculated "to make a good impression" according to General Dyer of undying fame. The victim was stripped bare of his clothes and tied to the triangle. The man who took the place of the executioner came running from a distance and smashed the lash with full force. Bleeding started at the 2nd or 3rd stripe, an awful shriek gradually dwindling to an agonising moan went forth from the victim; the wretched fellow had to faint away after a few lashes; then a sprinkling of cold water on his face, the regaining of consciousness, and again lashing and so on till the required number had been given and then the butchered mass of human flesh was unleashed from the triangle and thrown out—to be picked up by friends or relatives or by the jail peons to undergo further punishments. For any trivial offence against the Martial Law prohibitions, whipping was the punishment: for not *salaamung* a European, for strolling in the streets beyond the prohibited hours, for selling milk or vegetables at higher rates, for any complaint that the underlings of the police and military might make. Before the Hunter Committee Genl. Dyer said.—

Justice Rankin.—You said that whipping is the ordinary punishment under martial law?

General Dyer.—Yes, under martial law.

Justice Rankin.—I gather that was adopted in Amritsar?

General Dyer.—Yes.

Justice Rankin. What is the authority for saying that because martial law was instituted in the city the ordinary punishment for minor offences is the sentence of whipping?

General.—It is the custom, I presume.

Justice Rankin.—In the Indian Army whipping continues as a recognised punishment?

General.—It has practically disappeared. Martial law wants speedy punishment and that is why whipping came in under martial law.

Justice Rankin.—It is a humiliating punishment?

General.—Yes, it is humiliating.

Justice Rankin.—You do not believe that it was inflicted in fact upon people of respectable classes.

General.—I do not think I have said that.

Justice Rankin.—As far as you are concerned, there ought to be no discrimination?

General.—If they are guilty under martial law, they ought to be punished.

Justice Rankin.—Under martial law there were a great many proclamations issued every other day. It might easily be that a respectable person would commit an offence against these proclamations?

General.—They should not do things which would bring them under martial law.

Only less diabolic was the *Crawling Order*. The whole length of a street in Amritsar, 150 yards in length, occupied thickly by wealthy tenements, was ordered to be crawled through by anyone who wished to pass. British soldiers were posted by General Dyer on both ends of the street with strict orders that all persons who lived in that street were to pass it crawling after the manner of worms and reptiles. Old and young, rich and poor, all had to submit to this nameless atrocity. If by any chance, the crawler rised his back to avoid the dirt or rubbish which was lying about, he was struck down to the ground with the rifle butts. The result was that the sick could not get medical relief for no doctor consented to crawl; children had to starve for no fresh milk or provision could be brought, and the whole neighbourhood soon became the hot-bed of disease germs for the sweeper could not crawl with his broom and basket on!

At *Gujranwala* the military indulged in a practice of aerial bombing. On the false rumour that Col. O'Brien, the officer of that place had been murdered, three aeroplanes were despatched and they dropped more than half a dozen bombs, on schools and mosques etc. and fired about a 1000 rounds from machine guns. There about were 40 casualties, including women with babes in arms and school boys! Even in war civilised custom is to give warning before armours of destruction are discharged from the air—this was done even with the Wazirs and Mashuds with whom the Government was at war, and omitted where a small Indian village was reported to have at most rioted!

At *Lahore* Martial law was most intensely applied, more than 600 martial law orders were promulgated restricting in every conceivable way the liberty of the people. The revered Principal of a local college was wantonly insulted and fined for an alleged "offence" committed by some unknown hand.

At *Kasur* the whole male population of the town was turned out to the Station Compound and made to rub their nose on the ground. Capt. Doveton, who was in charge, ordered the shooting and burning of the property of persons not found in their house; persons convicted were made to rub the ground before his shoes with their

forehead, and he passed fantastic sentences such as climbing ladders, skipping, dancing with fool's cap on, and so on.

Mr. Bosworth Smith outdid all. At Mahianwalla soldiers promiscuously shot down people on the 19th April under his orders. He beat the women of the whole village out of their houses, paraded them out in front of him, outraged their modesty by removing their veils with his cane as he was reviewing them on horseback and used the most unmentionable language, such as hitches, swine, and worse things.

To consider the grave situation in the Punjab an emergency meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was called at Bombay on April 20. As a result of its deliberations the following cable was sent on the 29th to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and Lord Sinha.

"The All-India Congress Committee desire most earnestly to represent to His Majesty's Government the intense gravity of the present situation in India, the real causes and the need for a change of policy pursued at present.

"While deploring and condemning popular excesses which have occurred in some parts of the country and which popular leaders have everywhere used their influence, not unsuccessfully, to restrain, the Committee urge the impartial consideration of the circumstances which have so aggravated and embittered the feelings of the people throughout the country as to make such outbreaks possible. The resolution of the Government of India dated 14th instant, describing the present situation as arising out of the Rowlatt Act agitation, makes only a partial statement of the case. Undoubtedly, intense universal bitterness of opposition to the Rowlatt Act, forged through the legislature by official votes against the unanimous protest of all Indian members and in the face of the unparalleled opposition throughout the country, was the immediate cause of the recent popular peaceful demonstrations. But the subsequent excesses were provoked by the needless and unjustifiable action of the Government of India and the Punjab and Delhi Governments against so revered a personality as that of Mr. Gandhi and against the other popular leaders.

Causes of Discontent.

"For a complete understanding, however, of the present discontent and its causes, other important factors must be considered. The attitude of India throughout the war was one of consistent loyalty and helpfulness. Cheered and encouraged by the declared aims for which the great struggle was waged, and the promises of the British statesmen of political freedom and self-determination for all, followed

by the visit of the Secretary of State to India to frame recommendations for reform, the people uncomplainingly suffered the hardships of war conditions and gave their aid ungrudgingly. India's services were handsomely and unreservedly acknowledged by the Premier and other leading statesmen. Since the signing of the armistice, the people however feel there has been a notable change in the attitude of the European community, official and non-official, towards Indian aspirations generally and reform in particular.

"The sufferings of the middle and lower classes, owing to high prices of foodstuffs and clothing, have been intensified by the failure of the monsoon in several parts of the country and grave mismanagement of the control of foodstuffs, Railway and shipping freight. The people feel the Government have been indifferent and failed to do all they might have done to alleviate the sufferings. Criticisms and complaints in the press by leading journals and well-known public men were ignored. The hostile attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press and the European community towards reform and the malignant campaign of the European Association in India and the Indo-British Association in England greatly intensified the bitterness of feeling. The impression is now widespread that the European official and non-official community are generally opposed even to the mild recommendations in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which are regarded as inadequate by the bulk of Indian opinion. Added to this, circumstances have encouraged the belief that the Government do not care to encourage Indian industrial enterprise, to admit Indians to equality of privileges and opportunities with Europeans as illustrated by the meagre proposals for the admission of Indians to Commissions in their own army and the fact that out of two hundred officers employed by the Munitions Board, only one was Indian.

"A further important factor of the popular discontent is the deep and universal feeling among Indian Mahomedans regarding the Khalifate and the holy places and apprehensions that their claims are not sufficiently regarded by the British Government and the Allies and are not adequately pressed at the Peace Conference. The Mahomedans feel bitterly that their loyalty during the war is without appreciation since the danger is passed. Such a feeling too is general among the Indians of all classes and is fanned by the sudden change of the Indian Government's attitude from one of conciliation during the war to obstinate opposition to the will of the people since the armistice and by a similar attitude of other officials as evidenced by such boastful and intimidating utterances based on the victories of British Arms as that of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in his Council on the 7th instant when he threatened the ruthless repression of political agitation disagreeable to him in peace as well as in war time.

The Rowlatt Blunder

"In such circumstances, the two Rowlatt Bills were introduced and the principal one was forced through the Council in spite of the unanimous opposition of the non-official Indian members, and appeals for postponements and reconsideration and warnings of the agitation that would inevitably follow throughout the country which was stirred by this measure and the uncompromising attitude of the Government in a degree unparalleled in the history of the country.

"The Committee here cannot enter in detail as to the justifiable apprehensions caused by the passing into law of this Act. They are content to represent that it is a total distortion of the facts that an agitation against a measure placed on the Statute Book in time of peace depriving subjects under any circumstances of the sacred right of free and open trial and otherwise restricting the fundamental liberties and depriving accused persons of normal and essential safeguards designed for the protection of innocent persons should be regarded as an unreal agitation engineered by political agitators for their own ends. The Committee have no authority to discuss the merits of the Passive resistance movement led by Mr. Gandhi, but would emphasise that nothing but the feeling of high souled patriotism and intense realisation of the injustice involved in the passing of this measure could have actuated a man of his saintly character and noble record. The Committee submit that so far as facts are publicly known no violence had anywhere been committed by the people until after the arbitrary restrictions placed on Mr. Gandhi's movements leading to his arrest and the forcible deportation without any announcement about his destination while he was on his way to Delhi with the object of pacifying the people after the unfortunate episode there on March 30th. Grave allegations were made that the authorities in Delhi unjustifiably fired on crowds killing and wounding several. The Government of India have ignored the demands for an enquiry into this and have published an *exparte* statement of the Local Government exonerating the local authorities on unconvincing statements. Had Mr. Gandhi been allowed to proceed to Delhi, the Committee believe he would have restored normal conditions. The Government, on the contrary, by his arrest and deportation, provoked outbreaks in Ahmedabad and Viramgaum.

"An outbreak had become imminent in Bombay also, but it was averted by the wise action of the authorities in restraining the police and the military and the efforts of Mr. Gandhi and other leaders pacified the people and restored quiet. The Committee invite attention to the contrast between the rapidity with which

tranquillity was restored in Ahmedabad by the presence of Mr. Gandhi, his co-operation along with that of other leaders with the authorities and the continuance of disorders in the Punjab where reckless and horrible methods of repression under Martial law such as the public flogging of citizens in the street, dropping of bombs from aeroplanes and wholesale firing on people assembled in the streets, have been resorted to. These methods of repression have created horror and resentment throughout the country. The Committee recognise the need for strong measure to deal with popular violence where popular leaders and bodies and all public men are ready to co-operate with Government in putting down popular excesses and violent movements against authority, but the use of such methods as have been in force in the Punjab antagonise the feelings of the people towards Government and sow seeds of bitterness and distrust.

"The Committee most earnestly urge His Majesty's Government to intervene and put an end to these methods and to order the appointment of a commission of official and non-official to investigate the cause of discontent and allegations of excesses by the authorities in repressing popular outbreaks.

Change of Policy Needed

"The Committee strongly urges His Majesty's Government to consider that popular discontent have been provoked by causes set forth above. At Amritsar the disturbances followed immediately on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's action in arresting and deporting Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal. The Committee most earnestly represent that the situation cannot be dealt with alone by repression and the attitude of sternness towards the people displayed in the resolution of the Indian Government on 14th instant which gives a free hand to Local Governments to employ every weapon in the armoury of repression and is sadly lacking in the spirit of conciliation. The situation calls for the highest statesmanship which will deal with it in the spirit which animated the British Government and the Indian people in their recent struggle for the maintenance of the liberty and freedom of people from despotic domination and not in a mood of ruthless repression.

"The All India Congress Committee feel that they can appeal with confidence to His Majesty's ministers to consider this representation with sympathy and to take definite steps forthwith to reverse the policy of repression and to satisfy Indian feeling with regard to the Mahomedan question, the reforms, and the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. The Committee respectfully submit this action alone will secure real peace and contentment in the land.

At Ahmedabad, the great centre of textile industry, news of Gandhi's arrest reached on the 10th April morning and a rumour also ran that Bai Anusuya Debi had also been arrested. Both the Mahatma and the lady are regarded with religious devotion by the thousands of mill hands of this place, for having worked and fought for them with divine sympathy to ameliorate their hard life of toil. The news of the arrest fanned into fable by rumour

Ahmedabad

maddened them. At once shops were closed ; business was suspended. The workers came out and formed crowds. They marched in a body to the Railway Station and met two European mill-officers in the way, driving in a motor-car. Then they asked to come down ; they refused and escaped into a neighbouring mill. The crowd attacked the mill, poured Kerosine over the wooden fence and set fire to it. Eventually troops were brought in. Order to fire was given, and the men dispersed after several had been shot. Next day the mill hands again came out in larger numbers bent on further mischief. They burnt the Government offices, set free under-trial prisoners, cut the wires of the city, set fire to the telegraph office, cut to pieces a Police sergeant and molested several officers who fled with their families from their homes left to the pillage of the rioters. At Viramgaum the mob burned the Railway station, looted the goods-shed, and what was most awful, burnt alive an Indian Magistrate who had a reputation for dealing severely with criminals.

Further riots, quelled by Military fire, took place also at Delhi, Calcutta, and other places, following M. Gandhi's arrest.

The riot at Ahmedabad resulted in some 150 casualties but the government of Sir George Lloyd did not think it necessary to take as stringent measures as in the Punjab. Mr. Gandhi went to the place on the 14th April ; the officials at once co-operated with him ; he called all the mill-hands together and pacified them. No further precautionary methods were found necessary.

The members of Sir George Lloyd's government, however, it was rumoured, threatened to resign in a body if stronger methods were not taken against the leaders of the Satyagraha movement. Accordingly Bombay, specially Sind, the home of the staunchest satyagrahis, was subjected to special police raids.

The months of April and May were given up to Martial Law in the Punjab and various acts of coercion in the other provinces.

Innumerable Martial Law cases cropped up, tried **Martial Law Cases** by Summary Courts, Commissions, etc, and lawyers were not available for defence even where the penalties involved and ultimately awarded were death, transportation and forfeiture of property. The Viceroy issued an

ordinance on the 15th April making offences committed on or after the 13th April triable by Martial Law Commission. On 22nd April however he issued a second ordinance making offences committed on or after the 13th March triable by the same Commissions in order to bring the Hartals of 30th March and 6th April within the purview of the Martial Law Courts. Almost all the great Nationalist Leaders, including such men as Lalas Harkishan Lal, Duni Chand, Rambhuj Dutt, Mangal Sen, Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew and others too numerous to mention were sentenced to death or transported for life with forfeiture of all property. The enormity of the sentences dazed the people—the full significance of the “day of reckoning” now became apparent to all. Never before or since has popular detestation of British justice mounted to such heights. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore gave vent to current feelings in his famous letter to the Viceroy in which he sought to be relieved of the burden of a British knight-hood. Said the Poet :—

Your Excellency,—The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has with a rude shock revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishment inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilised Governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions, recent and remote, considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population disarmed and resourceless by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for the destruction of human lives.

We must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of the insults and the sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence reaching every corner of India and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers, possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine salutary lessons.

This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings without receiving the least check from the same authority relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers.

Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding, the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and moral traditions, the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen surprised into a dumb anguish of terror.

The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in the incongruous context of humiliation and, I for my part, wish to stand shorn of all special distinction by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings, and these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask Your Excellency, with due deference and regret, to release me of my title of Knight-hood which I

had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

Yours Faithfully,

Rabindranath Tagore

Amongst the coercive measures taken in the other provinces, the most inequitable was the application of the Press Act in gagging

Press Act Indian papers. On April 17 the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had to forfeit its deposit of Rs. 5,000

under the Press Act, and was ordered to furnish a fresh security of Rs. 10,000. The *Protap* of Cawnpore, the *Independent* of Allahabad, the *Hindu* and *Swadesmitram* of Madras, the *Hindvasi* and *Alamur* of Sind and many other nationalist papers were ordered to deposit securities, and what looked most audacious, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the premier newspaper of Western India, was pre-censured, and its Editor Mr. Benjamin Horniman, an Englishman of the type of Burke and Fox and a warm Satyagrahist and follower of M. Gandhi, was deported. On May 2 the Press Association of India sent the following cable to the Secretary of State :—

The Press Association of India begs to invite attention to repression of Indian Press under Press Act 1910 resulting in suppression of legitimate expression of Indian opinion creating great alarm in public mind.

The Act since enactment has laid over 350 presses and 300 newspapers, demanded securities amounting over £ 40,000 and proscribed over 500 publications. Owing to demand of security over 200 presses and 130 newspapers not started. Since 1917, Act even more rigorously administered, leading influential Indian-English journals "*Amrita Bazar Patrika*," "*Bombay Chronicle*," "*Hindu*," "*Independent*," "*Tribune*," "*Punjabee*" and leading vernacular papers like "*Basumati*," "*Swadesmitram*," "*Vijaya*," "*Hindvasi*," "*Bharat Mitra*" subjected to its rigours. Several Indian newspapers arbitrarily banned from different provinces. On the other hand violent provocative writings in Anglo-Indian Press are entirely immune. Government refused last September open inquiry into the operation of Press Act urged by Indian Members in the Imperial Council.

Legitimate criticism on Rowlatt Act, Punjab Martial Law and other grievances crippled by executive action. Influential journals disappearing because of existing Act and its administration. Unventilated expression of public opinion bound to drive discontent and unrest underground. Extreme and unjustifiable severity to which journalists are subjected is painfully evidenced by arbitrary deportation of Mr. Horniman, Editor, "*Bombay Chronicle*," and President of this Association. Association presses repeal of Press Act urgently."

Taking advantage of the state of disorder in the Punjab and encouraged by Bolshevik influence from the Caucasus, the Afghans declared war on May 8th, 1919 (see pp. 65-80). In the campaign

that followed, the Government of India which according to Sir Michael O'Dwyer not only despised agitators but frantically imposed martial law and quelled sedition by machine guns and aerial bombs, showed, according to the London Times "extraordinary ineptitude, both military and civil." There was a huge break-down in the medical arrangements,

epidemic broke out in the camp, water supply was starved, and the whole show was painfully reminiscent of the famous Mesopotamian muddle of 1917. Both Indian and British contingents suffered terribly and in the Houses of Parliament strong comments were made on the secrecy and dilatoriness which characterise the Indian Government in every important political and foreign affair.

At this juncture Sir Michael who could have used his heroism to a better cause, to the Afghan War for instance, retired, and Punjab sighed relief. Lord Pentland of Madras preceded him in March last. With the exit of these men India was at last rid of two of her worst oppressors. Lord Willingdon took charge of Madras early in April and at once inaugurated reforms in anticipation. Sir Edward Maclagan assumed charge of the Punjab on 25th May and proceeded forthwith to mitigate the horrors of his predecessor.

While the most elementary civic rights of a people were being trampled under the high heels of Martial law and Star Chamber proceedings were being accorded legal sanction, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, was introducing his pet Reforms Bill in the House of Commons. In his speech on the Second Reading of the Bill on June 5th, 1919 he delivered his master-thrust of denunciation of such Government as that of Lord Pentland in Madras, and

The Reforms characterised as a scheme of bureaucrats, for the consumption of bureaucrats, and intended for the enthronement of bureaucracy. Under their scheme, he pointed out, "future Sydenhams would remain upon the throne, untrammelled by control from above and undismayed by criticism from below." With regard to the I. C. S., he defined their proper sphere to be to carry out, as behoved loyal servants, the policy dictated to it, firstly in the House itself and ultimately in India. Barring these purple patches of declamation, the Bill that was actually presented fell far short of the expectations raised by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The fact was that the famous announcement of August 1917 was at that time dictated by high war-policy which persisted when the Report was issued in June 1918 but did not survive the armistice of that year. However much his liberal predilections Mr. Montagu was no match for the Government of India—a huge soulless, heartless, tradition-ridden bureaucracy, "too wooden, too iron, too antediluvian to be of any use for modern purposes" (to quote his own words)—a veritable Car of Jaggarnath drawn by the host of I.C.S. Pandas. The whittling down of the reforms proposed in the parent report had already commenced as adumbrated in the Viceroy's speech of the 6th February. The despatches of the Government of India to the Secretary of State

published in India about this time totally falsified the famous pledge of August 1917. Their whole tenor was to further Sir Sankaran Na'r fortify the bureaucratic autocracy in the Central Government, and but for Sir Sankaran Nair's classic minutes of dissent thoroughly exposing their reactionary casuistry, the Government of India might have carried the palm. Said Sir Sankaran ;

Notwithstanding much that can be said against the Reforms Report Scheme a number of critics rallied to its support for the reasons, among others, that it provided for a unified budget and for its being voted for by the Legislature. We are now asked to treat the council as an advisory body in all matters—legislative, financial and administrative—pertaining to the reserved departments and to reduce its financial powers as proposed in the Reforms Report scheme even as regards the transferred departments———What is put forward is a combination of the draw-backs of autocratic and irresponsible government with none of the advantages of the latter. Under the proposed scheme the position of Ministers will be untenable and that of the Legislature no better than it is at present.

During the Punjab atrocities there was a strong rumour that Sir Sankaran was going to resign in protest ; this he did on May 21st after doing the signal service to his country of inditing his famous minutes of dissent.

On September 3rd the Imperial Legislative Council met at Simla. The speech that the Viceroy delivered in opening the Council belied all expectations of hope and trust for the future, and in the whole gamut of Viceregal utterance people heard nothing of a soft soothing strain. Lord Chelmsford, a military man, was blissfully ignorant of statesmanship. Now with the characteristic insouciance of a fighter he said :

“ Last sessions certain Hon. Members during the passage of the Howlatt Bill gave me warnings of an almost minatory character that if that Bill were passed into law, there would be agitation of a serious nature. Hon. members will realise that no Government could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essential on account of any threat of agitation. However there were those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat and as a consequence the deplorable events occurred.”

Nowhere in the long speech of His Excellency was a word on the hundreds of innocent lives butchered in the pin-hole of Jhallianwala, nor a passing reference to those great souls of Punjab who were suffering brutal incarceration in the dark dungeons of Martial Law creation. He had, however, to announce the appointment, under pressure from the Sec. of State, of the long-delayed Commission of Enquiry on the Punjab Disorders to be presided over by Lord Hunter, and in the same breath laid down the dictum that whatever the findings of the Commission an Act of Indemnity was going to be passed.

The proposal to pass an Indemnity Act to exonerate in advance the guilty officers before even the Enquiry Committee started enquiry, showed that Michael O'Dwyer still ruled Simla in spirit. Eminent men like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir P. S. Shivaswamy Iyer, Dr. Subramaniam and M. Gandhi showed the utter untenability of the Government's position while the whole country was ringing with protest. The bill itself was introduced on the

Indemnity Bill 18th September and passed on the 24th. Pt.

Malaviya delivered his historic four hours' speech. Its masterly exposition, its forceful eloquence, its lofty appeal to all the nobler instincts of man, and above all its calm and solemn dignity will ever remain seared into the hearts of those who heard him inside the council and of those who read his speech outside it. During the debate the official members carried an aggressive military air and cast both manners and decency to the four winds. Rarely if ever did the Council fall so low as during this debate. Gone that old dignity of that august Chamber under Curzon, Minto, Hardinge. Arguments lacking and sophism unavailing, high officials lapsed into base personal abuse. The Home Member held Mr. Ayyangar in derision for his personal infirmity—deafness, the Law Member falsely charged Raja Sir Rampul for reading a speech which he could not write, Pandit Malaviya was insulted at every turn and even Mr. Thompson, Sir Michaels' Chief Secretary, had the audacity to "correlate the intelligence and mentality of the Hon. the Pandit with that of lower orders of people." The effect was quickly seen. On the day of voting, the result being a foregone conclusion, more than 10 Indian members did not attend.

Meanwhile a non-official congress committee had been making enquiries in the Punjab. Difficulties were thrown in its way to co-operate with the Hunter Enquiry committee. In a statement that was issued to the Press the Committee set forth the reasons that led them not to co-operate. Referring to a resolution passed on 8th June last it said :

The Committee urge the following among other matters be included within the scope of the inquiry : (1) Policy of the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab in dealing with recent disturbances ; (2) Sir Michael O'Dwyer's regime in the Punjab with special reference to methods of recruitment for the Indian Army and labour corps, raising of war loan, administration of Martial Law and complaints of excessive and unlawful use of force by the authorities ; (3) recent occurrence in Delhi and other places. The committee further urge that interests of justice and good govern-

ment demand that an inquiry should begin at an early date. At the same meeting the committee appointed a Sub-committee consisting of gentlemen whose names are noted below (a) to arrange for the conduct of an inquiry into the recent occurrences in the Punjab and other places through such agency as they may determine, (b) take such legal or other proceedings in relation thereto in India or England as may be necessary and (c) to collect funds for the purpose by public subscriptions :—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, President ex-officio, Sir Rash Behary Ghosh, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Syed Hassan Imam, Mr. B. Chakravarty, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar, Mr. Umar Sobani and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Secretary ex-officio with powers to coopt others as members. The Sub-Committee coopted the following members at its meeting held on the 16th October 1919 ; Mr. Gandhi, Swami Shradhanand, Mr Purushotam Das, Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Ganpat Rai, Sheikh Umar Baksh, Bakshi Tekchand, Gokulchand Narang, Mr Santanam., Badr-ul-Islam Ali Khan and Lala Girdharilal.

We the undersigned went to the Punjab shortly after the withdrawal of martial law and began our investigations on the 25th June last. We need hardly say that at every step we felt the need of the assistance of the leaders of people who had occupied a prominent position in the public life of their respective towns and none of whom had taken an important part in the events which followed the disturbances. We found that many people who knew what had happened would not come forward to give evidence because of fear, real or imaginary, of police. Whilst we were going on with our inquiry the appointment of Lord Hunter's committee was announced and we redoubled our efforts to collect evidence for the purposes of the inquiry. But as we proceeded we realised more than ever that the presence of principal Punjab leaders was necessary to guide and help us in collecting some of the most valuable evidence, to hearten those who were still keeping back from fear and to show to profit that Government wanted inquiry to be carried on fairly and that they wanted the whole truth to be told to Lord Hunter's committee.

We had also expressed the desire that the committee should have power to revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission and summary courts through whose agency it is our firm belief (?) amount of permanent and prolonged injustice has been possible. But the Government of India restricted the scope of Lord Hunter's committee and appointed special judges for such revision. The judges appointed were both Punjab judges and rightly or wrongly (we think more rightly than wrongly) the public objected to this work being entrusted to the Punjab Judges. It was

therefore necessary that this tribunal should be so composed so as to inspire confidence and that to that end one judge at least should be from outside the Punjab and that the tribunal should have power to admit fresh evidence where records were found to be insufficient or material evidence was in first instance shut out. We had also some apprehension that our counsel might not be allowed to appear before the committee and that even if they were allowed the right of cross-examination might not be extended to them. We may mention here parenthetically that it was our desire to hasten the inquiry and to avoid bitterness that led us to waive our substantial objection that the enquiry should be made by a Royal Commission appointed independently of the Government of India.

Early in October we wrote to the Government of India informing them that our Sub-committee engaged lawyers to put the case of the people before Lord Hunter's Committee and desired to know the terms of reference of the committee and the procedure to be adopted by them. Having been referred by the Government of India to Lord Hunter's Committee for information regarding procedure we wrote to Lord Hunter's Committee for permission to lead evidence through our counsel and cross-examine witnesses of the other side.

In the same letter we informed Lord Hunter's committee that we considered it equally essential for a proper and fair investigation of recent events in the Punjab that the Punjab leaders who are undergoing imprisonment should be released on parole or bail for the period of the enquiry. We thought however that this was a matter on which proper authority to be approached was the Punjab Government, the Government of India and the Secretary of State. In this view so far back as the 12th September last at a meeting of the Indian Legislative Council one of us had urged upon the Government of India and the Punjab Government the release of the Punjab leaders on such security, personal or pecuniary or both as may seem adequate to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in order that they should be able to give evidence before the committee and have the people's case properly put before it. A cablegram was sent to the Secretary of State on the 27th ultimo praying for the right of appearance by counsel and for the release of the Punjab leaders for purposes of enquiry when time came for leading evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee. The Punjab Government was approached regarding all three points mentioned above.

There were protracted negotiations and appearance by counsel with right of cross-examination was allowed and status of the Congress Sub-Committee recognised. Mr. Justice Mullick of the Patna High Court was appointed as one of two revision Judges

and we have reason to believe that the Judges have power to admit fresh evidence in the circumstances already referred to. But the third equally fundamental need was left unsatisfied. The Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab rejected our request for the temporary release of principal leaders under due security in the following terms:—"As regards suggestion that certain prisoners convicted in connection with disturbances should be released from jail in order to ensure satisfactory presentation of case I am to say it will not be possible to comply with this suggestion. If however the Committee desire to hear evidence of any prisoner this will be duly arranged and if it found necessary for counsel engaged in enquiry to visit prisoners for consultation in connection with enquiry, proper facilities for such consultation will be given." We considered the reply to be highly unsatisfactory. Lord Hunter's Committee was approached with a view to the wrong being righted. We were all to cite the precedent of the Solomon Committee of 1913 of South Africa for the suggested action of His Lordship's Committee but our suggestion was rejected. Then followed Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Lieutenant-Governor and His Honour was prepared to allow the principal leaders to be released on parole for a day or days they had to give evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee and His Honour was willing also that Counsel should visit in jail all prisoners whose evidence was to be tendered before the committee. But it was clear that while the demand for the release of the leaders was being granted in principle by advance made by His Honour upon previous position the substantial and most practical part of the request stood rejected.

By securing release of the principal leaders and their presence in committee room we desired to get valuable assistance from them for our counsel in examination of witnesses. Those who know anything of law will at once recognise the force of this remark—the presence of party interested, provided he is intelligent, is most helpful whilst his case is going on. No trials can take place in the absence of the accused. Lord Hunter's Committee is in a way trying these leaders as conspirators in a political conspiracy to wage war against the King. They have been held by the Government to be responsible for the so-called rebellion. We hold the committee cannot do justice to the matter before them if they do not have at least the leading prisoners before them. It may be mentioned here and that we had asked Lord Hunter's committee at Delhi to be supplied with a list of official witnesses and their printed statements to enable the sub-committee's counsel to cross-examine witnesses punctiliously but this request was not granted. Thus it is not possible for our counsel to take instructions from prisoners

beforehand by visiting them in jail. Some of our colleagues thought, on their interpretations of Lord Hunter's letter referred to above, that those prisoners who were principally interested in events then being examined by the committee would be permitted to appear before the committee as prisoners under custody and that they would be able then to help counsel in course of examination of witnesses but we wanted to take nothing for granted. Mr. C. F. Androws, therefore, kindly offered to go to the Lieutenant-Governor and had the point made definitely clear. He told us on return that His Honour would not allow the prisoners to appear before the committee except as witnesses and on the day or days that they were actually required for that purpose. There was then nothing left for the Congress Sub-Committee to do but to abide by its manifesto not to participate in the proceedings of Lord Hunter's Committee.

The Congress Sub-committee arrived at this decision after the greatest and most anxious consideration. It weighed every consequence but it felt that if it was to discharge the trust laid upon it, if it was to vindicate national honour and honour of the great Punjab leaders, if it was to see truth and innocence established, it could not possibly engage in an inquiry in which the people's party was so heavily handicapped. It must be remembered that officials are as much upon their trial as leaders. But not only are Government officials free to appear before Lord Hunter's Committee but also to instruct Government counsel. In the words of the Congress Committee's letter to Lord Hunter it cannot be expected to be party to a position under which Government officials whose acts are under review can freely appear before committee, when people's representatives whose acts are equally under review are not allowed to appear even as prisoners under custody. It remains for us to say what constructive course we have proposed to adopt. We have to come to the conclusion that our work of collecting evidence must continue. We have already in our possession most valuable evidence. It needs to be supplemented and checked. The congress committee have therefore appointed Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Abbas Tyabji, Ex-judge Baroda High Court and Mr. Fazlul Haq as Commissioners with Mr. Sanatanam, bar-at-law as Secretary for work and the Committee hopes before long to place before the public a full and accurate statement of events. The first undersigned begs to state in order to avoid any misunderstanding that he has purposely refrained from allowing himself to be appointed a commissioner as being the Chairman of Committee he should be free to guide the work of the committee as a whole.

The Punjab Disorders Enquiry Committee with Lord Hunter as president and Mr. Justice Rankin, Mr. Rice, General Barrow, Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed and Sir C. Setalvad as members, evoked strong disapprobation on all sides ; the members were all officials or ex-officials. There was no need of an official committee to whitewash official acts and sing mutual praises in chorus. Later on two non-officials, Mr. Smith of Cawnpore and Hon. Pt. Jagat Narain, were added.

It commenced its sittings on October 31st at Delhi. The first witness examined was Mr. Orde, Superintendent of Police. There was no counsel or other authorised person on **Hunter Committee** behalf of the citizens of Delhi. The regular public sittings began from November 3rd when Pt. Malaviya, Mr. C. R. Das and others sat at the counsel table to watch the proceedings on behalf of the people. The Congress Committee did not lead evidence as they refused to co-operate for reasons given above. For the next few days about 30 witnesses including all the leading Delhi officials and public men were examined. Lord Hunter as chairman put only general questions, while Pt. Jagat Narain and Sir Setalvad put witnesses to long and searching cross-examination. The result was that the pet theory of "rebellion" broke down and the popular cause was thoroughly vindicated. "Apalling ineptitude" proved itself through its own mouth.

It was, however, during the Lahore sittings of the Committee by the end of November that the most shocking disclosures and admissions were made. Till then the Indian public did not know the full extent of the gruesome murders of Jhallianwalla, the machine-gunning and aerial bombing, the flogging and crawling, the salaaming and nose-rubbing, the veil-removing and body searching of women and other acts of official vengeance in the Punjab. The Indian leaders who were in the know were in England on deputation to the Joint Committee on Reforms. A seal of secrecy had been put upon the whole episode, it was believed, inspired from very high quarters. Rumour had it that Mr. Montagu himself had urged upon the Indian deputations the necessity of shelving the Punjab muddle for the time being, as otherwise an agitation in England at that time would have revealed facts that would have involved his own resignation, and imperilled Reforms.

Once more the theory of "Rebellion" broke down. Evidence showed that it was vengeance and not rebellion that was abroad ; that Martial law was there to teach the people a lesson, to make a wide impression of the might of the British Arms. And for this, unnameable outrages that would have shamed the arch-Hun ! The Report of the Evidence was flashed all over the seven seas and the

world stood aghast. In England the Press shrieked in horror, in Parliament Col. Wedgwood cried "Murder" and Mr. Montagu hung his head and mumbled excuse, in America Senator Mason uttered execration; and in India resuscitated agony choked all expression.

Of breach of faith so commonly charged to British statesmanship none was so glaring as that concerning the Turkish Khalifat (see

Indians in South
Africa

p. 248-52), and also one in the matter of the grievance of Indians in South Africa. A deputation headed by the Hon. S. N. Banerjea waited upon

Mr. Montagu on August 28th and made a strong representation to which the Sec. of State in the course of a sympathetic speech said:—

"I have asked that the Government of India should be directly represented upon the Commission, and in case anybody should think, which I know is not the case, that there is any difference of opinion between officials and non-officials, we have suggested that the Government of India should be represented by one official and one non-official on the Commission. Both these gentlemen will be chosen, if our demand is acceded to, by the Union Government, from those who are most competent to make a good case, a case which we have set our hearts upon winning as soon as possible.

General Smuts, the South African Premier, also said to another deputation in the same matter:—

India will be represented on the Commission to watch over the interests of the Indians, so that no stigma might attach to them. * * * * Now that the Indians are here, I hold they should have fair treatment in all parts of the Union. We have to live side by side in conciliation, and we must endeavour to understand each other's standpoint, so that we may live together and grow together. We are members of one family and belong to the same Empire.

But late in October 1919 a Govt. communique was issued which stated that in the matter of the Sec. of State's assurance a "mistake had arisen through the words "upon the commission" being taken in too limited a sense. As a matter of fact no request that India should be directly represented on the Union Commission was ever made.... that Govt. has been asked to agree to the presence of two nominees of the Govt. of India to assist the commission in its enquiry". How often the makers of promises speedily turn into their breakers! But in these instances palpably it was sulking imperialism afraid to come out in the open that smirched delicate public affairs. The affairs of Indians in Fizi once more came to the surface at this time. A Fizian deputation was coming on deputation to the Government of India to re-open the question of indentured labour.

Time was now fast approaching for the annual sessions of the great National Assemblies. The Indian National Congress was, in its last session at Delhi, invited to Amritsar, the sacred city of the

The National
Congress.

Sikhs, mainly on the proffered support of Lal Harkishen Lal. Amritsar was now reeking with the blood of the innocents. The great Bunker Prince of Punjab along with all her leading lights were in jail await-

ting the hand of the executioner. In this gloomy atmosphere was conceived the resolve not to change the venue of the Congress despite official displeasure. The thinned band of men of the Reception Committee saw the Clutching Hand advancing but they quailed not. So early as on September 28th the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar wrote to the Reception Committee calling in question the propriety of holding the Congress at Amritsar or any other "central area" of the late disturbance. The grounds given of this "impropriety" were amusing: because the Hunter Committee was likely to issue its Report by X'mas next and the Privy Council was likely by that time to pass judgment on some of the Martial law appeals then pending, therefore, were there not grounds for popular excitement? It was typical of the mentality of authorities of a sort. People seek judgments not for justice but for excitement! Commission reports do not appease but excite! If this is administrative experience in India, it is one that reflects the administrator and not the people in this or in any country or any clime.

On the 7th October the Reception Committee met to consider the situation. They resolved not to swerve and exposed the fallacy of the Depy. Commissioner. The latter again interfered and asked the committee to consider the possibility of holding the Congress only on condition that there should be no reference to the past events of the Punjab, their causes and effects. This was a matter entirely outside the scope of a Reception Committee and it could not possibly bind the whole Congress to any condition. The proceedings of a representative assembly such as the Congress, lie wholly to be determined by its Subjects Committee. After long controversy it was at last settled that the Congress will sit at Amritsar as previously arranged. In the absence of Lala Harkishon Lal Swami Shradhanand was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Hon'ble Pundit Motilal Nehru the President of the great Congress.

Almost the first thing that the President-elect did was to issue a touching appeal to the whole nation to sink petty differences of partisan politics and join the Congress in the

The Appeal consecrated cause of outraged Punjab. Response came freely from all parties except from the small band of extreme Moderates who had pledged themselves to the Montagu Reforms and being Indians of the old school could not back out from their pledged troth inspite of their saturation in western ethics, even when such a grave affair as that of the Punjab was at issue. To the pathetic appeal of Pundit Nehru they replied as follows:—

"Dear Sir,—We acknowledge receipt of your letters of the 20th November and 2nd December exhorting us to attend the next session of the Congress. We

need not say we have considered your suggestion with the care the importance of the subject and courtesy due to yourselves, demands, nor we trust, need we assure you as old Congressman to whom severance from that

Moderates Reply. institution could not but be painful, that we would not have abstained from its last two sessions and set up a separate organisation of our own if we did not deem that the interests of the country dictated such a course of action.

2. The course of events during the last fifteen months and more has in our view fully indicated the line we took after anxious thought. We must repudiate the suggestion made in Swami Shradhanand's letter that personal considerations weighed with us in the decision we took and hasten to tell you that the political party to which we have the honour to belong, far from thinking as Swami Shradhanand says "their keeping away from the national assembly has not advanced the cause of the motherland in the slightest degree", are convinced more than ever that they did valuable public service in acting as they did. Swami Shradhanand is good enough to say every right-minded person has realised that our abstention from the Congress has retarded our real progress. This view is not supported by our information, knowledge and belief, and we regret that a person occupying the position of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress should have deemed it right to commit himself to such a statement and that in the letter intended to persuade us to attend the Congress.

3. It is perfectly true that the doings of the Government and its officers⁸ in the Punjab are viewed in the same light by Indians of all parties. It is equally true, we venture to say, that the members and organisations of our party have laboured strenuously as any others to bring relief to the victims of the policy of the Government and the acts of its officers, and if we felt attendance at the Congress was the only or the most effectual means of showing our sympathy with or rendering help to our countrymen of the Punjab, we should unhesitatingly decide to attend it and take part in its deliberations. Frankly we do not think so : nor are we able to say there is agreement between us about the methods by which to promote the object we equally have at heart. There is, for instance, the question of our attitude towards the Hunter Committee. While we hold strongly that the imprisoned leaders should have been released on bail in order to prepare and state the popular case fully before the Committee, our opinion is that it was a great mistake on the part of the Congress Sub-committee to have decided to withhold non-official evidence from the Committee and we cannot be parties to such proceedings. It is perhaps not out of place to mention here that we are informed by our deputation in England that they would not have been able to render what service they did to the Punjab if they had not acted independently of the Congress deputation.

4. We find in your letters no mention of the Reform scheme and we gather from Swami Shradhanand's quotation with the approval of newspaper opinion, that he thinks that in matters other than the occurrences in the Punjab such differences as there are, are not of capital importance and the main trouble here is entirely personal and we are admonished. Surely, Indian leaders should and could rise superior to personal differences in view of tremendous national issues involved. The fundamental divergence between the position of two parties on the reform scheme which surely is a subject of capital importance is wholly ignored by the critic, and the gratuitous assumption is made that the action of our party has been determined by mere personal considerations. We must emphatically protest against such an aspersation finding place in the letter of the Chairman of the Reception Committee. We would have liked to know what lead you would give to the Congress on the question of the Government

of India Bill which is about to be passed into law, but are left in the dark on this important point.

5. The fundamental reasons of abstention of our party from the Congress are too well known to need repetition. They are convinced of the wisdom of the deliberate step they have taken and in view of the attitude of your party towards questions that divide us we are convinced no useful purpose will be served by our attending the forthcoming session of the Congress.

The letter is given in full as it puts Moderate politics in a nut-shell. The 'fundamental difference' of the two parties is a difference of age. The older people, myopic with age and coming from a period when concessions and boons rather than self-determination and self-assertion of inalienable rights were the limit of political expectancy, had crystallised round the coveted, but now quite obsolete, Reforms proposed by the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu. That wizard of a British Statesman had in 1917 by a dexterous throw of his famous August 20th announcement bowled out the united Nationalist party of the country. He had seen that the then stalwarts of the Congress had their strong attitude based on despair of political advancement. To keep them engaged in a practicable scheme of constitutional Reforms he threw open the door to endless discussions and held out hopes of placing India on the road to self-Government. The famous announcement of August 20th was aimed just at that part of the huge political organisation of the country where the dwindling Old and the surging New stood almost ready at the parting of ways. The Congress broke into two. Since then the Reforms have been the special care of Mr. Montagu and his Moderates.

The Moderates held their separate conference at Calcutta on 30th December and the two following days. It was, as is natural, a Reforms conference. The great National Congress opened at Amritsar on December 27th. It was the People's Parliament voicing the feelings of the dumb millions in their own language, in their own artless, unpolished, honest manner. There was very little talk of the Reforms. The Punjab and the Punjab—her woes and sufferings—rang and reverberated inside that vast assembly of 25,000 people. A new departure was made in the proceedings. Hitherto resolutions used to be prepared in the subjects committee which met on the second day and proposals and amendments were made and settled inside the Committee. Now amendments were moved in the open congress to the resolutions issued from the subject committee and a poll taken at the spot. The most important resolutions were with regard to the events of the Punjab and those demanding the recall of Lord Chelmsford and impeachment of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dyer. It was while the Congress was in session that

news came of the release of the Punjab leaders in pursuance of an amnesty granted by His Majesty. The news and the leaders who soon came to join the Congress were received amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm and then the people shed tears of joy at the kind and sympathetic message of the King-Emperor to his people (see Congress section, *post*, pp. 321-84, and Part II pp. 1-6).

The legacy that the year leaves behind is a precious bit of experience. The gracious message of His Majesty the Emperor has

quietened the ebullition of bad blood after the worst had been let out. The wild cries of impeachment so loudly heard in the latter part of 1919 has gradually subsided and given place to the voice of sanity : "Resist not evil" for by resistance it groweth more. Of all the blessings of British rule in India, the most abiding is the disillusionment of superstitious and ignorant fetishes ; and in proportion as new light is coming the old legends, which have so long been sedulously cultivated by small interested classes to hold the people eternally down in chains, are being exposed and given the go by. In this new light of experience the children of the soil are being gradually welded by a common intelligence into an undivided social polity. The sledge-hammers of a Curzon, O'Dyer or Influenza simply accelerate the process. The great Congress and the Moslem League remain separate only in name, labour is just uniting, and though trades are still unorganised and the Professions individualistic, they are fast moving to come in line with world movements. The march of events in the present epoch of World's History is very rapid. The tiny seed sown only two years back at Kaira and Champaran has already shown itself a spreading tree in the great Hartal of April 6th last. It is rapidly drawing its sap deep from the very heart of the people and its future growth, whether as a mighty buffeting macrophyte or as a mean dwarfing nettle, is being keenly watched by discerning men not only in India but also outside it. And while all these are happening, slowly and steadily, in the sacred bosom of the Motherland, the New Call of a resuscitated people in a far away foreign land is resounding in her distant northern hills. That Call has already been caught up by one people after another and in the world abroad a new order of polity is being forged ahead. Whether this ancient land of the Rishis—the tomb of all that is great and glorious on earth—will, too, join in chorus, it is not for us mortals to say while her destiny is being shaped in the lap of the Gods.

The Afghan War

1919

Historical.—The long and troublesome history of the relation between Afghanistan and the British remained misty even after the Durand agreement of 1893 by which the British Government agreed to subsidise the Amir with 18 Lacks of Rupees per year against the Russian menace, and the partial settlement of the boundaries. A small section of territory to the West of the Khyber remained a fruitful source of trouble, but the extremely friendly attitude of the late Amir Habibulla towards the British was ever since 1901, the year of his accession, a bulwark to peace and loyal neutrality. During the late War, however, things were taking an ugly aspect, for successively German, Austrian, Russian, Turkish, and Bolshevik emissaries have been trying to bring about defection amongst the Afghans and to rouse them against the British. The late Amir Habibullah was much exercised to keep all these at an arms length and to check the propaganda stirred up by the Turko-Germans of a Jihad or holy war of Islam. He took vigorous steps to suppress them and declared that no foreign troops, whatever their nationality or religion, should be allowed to traverse Afghan territory.

Suddenly, however, Habibulla was murdered on the 20th Feb. 1919 at Laghman near Jellalabad and immediately his brother Nashrulla Khan got himself proclaimed Amir at the spot. The third son of the late Amir, Amanulla Khan, had in the meanwhile secured the support of the sardars and of the Harem at Kabul, proclaimed himself Amir at Kabul and called upon the faction of Nashrulla Khan to submit. Nashrulla abdicated, was seized and thrown into prison. Col. Shah Ali Raja was condemned to death as the actual murderer of the late Amir, and the other sons of Habibulla suffered confinement.

About the intrigues that were going on inside and outside Kabul at this time, little is known. But the probability is that the young Amir found a derelict ship of State and to secure internal reorganisation was persuaded by some of his restless advisers to engage in war to divert the attention of his people.

Events in Afghanistan moved with startling rapidity from the 13th April when Amir Amanulla held a Durbar nominally to place the case of Amir Habibullah's murder before it for trial but in reality to

secure its imprimatur to the sentences he himself had already decided upon. Despite the ostentatious unanimity with which the Durbar condemned Colonel Ali Raza to death as the actual assassin and Sardar Nashrulla Khan to lifelong imprisonment for complicity, murmurings were heard in the audience even before it left the assembly. Before many days passed these murmurings grew in volume and it was openly bruited abroad that an innocent man had been executed and Sardar Nashrulla Khan equally innocently incarcerated for life in order to shield the real assassins. Accusations against many of the new occupants of high office were freely levelled and the name of Amanulla himself was not spared. Disaffection spread especially among the troops who had been foremost in insisting upon vengeance for their murdered Amir and among the Afghan tribesmen and Mullas with whom Sardar Nashrulla Khan had always stood in high favour. Amanulla's position now became one of greater danger and in this lies the explanation of the sudden change from his marked demonstrations of friendliness for the British Government to open hostility. Disaffection threatened to grow into rebellion when he resolved on distracting the attention of his people from internal troubles by embarking on war. He sought to win over the soldiers and peasantry by spreading absurdly exaggerated stories of the disturbances in the Punjab, the rich bazars and fair fields of which he described as lying defenceless at the mercy of the Afghan invaders.

On the 2nd May Zar Shah, a Shinwari of Nigrabar, moved out with his Laskar and murdered five coolies of the Khyber Water Works and the following day he attempted to interfere with the caravan escort of the Khyber Rifles. The same night a party of 130 Afghan regulars or irregulars occupied the water spring of Bagh, a spot just on the British side of the disputed boundary. On the 5th May three regiments of the Afghan Army with two guns arrived at Bagh while reports were received of the despatch of Afghan troops towards various points on the border.

Viceroy's Proclamation.

On the commencement of hostilities the Viceroy issued a proclamation in which he declared :—

Evidence is in His Excellency's hands which shows that the Amir excuses his act of treachery by pretending that India is in a state of revolution which will react on his own country. The Amir has professed to his people that in India neither men's property nor their religion is safe. That three men are forbidden to speak together, that Muslims are excluded from their temples. Every man in India knows that these statements are false. Relying on such misstatements, the Amir has called on the Hindus and the Muslims

like to show his allegiance. He has also caused it to be falsely stated that the Sikhs have fired on the British troops; that Germany is about to recommence war, and that the English have been destroyed. The Viceroy has also proof that the Amir has caused to be prepared false leaflets and proclamations of this kind for dissemination in India and has made plans to corrupt such newspapers as he hoped might be bought.

Inspired by these futile hopes of seducing His Majesty's subjects from their allegiance the Amir has already commenced military operations. Yesterday the Afghan troops were driven back by our forces from various points which they had occupied in our limits in the vicinity of Landi Kotal. The military objectives at and near Dakka in Afghanistan were bombed by our aeroplanes with excellent results.

In his suicidal folly the Amir has ventured to measure his strength against us. The Government have overwhelming strength at their disposal, and this wanton and criminal incursion will meet with the speedy punishment that it deserves. Meanwhile His Excellency the Viceroy, having thus taken into his confidence the people of India, bids them to abstain from believing the false rumours which the enemy seeks to circulate, and to do nothing to impair public confidence, and to refrain from any conduct which may add to the burden of his Government. They have in times now long past had sorrowful experience of invasions from the North West Frontier. From any repetition of these miseries the power of the Government has always been and is well able to protect them. In the name of the King Emperor His Excellency the Viceroy enjoins all loyal people to assist his Government and to refrain from any action which might give colour to the false stories so assiduously disseminated.

God save the King Emperor.

Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor General of India.

Commencement of Hostilities.

The first incursion of the Afghans into British territory occurred on May 8, when they occupied **Asa Khel**, but before that date an escort of the Khyber Rifles had been threatened near **Landi Khara** by tribesmen under Zar Shah. On the 5th the Afghans occupied **Tor Sappa**, **Spin Taska** and **Bagh** and two days later they fired on an aeroplane reconnaissance near **Landi Kotal**. First steps to meet them were taken on the 5th, **Landi Kotal** was reinforced from Peshawar, and on the following day martial law was declared at Peshawar where the Afghan postmaster had been distributing inflammatory literature and had made himself the centre

of agitation of the wildest character. On May 9 the Afghans were driven out of Asa Khel, a small village near Landi Kotal, and an advance was made down the pass to the west of Landi Kotal to secure the springs and reservoirs at Tangi. On the same day the Afghan headquarters camp at Dakka was bombed by aeroplanes. On the 11th Indian advanced troops at Landi Kotal were reinforced, and the enemy were defeated at Bagh and driven off the Khargall bridge which they were holding in force. On the 13th Dakka, which had previously been reported to have been evacuated by the enemy, was occupied by our troops without opposition. A communique issued on the 15th showed that the Afghan Commander-in-Chief had made a request for the cessation of hostilities after complaining of the aggression of the British.

On the 17th May the Afghan position about two miles west of Dakka, held by eight battalions and guns, was attacked and the enemy suffered heavy defeat losing five guns and about 300 killed. On the 19th Jallalabad was systematically bombed by aeroplane, two tons of explosives were dropped, and on the following day Sardar Abdul Rahman, the late Afghan envoy in India, made unofficial overtures for peace which being not supported by any credentials were so construed as being no more than a ruse to gain time. The air raids were continued, Kalul and Jallalabad being bombed on the 24th. In the mean time the enemy extended the field of its operations which had so far been confined chiefly to the Khyber area. On May 14 a party of Afghans had been found, defeated and driven out of the Chitral limits and again on the 23rd the enemy was defeated and lost 250 killed and 4 guns near Arinawai in Chitral. A few days previously the enemy had entered the Mohmand country and threatened the people, and were also making demonstrations on the Paiwar ridges.

Nadir Khan was at this time reported to be sending troops down the Kaitu river and towards Tochi. That report was soon verified and as a result the G. O. C. Tochi had to evacuate all the posts on the Thal-Idakm line and in Upper Tochi, so that the Afghans were able with Mahaud and Waziri assistance to occupy Spinwam and then to destroy the upper Tochi posts. This naturally reacted on the North Waziristan Militia who had until then remained loyal (the Khyber Rifles had been disbanded before as they were strongly suspected to be disloyal.) Desertions of militia men became frequent, and it was evident that the attitude of the tribes-men was very hostile. In the Khyber area and further north, however, the attitude of the tribesmen continued satisfactory, and the capture of the Afghan frontier post of Spin Baldak (May 26) by British troops in the Chamar area had a far reaching effect. Practically the whole garrison

of that fort, which was said to be the strongest in Afghanistan, was either killed or taken prisoner. On May 26 the enemy occupied the hills near Thal and two days later entered and gutted the town, and the fort was several times unsuccessfully attacked by Nadir Khan's troops. On the following day the British troops had to evacuate Wana, Sawarkai and the militia posts in the Gomal; the ammunition which could not be removed being destroyed previous to the evacuation. Except for several attacks on isolated posts the operations from this time onwards assumed an increasingly desultory character and the Afghans had clearly an advantage. On June 1st troops from Kohat reached Thal and after considerable trouble drove the enemy off the hills to the south-east and on the next day defeated a small party of the enemy on the hills north-west of the town.

Meanwhile peace was in the air. His Majesty the Amir and the Viceroy were both eager to end a meaningless hostility and informal overtures had for some time been passing between the two camps. The Punjab was at this period growling under the most inhuman chastisement inflicted by that Hero of Punjab—Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It was thought prudent therefore to end hostilities at the earliest moment and to establish old pacific relations, in view of the strange rumours of the growing Bolshevik menace from North Persia.

The Peace

Amir Amanullah sent a letter dated 28th May to the Viceroy which reached Simla on the evening of the 3rd June. After referring to the friendly communications which had been passing between the two Govts. the Amir ascribed "the strain of relations resulting in an outbreak of war to certain unpleasant events which arose from certain misunderstandings." He explained that the disturbances and disorders in northern India and more especially the unruly demonstrations in Peshawar had reached such a pitch that he was compelled to despatch troops to protect his frontiers. The Commandant of the Eastern Army considering certain points included in his own territory according to maps and plans in his possession proceeded to carry out some digging as a precautionary measure whereupon the British troops violated the Afghan territory and the Amir was then obliged to declare war. In the meantime the Afghan envoy Abdur Rahman had reached Kabul and explained that the Foreign Secretary had impressed upon him the necessity of desisting from war. It thus became apparent that the "events a

movements which had taken place were accidental and undesirable." The Amir therefore put off the publication of a proclamation of a holy war by the Islamic Shaikhs of Afghanistan and referred the matter to the National Council who decided that an envoy should be sent to India to offer explanations and to stop the fighting. After taking exception to the bombardment of Kabul and Jalalabad by aeroplanes, which he compared to the bombardment of London by Zeppelins, the Amir proceeded in that letter to emphasise that he did not desire that the century old friendship should be broken or that bloodshed should lead to perpetual enmity between the two nations. In proof of his sincerity he pointed to the marked friendliness of his letter and to the fact that he enclosed a signed copy of his firman to his commandants to suspend the movement of troops and to stop hostilities. He wound up by affirming that his Government has never had any idea of severing friendly relations with Great Britain and was in no case whatever desirous of upsetting old obligations and old relations.

In reply the Viceroy expressed pleasure at learning that the Amir was sincerely anxious for a cessation of hostilities and renewal of friendship between the two Governments. An explicit recital of various acts of hostility committed by the Afghans culminating in the violation of British Territory by Afghan troops was given. After adducing the proofs in his possession of the Amir's preparations of hostilities, His Excellency reminded him of the opportunity which he gave him. The Viceroy expressed his readiness to meet the Amir's overtures in a friendly spirit actuated by a knowledge of the Amir's youth and inexperience by desire to avoid bloodshed and mindful of our obligations to the late Amir, the faithful friend and Ally of the British Government. His Excellency's Government, therefore, agreed to an

armistice on the following terms.

1. That the Amir should at once withdraw all his troops from the frontier. No Afghan troops are to be located within twenty miles of the nearest British force.

2. That the British troops should remain where they now are in the Afghan territory, with freedom to continue such military preparations and precautions as may be deemed necessary. The troops will however take no offensive action whatever so long as the terms of the armistice are observed by the Afghans.

3. That British aircraft will not bomb or machine-gun Afghan localities or forces so long as the armistice is observed, but they will have freedom of movement in the air to reconnoitre and observe the positions of the Afghan forces in order to ensure against any concentration or collection of the Afghan forces or tribesmen in

contravention of the armistice. Further that the Amir undertakes that his people will not fire at or molest British aircraft and will return without delay unhurt any British aircraft and airmen who may have been forced to land in Afghan limits, and use his utmost endeavour to ensure the safety of any British airmen who may be forced to land in tribal territory.

4. That the Amir should at once send urgent messages to the tribes both on his own side and on the British side of the Durand frontier, into whose limits his troops have been excited by his agents and proclamations, stating that he has asked the Government of India for a cessation of hostilities and that he will not countenance further aggressive action on their part against the British Government. If they take such action it will be at their own risk and they will receive no support from the Amir and find no asylum in Afghanistan, from which they will be ejected if they come.

Amir Amanulla's Reply to Viceroy.

Amir Amanulla's reply to the Viceroy's letter of June 3rd communicating the British Armistice terms reached Simla on June 18th.

While recognising the force of His Excellency's warning of the unlimited resources of the British Empire, and frankly admitting Afghanistan's lack of organisation the Amir alludes to Afghanistan's passion for independence, the power of the religious appeal, and the newly awakened world-spirit of freedom.

He then points out certain practical difficulties in the literal fulfilment of the armistice terms. Thus a literal interpretation of British demand for the withdrawal of the Afghan forces to a distance of twenty miles from the British forces would involve, he contends, the uprooting of thousands of villagers and tribesmen from their homes, seeing that the Afghan forces consist of a levy 'en masse'. Again he pleads the impossibility of guaranteeing the immunity of our reconnoitering aeroplanes in a country where every man has a rifle and eyes the presence of our aeroplanes overhead with bitterness and excitement.

As for the place of meeting for the peace delegates the Amir accepted His Excellency's choice of Rawalpindi. He announced the nomination of nine delegates, headed by Sardar Ali Ahmad Khan, his Home Minister, as President.

In reply the Viceroy explained that all that was meant by his last letter was that all regular Afghan troops should be removed from the British frontier to a distance of 20 miles. On the understanding that the Amir was prepared to accept the armistice terms

the Viceroy appointed Sir Hamilton Grant to be the Chief of the British Delegation to the Peace Conference to be held at Rawalpindi.

The Peace Conference at Rawalpindi.

Accordingly the Peace Conference met at Rawalpindi and began work on the 26th July 1919. Sir Hamilton Grant in his opening speech first recounted the British view of the causes of the war and pointed out that the Afghans had made two miscalculations. He continued :—

"In the first place they expected the Hindus and Moslems of Northern India, already, so they had been told, in open mutiny, to rise with one accord to welcome an Afghan invasion. In the second place they expected a complete rebellion by all tribes along the frontier. In both they were disappointed. Such local disorders serious though they were, as had taken place in India, had already been quelled. The vastly preponderating loyalty of India had reasserted itself. From the start it was clear that nothing could be more abominable in the eyes of both Hindus and Muslims than the prospect of an Afghan inroad. Indeed the Amir's action was from the outset condemned by all classes throughout India. The Princes and Chiefs vied with one another in their offers of assistance, while our ally Nepal placed her gallant troops once more at our disposal. As for the tribes, despite a number of serious defections, they have withstood the strain with remarkable fidelity. One other thing the Amir's advisers forgot. When Afghan troops violated the skirts of an Indian province, they were not merely pitting themselves against the Government of India, they were outraging the great British Empire with all its infinite resources.

"It was not long, however, the Amir realized the folly of this war and appealed for peace. The British Government had ample justification for continuing the war until they should receive an unconditional surrender. But believing the Amir was contrite and repentant of his hasty action, they accepted his overtures in a friendly spirit and laid down the terms on which hostilities should be suspended. The result is that we are met here to-day, but I must ask you clearly to bear these two facts in mind throughout—first, that it is the Amir who began the war; and, second, that it is the Amir who is now asking for peace. This being so His Majesty's Government have a right to expect on the part of the Amir's delegates an attitude of contrition and compliance. They are not prepared to consider counter-claims or counter-demands. I shall of course gladly listen to any representations you may have to make on any matter, but I must warn you that I am not authorised to entertain

or even to refer to my Government; any form of claim or demand. This warning appears the more necessary because, while we on our side have been most scrupulous in our observance of the armistice terms, Afghanistan has in more than one way flagrantly disregarded them. Thus all along the frontier Afghan officials and Afghan agents have been at work stirring up instead of quieting the tribes, and the intrigues of Shanghassi Khwaja Mohammed Khan with the Afridis have been as notorious as they have been unsuccessful. All this the British Government have borne with the utmost patience and forbearance. You may ask why. I will tell you. It is because they are big enough and strong enough to deal gently with a small State with whom they have so long been on terms of friendship. They have nothing to gain by the prosecution of this war, while Afghanistan, to foster whose independence and well-being has been their policy in the past, has everything to lose. They have no wish to dominate or annex your country. Had they had such a wish what better opportunity could they have than the prosecution of the war? Finally, they are mindful of the old ties of friendship with Afghanistan's wise rulers of the past, Zia-ul-Millat Waddin and Sinjul Millat and would gladly extend the hand of forgiveness and peace to their successor if he will make this possible. But do not imagine that the desire of the British Government for peace had come during the armistice. I beg you therefore not to trade on the idea that the patience of the British Government is inexhaustible. I warn you that any connivance of intrigues with the tribes must make negotiations between us impossible.

"Believe me as a friend that brave though the Afghans are, jealous though they are of their independence, their can be only one result if the war is renewed. And the conditions then offered by the British Government would inevitably be very different from the conditions which they are now prepared to offer. I fear that I have had to begin these proceedings by saying a number of unpala'able things. But when there is illness it is necessary to take the ill-tasting drug first and the sweetmeat that removes the evil taste comes later. I trust that this may be so. Now, having purged our discussion of misunderstanding, we may hereafter feel the benefit. You will find in my colleagues and myself sympathetic coadjutors in our common task. It is perhaps a happy augury that I myself had the pleasure of meeting some of you on two earlier occasions when the ties of friendship between the two Governments were drawn closer, first in Kabul four or five years ago, and later in India during the visit of the late Amir, those personal friendship I shall always be proud to remember."

The following is the written statement of Saidar Ali Ahmad Khan to the speech made by Sir Hamilton Grant at the opening of the Peace Conference :—

My friend and friends—On my own behalf and on behalf of the Afghan Government I express our pleasure that we meet again to-day with the noble intention of making a peace between the exalted Governments of Great Britain and Afghanistan that will be honourable to both the countries. In all friendship, I may remark, that the exalted and independent Government of Afghanistan has for many years had the most friendly relations with the British Government. It has lain like an iron barrier between the British Government and her enemies. The British Government in virtue of this co-operation has been able to rule India without trouble or inconvenience and has had nothing to fear from its Asiatic enemy, because unless the Afghans were completely destroyed nothing could interfere with the tranquil administration of the British Government in India. The British Government moreover considered itself the supporter of the Afghan Government. The Afghan Government on its part was firm in its friendship and had never violated that friendship or acted against it, particularly since the beginning of the rule of the late Amir, Zia Millat Waddin, to the time of the assassination of his late Majesty Siraj-ul-Millat Waddin.

“Notwithstanding this old alliance the British Government did not try to consummate this friendship or to eliminate certain defects. On the contrary, their refusal to allow the tribes to be included in Afghanistan in spite of the close tribal relations between them was objectionable to the Afghan peoples. No harm could have occurred to the British Government if the tribes had been placed under Afghanistan, while unlimited trouble and expenditure which the British Government had to incur during this period would have been saved. The result was incalculable loss to the British Government. If the British Government considered the question fairly and carefully they would realise that if these tracts had been under the Afghan Government such wars and troubles would not have occurred, nor would the British Government have suffered such loss in property and life. However, as the Afghan Government considered the British the supporter and helper of Islamic nations it did not lose patience and forbearance, but the British Government had disappointed the expectations of Afghanistan and made them hopeless.

Mahomedans all over the world were disappointed that a great Power which considered itself the friend of Islam and Afghanistan could have anything to do with such things. In the brain of every individual the fight of independence and liberty was burning and the politics of the world had assumed a new aspect. The Govern-

ment of Afghanistan cherishes to the utmost that spirit of freedom and liberty which is inherent in every individual in the world and it considered itself as much an independent Government as any other Power in the world. So long as a single individual of Afghanistan remained alive the Afghan would not give up this resolve."

The speaker proceeded to say that just as the British Government had been a friend of the Afghan Government for many years past so was the sublime Government of Afghanistan a friend of the British Government, which had derived numerous advantages, moral and material, from the friendship of Afghanistan. These were well-known to the British Government and to other Powers in the world. He hoped, therefore, that both parties would try to put an end to the unavoidable events which had caused a breach of friendship and alliance and make every effort to ensure that the mutual bonds of friendship might be cemented afresh in such a way that the friendship would be firmer than before, based on honour to both Governments.

Cause of the War.

"At the first meeting the Chief British Representative had called this war a foolish, unprovoked and wanton war, perhaps on account of the unexpectedness of certain events, and had said he was not acquainted with the causes which had brought about a revolution in the Government and had led to this state of affairs. Had the Chief British Representative been acquainted with all the circumstances he would have attributed this war not to the causes referred to but to misunderstandings on the part of thoughtless officers on both sides of the Frontier and would not have held the Afghan Government and the Amir responsible for it. I shall therefore briefly mention these events, starting from the beginning of the reign of our young King Amir Amanullah Khan. It will then be possible to conclude peace without difficulty and the sincere friendship of the two parties will be memorable and last for ever. God places the Crown of a kingdom on the head which He considers most suitable for it. God willing then, the Crown of Afghanistan was placed on the head of Amir Amanullah Khan. At the beginning of his reign His Majesty communicated in a friendly letter to the British Government the news of the assassination of his father and of his own succession and the independence and integrity of his kingdom and his friendly attitude in future. The reply to this letter was received after the lapse of 44 days and did not properly appreciate the views which the letter had put forward. The British Government did not show the consideration that the Afghan Government deserved for her friendly services towards the

British Government in maintaining neutrality, but remained silent on the subject. Nor was any reply received to the proposal of the Afghan Government, that delegates from Afghanistan should take part in the Peace Conference. Reports moreover showed that owing to the introduction of martial law and certain legislative measures by the British Government, disturbances had occurred on the Peshawar frontier. This excited the people of Afghanistan who had temporarily been kept quiet by the late Amir, and stirred up the same ideas with even greater force. The fear was entertained that these disturbances might affect the Afghan frontier as it was the beginning of the Amir's rule. It was considered necessary to take certain measures for the protection of the Afghan frontier and detachments of troops were posted at different places on the frontier. The detachment intended for the eastern border reached its destination and was making a tour in the district to inspect the frontier. This caused an apprehension to the British troops and misunderstandings on both sides which led to war.

They bombarded us with artillery, and aeroplane dropped bombs on our troops who were without aeroplanes and on the unprotected buildings at Jelalabad where the late Amir lies buried. The late Amir was a faithful ally of the British Government and during his 18 years of rule had maintained a daily increasing friendship with the British Government, particularly during the period of the five years of the European war. He had demonstrated his neutrality in spite of very heavy expense and in face of powerful foreign influences in a manner which cannot be denied by anyone. The British Government cannot deny this.

Amir's "Unparalleled Wisdom."

When the inhabitants of Afghanistan heard of these acts they were excited and proceeded towards the frontier. When the Amir witnessed the state of affairs, and saw that the British Government instead of attributing it to a misunderstanding considered it intentional and had advanced their troops, he considered it necessary to proclaim a 'Jehad' in Kabul. Mr. Bray, the Foreign Secretary, had expressed a desire for peace through the Afghan envoy (Sardar Abdul Rahmani Khan) to His Majesty the Amir. In spite of what had happened the Amir maintained his friendly attitude and agreed to the proposal. His unparalleled wisdom temporarily checked the universal excitement among the Afghan tribes and he communicated to the British Government his orders for an armistice.

Impartial consideration will show which Government made the first overtures for peace. Still what does it matter whether

overtures for peace were first made by the Afghan Government or by the British Government? In my opinion and in the opinion of my companions whichever side made these overtures performed a good act and will be commended by every just man and by every humanitarian. It is incumbent on both parties to ponder over this most carefully, so that events might be attributed to the right causes and the present state of affairs be put right to the advantage of both Governments now and in the future. It is not unknown to the delegates of the Indian Commission that from ancient times disputes and bloodshed have prevailed among the tribes and that this is due to two causes : firstly, the question of faiths and religion which concern the establishment of truth and the eradication of falsehood, that is one of the parties considers its religion true and under the influence of religion takes steps to destroy the other religion and introduce its own. Secondly, worldly interests and considerations of self-defence have caused the introduction of political principles which often have been made to assume a religious garb and caused the flowing of rivers of blood. At this period of civilisation differences and disputes about material interests are not given a religious colour until religion really suffers or until a blow is openly struck against it. On one side there is the desire for the acquisition of possessions and extension of dominion along with moral and material benefits, on the other the assertion of freedom which is the essence of human life. In the struggle and turmoil of the world when one nation becomes subordinate to another, it is either absorbed in the dominant people like Persia and Turkistan and other countries first conquered by Islam, or it has disappeared from the face of the earth like the original inhabitants of India and America or it still continues to express its feelings like Morocco, India and Egypt in the present day. At the same time you must admit that the desire for peace and liberty is a natural one and the wise statesmen of the world have never condemned the idea of liberty. Otherwise the British Government would not have made such sacrifices in the cause of slavery.

Discontent in Afghanistan.

After referring to the recent disturbances in Egypt, Ireland and India he said : It is worthy of remark that while the subjects of the British Government are in this state, Afghanistan which has maintained its freedom for such a long time and has nourished feelings of liberty has been in a state of disturbance. When international relations are expanding on every side and the world is being revolutionised how can Afghanistan remain where it was fifty years ago. The subjects of Afghanistan could not give open expression

to their feelings owing to the power of their rulers. If you enquire why the attitude of friends has suddenly become hostile I will inform you. Consider the circumstances prevailing in the world. Italy trampled over the Mahommadans of Turkey. Bulgaria did not lag behind in this matter and other great European powers followed suit. When the great European war began Mahommadans were sorry to see it and were wondering why these civilised nations were resorting to bloodshed. Then there was war between Great Britain and Turkey. Whether Turkey was in the wrong or in the right the hearts of all Islamic people in the world naturally went out towards the Turkish Government. The news of the fighting of the European war with Turkey spread over the frontier hills and affected the hearts of the Afghan people. If the European war had come to an end before the assassination of his late Majesty the Amir, temporary disturbances like the present war would not have occurred : bloodshed would have been avoided and the friendship of the two governments would have been uninterrupted. The feelings of the Afghans had long been kept under restraint but when the voices of the peoples of India also were raised the Afghans who have always had sympathy with them felt suppressed. His Majesty the Amir openly agreed with his people whose power is very considerable but secretly by strategy he endeavoured to keep them quiet. He meant to introduce reforms into his country but mistakes made by officers of both sides as mentioned before brought about an unexpected state of affairs. The temporary check which the Amir has placed on the Afghan tribes depends entirely on the promise of the attainment of their national aspirations until the object of our nation is properly gained. However it is impossible to restrain them.

Well, knowing the goodwill of the British Government and hoping that your subjects may be released from the pressure of war, I assure you that it is in your hands to put an end to the Afghan war and to renew the relations of friendship between the two Governments in such a way that, please God, it will be ensured for a very long time and will permanently endure. The British Government will be released from the pressure of the present war and relieved of the trouble of finding men and money. The friendly attitude of both parties in view of the exigencies of the present time and the probable events of the future will result in moral and material progress and as partners standing shoulder to shoulder they will attain political supremacy in the east. They will gain their material interests and ensure their power of self defence. One source of trouble and anxiety to both parties is the question of the frontier tribes. As they are of the same nation they are called Afghans with us. Their raids on British territory are attributed

to the intrigues of our Government. This had been a cause of anxiety and interference with the friendship of both Governments. This remains so. The solving of the problem is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of peace and friendship between the two Governments. I hope that the attention of the delegates of both Governments will be drawn to this. The soldiers of both Governments who are thirsting for the blood of each other will then shake hands in friendship with each other."

After deliberations lasting over several days, peace was at last concluded.

The Text of the Peace.

Treaty of peace between the illustrious British Government and the Independent Afghan Government concluded at Rawal Pindi on the 18th August 1919 corresponding to the 11th Ziqad 1337 Hijra.

The following articles for the restoration of peace were agreed upon by the British Government and the Afghan Government :—

Article 1. From date of signing of this treaty there shall be peace between the British Government on one part and the Government of Afghanistan on the other.

2. In view of the circumstances which have brought about the present war between the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan the British Government to mark their displeasure withdraw the privilege enjoyed by former Amirs of importing arms, ammunitions, or warlike materials through India to Afghanistan.

3. The arrears of the late Amir's subsidy is granted to the present Amir.

4. At the same time the British Government is desirous of the re-establishment of the old friendship that so long existed between Afghanistan and Great Britain provided they have guarantees that the Afghan Government are on their part sincerely anxious to regain the friendship of the British Government. The British Government are prepared therefore, provided the Afghan Government prove this by their acts and conduct, to receive another Afghan mission after six months for the discussion and amicable settlement of matters of common interest to the two Governments and the re-establishment of the old friendship on a satisfactory basis.

5. The Afghan Government accept the Indo-Afghan frontier accepted by the late Amir. They further agree to the early demarcation by a British commission of the undemarcated portion of the line to the west of Khyber where the recent Afghan aggression took place and to accept such boundary as the British commission may lay down. The British troops on this side will remain in their present positions until such demarcation has been effected.

THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE

Delhi, 3 Nov. 1919.

The Annual Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs was opened by the Viceroy, H. E. Lord Chelmsford in the Council Chamber of Delhi on November 3rd, 1919. The Viceroy presided and delivered a lengthy opening Address. There was a large attendance of distinguished visitors, European and Indian and about 40 Ruling Princes and Chiefs with their *entourage* attended.

The Viceroy's Opening Address

YOUR HIGHNESSES,—This is the fourth occasion upon which I have had the honour to preside at your conference. I find that I look forward each year with increased pleasure to our annual meetings and I trust that Your Highnesses do the same. Apart from the really valuable work which we got through in our formal debates there are opportunities which I greatly value for the renewal of old friendships and for the formation of fresh ones. Further, it is of particular advantage to a Viceroy to be able from time to time to exchange ideas with Princess who share with him and with the provincial Governors the burden of rule in India. I am very glad to see so many of Your Highnesses present here to-day and I offer you a warm welcome on my own behalf and on behalf of the Government of India. I congratulate you heartily on the excellent rains that have fallen in your states and I trust that a good agricultural year may be before you and that this and the peace may be a prelude to an era of great prosperity. I deeply regret that several of our most distinguished members including Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur have been prevented by ill health from joining us on this occasion. We shall greatly miss their advice and co-operation.

At our meeting in January last I referred to the losses which your order had sustained. We had then to deplore the death of no less than six members of the conference. This year we have to mourn the loss of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bhavnagar and Ajaigarh and the Rajas of Sailana, Chamba and Suket. I have no doubt that Your Highnesses will all desire that the Conference should express its sympathy with the ruling families. In another matter in which regret has no place the Conference will be equally unanimous. I mean in according welcome to the

Maharaja of Bikaner. We are all sincerely glad to see him among us again both on personal grounds and because of the valuable contributions he could make to our discussions. This is not the time or the place to dwell on His Highness's services to India and the Empire at the Imperial Conference in London and at Peace Conference at Versailles. They are well-known to us all. I will only state what I am sure is the general opinion of the Conference that the Indian states were fortunate in their representative and are proud that his signature should have been placed on the peace treaty.

Since we last met one event has occurred of outstanding importance to the world, to the Empire and to India, the signing of the treaty of peace with Germany. I will not attempt to enumerate in detail the services rendered by the Indian rulers and their contributions in men, money and material to the prosecution of the war and to the attainment of those ends which find their realisation in the treaty, but I do not wish to let this occasion pass without expressing once more the thanks of His Imperial Majesty and of the Government of India for the splendid part played by the princes and chiefs. I must thank Your Highnesses warmly, also for the unanimity with which you placed your services and your resources at the disposal of the Government for the Afghan war and I wish to acknowledge particularly the prompt and whole-hearted assistance rendered by the princes of the Punjab in the suppression of the recent disorders in that province. Your assistance and your offers of support have been of great value both in themselves and as evidence of the solidarity of the Indian states with the Supreme Government. The British empire is now by the mercy of the Almighty at peace both in Europe and in the east and tranquility reigns in India but that does not mean that there is no longer occasion for very special efforts on the part of Governments, Princes and people. The difficulties and dangers of peace are less patent than those of war, but they are on that account more difficult to cope with. The struggle lacks the stimulus of open danger and the appeal of obvious patriotism. There is a new spirit abroad in the world impatient of restraint, prone to look upon order as tyranny, prosperity as profiteering and expensiveness of living as the result of mal-administration. This spirit is embittered by high prices due partly to the failure of the last monsoon and partly to the diversion of the world's energies from production to destruction, excited by the downfall of great powers and encouraged by secret and subtle propaganda to think that anarchy means happiness and prosperity for all. This spirit is the most subtle and the greatest danger that has ever come upon mankind. The Indian states, perhaps also India

as a whole, are less likely than Europe to be primarily assailed, but sooner or later we may all be forced to repel that attack whether it comes from without or within the body politic. The strongest weapon in the panoply of our defence is good Government which inspired with sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of the people is resolute at all times in the maintenance of public order. By this means only can peace after war, safety after danger, be secured. I most earnestly enjoin upon Your Highnesses to see to it that your armoury is well furnished in so far as concerns the portion of the Empire for which you are responsible. The Government of India have their own problems to deal with in which it is not your principal part to give direct aid, although even outside your states you have much influence upon popular opinion, which I am confident you will exercise in the right direction. Your Highnesses can however lend valuable assistance by ensuring that your states are places in which the lawless and malicious spirit is not tolerated, where lying stories find no favour, where the motives of the British Government are not misrepresented and where British rule is not held up to obloquy. You will have difficulties to contend with in your own states. You cannot expect that the demands of the new after-war spirit for liberty and freedom from restraint will be confined to British India. Such demands becoming more and more insistent will make themselves heard in the Indian states. I know that several of Your Highnesses have been thinking very deeply about these questions and most of you must no doubt have felt that your states also must move with the times. As to the lines on which progress is to take place Your Highnesses must decide for yourselves with due regard to local circumstances and sentiment. You are rulers in your states, but if you will allow me to offer you some words of advice, I would counsel you in the first place to determine that whatever measures of reform may be introduced shall be substantial. If you decide to extend your administrative structure, remember that what is needed is not a facade however beautiful but buildings in which men can live and work. In the second place I would advise you in planning additions to maintain the fabric of your society and preserve its structure and its solid walls, pillars and tower. The rocks in which they are imbedded are the work of nature. The foundations were well and truly laid by your ancestors. Time has proved the strength of the edifice. I urge you therefore to repair these, to develop their design, to add to them the convenience and freedom of our age but not to demolish them. Do not believe that a brand-new modern building can compare as a place of safety, as a work of art or as a true expression of your life and the life of your people, with one which rests on natural foundation, which has stood the

test of centuries and which has grown with your race and embodies its spirit and is tradition. I should like to quote here a thoughtful remark which I read recently in a durbar speech of a Central Indian ruler.—“We have to remember the extent of our conservatism and try to remove it without wounding the feelings of those who adhere to it and who have adhered to it through so many ages past.” There is no reason why your nobles and jagirdars should not be in the future, as they were when you first entered into possession of your state, the bulwarks of your rule if you place reliance upon them and educate them to work with you in your important task, and if they on their part recognise that it is their duty to serve you with loyalty.

I have dwelt at some length on subjects which are not directly connected with the business before the Conference, but I have done so because opportunities of meeting a representative body of the Princess and Chiefs are not very frequent and because I feel that we stand now at the parting of the ways where we need all our foresight, all our wisdom, to guide us in taking the right path. I should be failing you if I did not indicate what I thought might be useful to you in coming to a decision as to the path to choose and as to the arrangements for the journey. I wish also to take this opportunity of impressing on Your Highnesses that the Government of India and my political officers will be ready at all times to advise you in the solution of the difficult problems before you and to assure you that you may continue to rely on our friendly support in the introduction of measures for the benefit of your subjects and for the moral and material development of your states.

Chamber of Princes.

Turning to the questions with which we are more immediately and directly concerned I should explain to Your Highnesses that early last May the Government of India addressed the Secretary of State regarding the resolutions passed by your conference held in January of this year. (See the Registers for 1919).

We forwarded copies of the resolutions and of the proceedings and of the recorded opinions of the princes. We made our recommendations and asked for the views of His Majesty's Government. I will proceed to communicate to Your Highnesses the decisions arrived at by the Government of India with the approval of His Majesty's Government on matters which have reached the state of decision, the reasons on which the decisions are based and various considerations which may help in the solution of the questions which are still before the conference. I am glad to be able to announce to Your Highnesses the intention of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to call into being a per-

manent Chamber of Princes, although I might ask you to regard this announcement as merely a preliminary statement of intention. The formal establishment of recognition of the Chamber must be reserved for a later date when the details of its constitution and functions have been worked out.

As regards that very important question, the position of that "Demarcation line," Your Highnesses will remember that in my speech at the last conference I said that Mr. Montagu and I felt that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list as it stands any fundamental distinction between the more important states and the remainder. It appeared to us that if such a distinction were to be made, it must be based upon constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the crown, etc., and therefore we recommended in our report that the line should be drawn at separate rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. I said in my speech that in my opinion the essential question for classification purposes would appear to be whether a ruler has normally the power to legislate for the welfare of the subjects and to conduct the administration without the intervention of British officials. I learned however from the debates of the last Conference and from the written memoranda forwarded by rulers who are not present that a marked divergence of opinion existed on the subject of the principle to be employed for effecting the division. I do not propose to discuss critically the resolution which Your Highnesses passed on item (1) of the agenda of the last Conference because if the solution which I am about to suggest commends itself to Your Highnesses I think it would be a waste of time to do so. I will only say that owing to the extreme difficulty of defining with precision the "full powers of internal administration" and the embarrassment which must be caused by applying the test when formulated in individual cases, I am convinced that it would really be wisest after all to base the distinction primarily upon the salute list.

The Scheme of the Chamber.

The scheme, which, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, I desire to propound for Your Highnesses consideration is as follows:—First, that all states the rulers of which enjoy permanent dynastic salutes of 11 guns or over should be entitled as of right to membership of the Chamber. Second, that states whose rulers enjoy a dynastic salute of 9 guns but have at present such full or practically full internal powers as to qualify them in other respects for admission to the chamber, should be so admitted. Third, that as regards those states whose rulers possess a

dynastic salute of 9 guns but are not at present in possession of full or practically full internal powers, the Government of India should investigate each case and decide whether to grant the internal powers required in order to make the state qualified for admission to the Chamber. I may add that in my opinion the necessary enhancement of powers should be granted in every case where no sufficient reason exists to the contrary, since it is of the highest importance that the question of admission to the Chamber should be dealt with on broad and generous lines, the deciding factor being the salute of the particular state and not the personal qualifications of the ruler for the time being. I know that on the occasion of the last conference some of Your Highnesses who claim feudatory rights and other rulers were apprehensive lest those rights should ultimately be affected by the inclusion of lesser states within the group formed by the dividing line. You added on this account a proviso to your resolution to the effect that the removal of restrictions on the powers of a state, and its consequent admission to the chamber as a member should not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other state that can legitimately claim suzerainty over such state. I am entirely in accord with Your Highnesses as to the importance of maintaining the status quo in the matter of feudatory relations, and I think I may safely say that your proviso will be accepted by the Government of India. On the other hand I am of opinion, and in this I think you will agree with me, that at the present stage and pending the final adjudication of particular claims to feudatory rights, no state whose qualifications for membership of the chamber has to be scrutinised, should be prejudiced as regards eligibility by the mere existence of an established claim to feudatory rights which might, if admitted, limit the exercise by the ruler of full or practically full internal powers and so disqualify him for membership. In this connection I must also reiterate what I said in my last speech, namely, that it would not be of course appropriate to regard mere payments, originally of a tributary nature, made by one state to another as necessarily constituting feudatory relations. Next item alludes to another point which has a very important bearing on the question of the dividing line. Your Highnesses will remember that in my last speech I said that Mr. Montagu and I felt that the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigations in view of the anomalies which appeared to exist. If the principle which I now advocate is to be adopted as the basis of classification it will be additionally desirable that this investigation should be undertaken at an early date, in order that anomalies whether already existing or likely to ensue from the institution of the dividing line should be corrected wherever possible. My Govern-

ment are ready to give their earnest consideration to this matter, and will make the necessary recommendations to the Secretary of State for submission to His Imperial Majesty in due course.

Lesser States.

Assuming that the question of the dividing line is settled in the manner indicated above the next problem for Your Highnesses' consideration relates to the representation in the chamber of the interests of the lesser states, whose rulers have no salutes and do not possess practically full internal powers. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner very clearly explained the issue in paragraphs 19-22 of the note which he sent in last year, though he did not suggest a plan for adoption. The Government of India are in complete accord with the view which seemed to be generally held by the conference last year, namely, that some scheme ought to be devised whereby a reasonable and proportional representation of the lesser states may be secured in the chamber so as to enable them to have a voice in matters affecting their interests. The question as to the best means for securing this result is one which needs to be fully weighed and discussed by Your Highnesses, and I will not attempt to prejudice your conclusions by offering suggestions at the present stage, although I shall be glad to help you in any way that I can to work out an effective scheme. If the scheme which I have briefly outlined above is acceptable to your Highnesses it would seem desirable that the rulers of all states which are qualified for admission to the chamber should be described as Ruling Princes, the rulers of the lesser states whose interests will be represented in the chamber being described as Ruling Chiefs, and I propose to adopt this nomenclature. I may add that it is the full intention of the Government of India that changes which may be introduced in the relations between the Government of India and the Princes, as for instance, in regard to commissions of enquiry, judicial commissions etc, shall be applicable when this may seem appropriate and possible to the lesser rulers also.

As regards the functions of the chamber and the rules of business which should regulate its procedure, I would remind Your Highnesses that although there is a strong and influential body of opinion in favour of the chamber, yet at the time of the last conferences the Princes and Chiefs were not unanimous in their desire for the institution of a more formal assemblage than our annual meetings. The chamber will have to justify its existence and win its spurs. I have expressed the view on more than one occasion that the chamber must evolve gradually on lines which experience may show to be best suited to its healthy growth, and that it is important to avoid unnecessary restrictions

or complications at the outset. The points which it is important to bear in mind are as follows:—First, attendance and voting in the chamber will be voluntary. Every Prince must decide for himself whether he will attend and take a share in the business, and although we may sincerely hope that abstentions will be few and that Your Highnesses will realise in an increasing degree the advantages of taking part in the deliberations, yet no pressure of any sort can be exercised. Second, the chamber will be a consultative and not an executive body. Resolutions passed by the chamber must inevitably exercise influence on the relations of Government with darbars not participating in the deliberation of the chamber since such resolutions will be weighty contributions affecting the settlement of matters of common concern to the states in which the final decision must rest with the Government of India. It will, however, be the particular concern of the Government to safeguard the interest of the absent rulers by ensuring that their views are elicited and duly weighed, and in this manner opportunity will always be afforded for the darbars concerned to place before the Government of India their recorded views on questions of importance that may come before the chamber. It has hitherto been the practice to lay copies of such recorded views before the conference, of course with the consent of the Darbars which have given utterance to them, and special provision should certainly be made for the continuance of this practice, when the chamber is constituted. Rulers who do not attend the meetings will thus be assured that their views receive full consideration from their brother Princes as well as from the Government of India. Third, the direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State will not be prejudiced by the institution of the Chamber since each individual State whether represented in the Chamber or not will maintain its right of direct communication with the Government as heretofore. It will be necessary in this connection to provide specifically that the Chamber shall not discuss the internal affairs of any particular State or the actions of any individual Ruler.

Other Subsidiary Questions.

With these observations I invite Your Highnesses to undertake the task of formulating your proposals for the institution of the Chamber. In Clause (b) of the resolution passed by Your Highnesses on the agenda 1 (3) of the last Conference the recommendation was made that the term NARENDRA MANDAL (Chamber of Princes) should be adopted as the designation of the proposed body. It is possible that Your Highnesses may wish to make some alteration in this designation if it is eventually decided that the Chiefs as

well as the Princes are to be included in the chamber. If, however, Your Highnesses adhere to the recommendation, and if I find that it meets with the concurrence of the Musalman Princes the Government of India will readily agree to it. The next question on the agenda is the codification of political practice. Your Highnesses will remember that at the informal discussion held in February 1st, 1918, some of the rulers complained, without specifying particular instances, that the Government of India had on occasions infringed treaties and engagements. As you are aware, the Darbars were invited to bring to notice any cases in which they considered that there had been a failure on the part of the British to fulfil treaties and engagements. In response several of the Darbars intimated that they had no complaint to make and of the complaints which have been made a number of them are appeals against the decisions of Government in cases affecting the interests of particular States. Where there appears to be a justification for re-opening such disputes recourse might suitably be had to the commissions of enquiry proposed in paragraph 308 of the report on the Reforms scheme. Many Darbars however contended that the political practice and usage of the past had encroached on the dignity and rights of Darbars, and was in conflict with the spirit of treaty relations. Copies of a list of 23 matters regarding which this allegation has been made will be distributed for Your Highnesses' information. The examination of some of the points summarised in the list was taken in hand last September by the committee which Your Highnesses appointed. The conclusions which were then arrived at will be reported to you by the Committee.

Political Practice.

There is no doubt that with the growth of new conditions and the unification of India under the British, political doctrine has constantly developed. In the case of extra-territorial jurisdiction, Railway and Telegraph construction, limitation of armaments, coinage, currency and opium policy and the administration of cantonments, to give some of the more salient instances, the relations between many states and the Imperial Government have been changed. The change however has come about in the interests of India as a whole, and I need hardly say that there has been no deliberate wish to curtail the powers of Princes and Chiefs. We cannot deny, however, that the treaty position has been affected and that a body of usage, in some cases arbitrary, but always benevolent, has insensibly come into being. Some of Your Highnesses have therefore asked that the Darbars should for the future have a voice in the formulation of political practice.

The Government of India entirely concur in the justice of this claim and with the approval of His Majesty's Government have decided to accede to your request in regard to that portion of our political doctrine which can be expressed in the form of general principles in so far as it is based on considerations other than treaty rights. From the point of view of Government also it cannot but be of the greatest advantage that decisions as to political practice which may have a bearing on the States' prerogatives should be taken after formal and collective discussion with rulers. We have come to this conclusion with the reservation that the paramount power retains the right of ultimate decision with regard to the principles to be adopted, and with regard to the extent of their application. We cannot anticipate that we shall always be in absolute agreement, but we believe that generally speaking opposition has been in many cases directed rather at the form in which doctrines are set forth than at their substance and we feel that you will in future view them in a new light when the reasons on which they are based, and the economic inter-dependence of British India and the States are frankly explained to you. The committee which sat in September has had the advice and assistance of the Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes and various officers from the Secretariat and Administrative Departments of the Government of India to explain questions concerning telegraphs, telephones, currency and mining concessions which had afforded occasion for the development of new principles. Lastly, with regard to the procedure to be followed in examining the question of modification of political practice, I understand that there has been a difference of opinion. That is to say, the question is whether we should scrutinise and test our practice and procedure in the light of general principles to be abstracted from the body of the treaties and engagements in the hope of thus defining the true position of the States with the Government of India, or whether we should endeavour to derive principles from the body of case law which has grown up. The latter method was provisionally adopted by the committee which met in September, but it was adopted on the understanding that it should not prejudice resort to the deductive method at a later stage if this seemed to be required.

It is a pleasure to me to be able to inform Your Highnesses of the intention of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government to adopt your proposals for the appointment of a Standing Committee in this matter; as, in the case of the Permanent Chamber a more formal pronouncement will be made at a later date. In clause (b) of the resolution passed on the subject by the last conference Your Highnesses made proposals in regard to the constitution of the Standing Committee. These proposals may

perhaps be the subject of further discussion during the present meeting, so that I will say nothing in regard to them at present. In clause (c) of the resolution Your Highnesses recommended that the committee should be competent to initiate questions affecting Indian States generally or of common interest to India as a whole either of their own accord or at the direction of the Chamber of Princes for the consideration of the Viceroy. You also recommended in clause (d) that the agenda for the Chamber should be decided in consultation with the committee. The Government of India accept these recommendations, but I desire to make it clearly understood that the committee's initiative is restricted absolutely to matters of common concern to the States in general. We should, I think, bear in mind that the real function of the standing Committee is to continue the work of the permanent committee engaged on the modification of Political Practice ; provision for the interests of individual States and rulers is made for them in the commissions of enquiry and courts of arbitration to which I will allude at a later stage.

The Commission of Inquiry.

In this connection I would however add that these remarks are not applicable to the suggestions made by some of the Central India Darbars for the constitution of Local Committee for the settlement of local disputes. The matter is not now before the conference for consideration, but I take this opportunity of informing the Darbars concerned that the suggestion has not been lost sight of. In the matter of commissions of enquiry I will remind Your Highnesses that the original draft proposal framed at the informal discussion at Delhi in 1918 provided for the appointment of commissions of enquiry in regard to two descriptions of cases. The first related to the settlement of disputes between the Government of India or any local Government and a State or between one State and another or to the decision of cases in which a State is dissatisfied with the advice of the Government of India or their local representative. The second contemplated the tender of advice to the Government of India when a question arises of depriving the ruler of an important State of his rights, dignities and powers or of debarring a member of his family from succession. The Government of India with the approval of His Majesty's Government have decided to differentiate the appellation of the Commissioner convened for these two purposes. In accordance with the resolution passed on the subject at the last conference the term " Court of Arbitration " will be given to Commissions of the first kind, and the term " Commission of Enquiry " to those of the second kind. The Government of India are unable to accept

the recommendation made in the first part of the resolution passed by the last Conference on the subject of the Court of Arbitration, namely that His Excellency the Viceroy before rejecting the request of any party for a Commission of Enquiry should invite the opinion of the Standing Committee on this point, and that when the request comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained. The Government of India regard it as of the greatest importance that as proposed in paragraph 307 of the Reform Report the Standing Committee should refrain from considering or offering advice, in regard to questions affecting any individual State or Ruler unless on the invitation of the Viceroy who would only refer to the Committee with the concurrence of the Darbar concerned and if he considered that such a reference would be helpful. Similarly the Government of India are unable to agree to the stipulation that when the request for a Court of Arbitration comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained by the Viceroy since although it would be in the highest degree unlikely that His Excellency would reject such a request, it is nevertheless desirable that he should retain discretion to do so. But the Government of India accept both the suggestions made in the resolution passed by the last conference on agenda (1) (6), namely, (a) that it should be made clear that the party concerned, on the names of the proposed commissioners being intimated to him, will have the right of challenging the nomination of any of the Commissioners, this right to be exercised only once, and (b) that the machinery proposed should not be put in motion if the ruler of the State concerned himself prefers the question to be decided by the Government without a commission of enquiry. When circumstances arise in an important State such as would be dealt with by a commission of enquiry it will invariably be appointed unless the ruler of the State concerned prefers that the Government of India should come to a decision without the appointment of a commission. It must be understood of course that the right of challenge will apply to each original nominee, but not to the person substituted for each nominee challenged. The question of the establishment of more direct relations between the States and the Government of India has not been lost sight of. I described in my address to Your Highnesses in January the general views of the Government of India on the question, the advantage of introducing changes of the kind proposed and the difficulties in the path. These points were communicated at length to the Secretary of State who has signified the general concurrence of His Majesty's Government in our views, and His Majesty's Government equally with the Government of India are anxious that early progress should be made with the scheme. Very great difficulties and complexities

are, however, involved in its introduction, and I cannot do more than ask Your Highnesses to accept my assurance that time is not being lost in action. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab proposes to discuss the subject with the Punjab rulers concerned during the ensuing cold weather, and I have arranged with the Bombay Government that a special investigation shall be commenced at an early date in that presidency as a preliminary to further consideration of the scheme as affecting the Bombay States. The question of straightening the channel of communication with states which are in direct political relations with the Central Government, such as those in Rajputana and Central India, is also being carefully considered. As regards the question of local statistics which has been placed on the agenda, I propose to say a few words to Your Highnesses later. As regards item (IV) of the Agenda, the question of the desirability of co-operation in matters of public health, I feel that no useful purpose would be served by adding to the memorandum which has been placed before Your Highnesses. It is unnecessary for me to make any remarks regarding item (V) of the agenda. It is satisfactory that Your Highnesses are considering the question of the future organisation of the Imperial Service Troops. The Government of India regard the matter as being of the highest importance and I am sure that Your Highnesses will concur in this. I trust that your deliberations with the military authorities will be productive of good results. I recommend to Your Highnesses' earnest consideration the desirability of adopting measures for the encouragement of horse-breeding in your States. The matter is one of imperial concern, and I hope that the Government of India may rely upon the co-operation of those darbars whose territories are suitable for the breeding of horses. You may count on the expert advice of General Templer, the Director-General of the Army Remount Department, who has the matter much at heart. Connected with this subject is the adoption of preventive measures against the spread of surra in Indian States. I hope that your deliberations with Col. Farmer will be productive of a joint system to combat the disease. I trust that your discussions with Dr. Hayden, the Director of the Geological Survey of India, may have convinced Your Highnesses that it is equally in the interests of your states and of India as a whole, that grants of mineral concessions in your States should not be made without careful scrutiny. The question was discussed at length by the committee appointed by Your Highnesses which sat last September at Simla, and you will no doubt give your careful attention to the recommendations made by them. Your Highnesses will remember that in the session of 1917 certain resolutions were adopted regarding statistics, es-

pecially in regard to the production and distribution of food and raw materials. Events have taught us the great importance of accurate statistics in assisting administration, and in the solution of those economic problems which now confront the world. The result of the resolutions to which I have just referred has been very satisfactory, and the co-operation of the States has brought the agricultural statistics of India on to a new plane. Last year a class of instructions was for the first time held in Calcutta and was attended by representatives from Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore and other states. It proved so successful that it will be held again this year and I understand that officials from the Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, Gwalior and Bundi States have again been nominated to attend the instructional class to be held this month. Since the Conference His Exalted Highness the Nizam has appointed a Director of Statistics for Hyderabad.

Conclusion.

I fear I have detained Your Highnesses for a long time and you may think I have gone into unnecessary detail. But I have spoken at length deliberately thinking it desirable that you should have before you a comprehensive survey of the situation as it now stands. Looking back on the progress made since then inception of the Conference scheme, I think we may congratulate ourselves on what has been achieved. We must not be impatient if at times our progress may seem slow. Remember the old saying that "That to which time has not been a party, time will not ratify." Progress is not to be judged only by the quantity of the resolutions passed and the decisions taken or even by their quality. We must look higher and higher than this. We are engaged in the designing and erection of an edifice intended to endure for many years. The success of a building, whether the test be its durability, its convenience or its beauty, depends not only on the solidity of its foundation, the quality of the material used and the skill of the workmen employed, but on the spirit which inspires the architects who make the plans. In our building enterprise, are we the architects inspired by a spirit which will guide us to success? The answer in my opinion is emphatically 'yes.' It is, yes, because we have begun in a spirit of candour, loyalty, liberality and goodwill. I am sure that if this spirit guides us till our task is done, when we reach the end we shall be able to say we have done well. It only remains for me to convey to you at the express desire of his Majesty's Secretary of State his cordial wishes for the success of the Conference.

Peace Resolution.

At the conclusion of the Viceroy's speech the Maharaja of Gwalior moved a resolution congratulating the Government on the conclusion of Peace and in the course of his speech paid an eloquent tribute to the officers of the Government for their splendid devotion to duty.

The Maharaja of Bikanir seconding the resolution said :— Your Excellency, I beg to second the resolution moved by my old and valued friend, the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. I heartily associate myself with what His Highness has said, and am happy to join him in the tribute which he has paid to our splendid Indian army, to Lord Hardinge, to Your Excellency and the Government of India, to His Excellency General Sir Charles Munro and the other Commanders-in-Chief in the various theatres of War, also, in view of the part which our own troops have been privileged to take in the War, to the officers, services, and departments of the Imperial Government, not forgetting our friends of the political department, and the British officers associated with our troops, at the victorious termination of the world war which so completely absorbed our attention and energies during the five dreary years of its duration. It is but natural that our thoughts should turn to the future, to the period of regeneration that has already begun and of construction that lies before us. It is true we have the problems of individual states and of our own peoples to attend to. Important though they are the ordeal of the great war through which we have emerged and the comradeship which it occasioned have necessarily left their mark upon our perspective. Consequently the things which a few years ago loomed large on our horizon have now as a matter of course suffered diminution in stature. We cannot but regard them now as somewhat parochial affairs. The close association in danger, the participation in adversity as also the sharing of the ultimate triumph have united the Imperial Government and the Indian States more closely than ever, and have led to a better realization of our respective difficulties and anxieties, our hopes and aspirations, our standpoints and ideals. They have brought home to us, better than anything else ever could, the very real identity of interests which exists between the British Government and the Indian Princes, a fact, which I venture to assert can never be over emphasized. Unless I am greatly mistaken it is considerations such as these that have led His Highness the Maharaja Scindia to touch upon the Imperial aspect of our relations; doubtless to them are also attributable some of the remarks which have to-day fallen from Your Excellency's lips, as also the welcome and highly grati-

fyng announcements which you, sir, have just made of the decision of His Imperial Majesty's Government in regard to matters of the highest import to us. Some old time arrangements having served their purpose well for many years naturally stood in need of adjustment and reform, and therefore the decisions announced must be productive of the highest good. The end of the war leaves with the Princes the gratifying feeling of a solemn duty loyally and conscientiously performed, and performed also to the utmost of their capability and resources, with the Imperial Government. It leaves the will and determination to allow nothing to remain undone which is calculated further to strengthen the bonds that already unites us and so we are surely entitled to look at the future with high hopes and to assume it to be full of bright augury. As for the relative position of the British Government and the Princes the paramountcy of the former is beyond dispute, and the relation of the latter as allies and friends is as freely admitted as it is clearly defined. Guided as we, in Your Excellency's eloquent words, are by candour, loyalty, liberality and goodwill, there is no need between us for that evil thing 'secret diplomacy'. We have stood together in the past and weathered many a storm. We devoutly hope that an era of peace and prosperity lies in front of us for many a year to come, but should fortune be fickle, should we have to face once again external aggression or internal trouble, should we have to fight the Bolshevik menace or to repel the invasion of a foolish or arrogant foe, the British Government and the Ruling Princes will assuredly continue to stand together shoulder to shoulder, united in their loyalty and devotion to Their Gracious King Emperor. Whatever betide, and come who may, the union shall abide and stand every strain.

The Maharaja of Navanagr next said :—Your Excellency :— I have much pleasure in moving the following resolution :— 'That this conference records a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and tenders him warm congratulations for the eminent services rendered by His Highness at the peace conference."

Not many words are needed to commend this proposition to the cordial acceptance of this conference and it is with a light heart that I am discharging the pleasant duty which we Princes assembled here owe to our distinguished brother who combines in himself brilliant accomplishments of a varied kind, any single one of which would raise its fortunate possessor to an eminence far beyond the average line. In greeting the Maharaja of Bikaner we are gratefully recognising his strenuous work always readily and willingly undertaken for the welfare and advancement of our order, his gracious statesmanship which is invariably enlisted

on the side of progressive advance of India and the Indian states—his burning patriotism and his loyalty and devotion to the Crown. If nature is prodigal in endowing him with the best of her gifts she has enriched and raised the prestige of our Order and has enabled one of us to play a prominent part in the great events that have just closed, a unique chapter in the world's history for which we are justly proud. Your Excellency related to us two years ago what Sir Robert Borden said in the Canadian House of Commons regarding His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. He was referred to as a man of splendid loyalty and devotion who governed his country along progressive lines, and who had contributed in every possible way to the winning of this war. Your Highnesses, this was said in 1917 and it admirably epitomizes the character and the rôle of His Highness, and was almost a prophetic utterance when we remember that not two years had elapsed before His Highness joined Sir Robert Borden in signing the peace which won the war, and closed the reign of military terror which Germany had established over Europe since Bismark inflicted dishonourable terms of prostrate France at Versailles. Your Excellency, if your Vice-royalty has synchronised with dark years of national danger and difficulties, it has also witnessed noble efforts unparalleled in history in which India bore an honourable part crowned at last with a glorious victory. Further, it has ushered in for India not only a magnificent future but a present recognition of her position in the cabinet of the empire, the doors of which were barred till 1917. It was Your Lordship who selected His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner as a representative of Indian Princes to attend the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917 along with two representatives from British India. It was not only an honour much appreciated by us but a recognition of our partnership in the Empire which until then was an academic phrase, valued in theory but passed over in practice. The mantle that His Highness then wore with characteristic success and dignity fell at Your Excellency's choice on worthy shoulders in 1918, and my esteemed friend His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala nobly carried on the traditions established by his distinguished predecessor of the previous year. We are again grateful to Your Excellency for selecting His Highness of Bikaner to represent us at a table where sat the great statesmen of the world charged with a mission the extent and magnitude of which included the disposal of nations, and the safeguarding of humanity and its civilisation for the future. It was no small honour to us that His Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint His Highness as a plenipotentiary Commissioner and Pro-curator in respect of the Empire along with Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha under the

Royal Sign Manual and signet authorising His Highness to negotiate and conclude any treaties, conventions or arrangements which might ensue as a result of the deliberations and discussions at the Peace Conference. Regarding His Highness' work it would be a presumption on my part to review the great services His Highness has rendered to India and the Empire. It was with a thrill of pride that we learnt that His Highness alone conducted important negotiations regarding India's inclusion in the League of Nations at Paris during the unavoidable absence in England of both Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha. This single instance is sufficient to show the implicit confidence that His Highness inspired in the minds of the British Empire Delegation by reason of his commanding abilities and far-sighted and reliable statesmanship. Devotion to the empire has for His Highness an interpretation which is all embracing and knows no distinction of caste, country or religion. Alike to the cause of his Order and to that of British India he advocated progressive reforms for India. Fearless of criticism His Highness further interpreted the Mahomedan sentiment strenuously and ably at the Paris Congress for which he was gratefully thanked by the Mahomedan Community of Bombay on his return. As rumour has it, and the information is that it is a reliable that, rumour His Highness's presentation of the Mahomedan case at the Peace Conference was far abler and exhibited greater sagacity and acumen than that submitted by the representatives of the Turkish Government itself. The Prime Minister's validictory letter to His Highness contains a generous appreciation, a part of which I will here quote with Your Excellency's permission :—"You have devoted yourself to the interests of the Indian Empire and return with the satisfactory knowledge that you have played a part much appreciated by your colleagues." Mr. Montagu has similarly eulogised His Highness on great public services. Your Excellency has also shown your great appreciation of His Highness' work in a letter which is recent and although we all may possibly remember it well I would like to quote a short extract from it :—"I feel however that I should like to write you a line to congratulate you very heartily on the great part which you have played since you accepted the Prime Minister's invitation last year to assist in the peace deliberations as the representative of the Princes and Chiefs of India. I know with what remarkable ability and political sagacity Your Highness has performed your task, and India owes to you and to your colleagues a debt of gratitude for having so worthily represented her in the greatest gathering of statesmen that the world has ever seen." I should like to take this public opportunity of congratulating Your Excellency if I may respectfully do so on your Excellency's selection of India's

delegates to the War Conference and the Peace Conference which in every case is more than justified by the exceptional merits and splendid work of each of the delegates selected. India has no more valuable servant and friend than the Hon'ble Sir James Montagu, and Lord Sinha's elevation to the peerage is a testimony of the exceptionally high regard in which he is held by his Imperial Majesty the King Emperor and the British Cabinet. Turning to Maharaja Bikaner, he said : Your Highness, it must be a matter of deep gratification to you that you have immeasurably advanced and signalised the noble tradition of your glorious house, and of the most distinguished of your ancestors who were trusted councillors of the Mogul Emperors by an equal display of splendid devotion, gallant services in the field, and sagacious and valuable advice in the council chamber of the empire. Your Excellency, without trespassing further upon your valuable time I submit the resolution for the hearty acceptance of this Conference.

The resolution was carried *nem con.*

Viceroy's Closing Speech

In closing the conference on the 8th November the Viceroy made an interesting speech defending the action of the Government of India in the Afghan muddle. Said His Excellency :—Your Highnesses will forgive me if I take this opportunity of dealing with another matter of public interest though not directly affecting Your Highnesses. I have always made a rule of ignoring attacks made in the press, but I must take an exception in the case of an article in the "Times" cabled out by Reuter. The summary which appeared yesterday contained the following passage. "Curzon's statement that the vital letter of Sir Hamilton Grant, by which the Government relinquished control of external affairs of Afghanistan, was not kept back was erroneous. The letter was not only withheld from public for some days, but was not even received by Mr. Montagu until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. The whole episode, says the "Times" is in keeping with the policy of evasion which too often marks the action of the present Government of India."

I do not propose to deal with the question of policy embodied in that letter of Sir Hamilton Grant beyond saying this, that we deliberately turned our backs on the past policy of attempting to control Afghan foreign relations through a paper condition. The aim of our policy is, to quote Lord Curzon's recent speech in the House of Lords as summarised by Reuter, "some arrangement with the Afghan Government which could differ in many important respects from the preceding arrangements, but which would give us

what was really solely the essential thing, namely, a neighbour on the frontier who was friendly and loyal to Britain and with whom we could live in the future amicably." If we secure this result it connotes that Afghanistan's foreign relations will be such as to have our approval. Till we are satisfied that Afghanistan's foreign relations are such as to meet our approval, this second chapter containing the treaty of friendship will not be written.

But what I wish to refer to, more particularly to-day, is not the wisdom or unwisdom of my conduct of our foreign affairs, but the charge of a policy of evasion which is made against my Government. Here again, if the charge had been couched in general terms, I would have ignored it, because it is obviously unprofitable to bandy arguments over a question which must largely be a matter of opinion. In this case, however, it is coupled with the concrete accusation that we had withheld Sir Hamilton's letter not only from the public for some days, but even from the Secretary of State until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. Now this allegation can obviously only be based on conjecture. For the Secretary of State alone could inform the "Times" of the facts and no one is more punctilious than Mr. Montagu in such matters.

Let me give one or two dates which will I hope dispose of this matter. I find that I communicated the terms of the proposed letter to the Secretary of State's telegram on the 4th of August. It presumably reached him either on the 4th of August or on the 5th, as I received his reply on the 6th of August. The treaty was signed on the 8th of August and the actual text of the letter, as delivered to the Afghans, was telegraphed the next day. It is said that the letter was not even received by the Secretary of State until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. It must be obvious that with the best will in the world and with the most efficient cable system, the text of a letter delivered with a treaty of Peace on the 8th of August could not have reached London more expeditiously, and moreover the substance of the letter as actually delivered to the Afghan Delegates was contained in my telegram to the Secretary of State of August 4th to which I have referred above.

Your Highnesses, this is a matter which can be of little interest to you and I hope you will forgive me for introducing this subject into my speech, but I felt that I had to take the earliest opportunity of dealing with a matter which so closely affected my honour.

Indian Councils

Constitution of The Government of India 1919.

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

His Excellency the **Right Hon. Baron Chelmsford**, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.C.B.E., assumed charge of office, 5th April, 1916

Council.

- Sir **G. S. Barnes**, K.C.B. Took his seat, 6th April, 1916
William Henry Hoare Vincent. Took his seat 21st April, 1917
 „ (Now Lord) **James Scorgie Meston** K.C.S.I.,
 „ **C. H. A. Hill**, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Took his seat, 5th July, 1915
 „ **C. Sankaran Nair**. Took his seat, 2nd November, 1915. Resigned, July '19
 „ **Khan Bh. Mian Muhammad Shafi** (Vice Sir Sankaran Nair. 28 July '19)
 „ **G. R. Lowndes**, K.C.S.I., Took his seat, 20th December, 1915

Extraordinary Member—

H. E. Gen. Sir Charles Carmichael Mouro, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India

Secretaries to the Government of India.

Dept. of Finance	Hon. M. M. Gubbay , I.C.S.
Military Finance Dept.	„ G. B. H. Fell , C.S.I., C.I.E.
Home Dept.	„ Sir J. H. Duboulay , K.C.I.E.
Revenue and Agricultural Dept.	„ R. A. Mait , I.C.S.
Foreign and Political Dept.	„ Sir J. B. Wood , K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (Foreign) : Hon. Sir A. H. Grand , K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Political). Hon. C. E. Low , C.I.E., I.C.S. „ C. E. Rose , M.I.C.E. „ H. Sharp , C.S.I. „ A. P. Muckhiman , C.I.E., I.C.S. „ Sir Robert Gillan , K.C.S.I. I.C.S. (Presdt.) F. A. Hadow (Secy.) Sir Thomas Holand , K.C.I.E., F.R.S. T. Ryan , C.I.E. (Secy.)
Dept. of Commerce and Industry	
Public Works Dept.	
Dept. of Education	
Legislative Dept.	
Railway Dept.	
Indian Munitions Board	

Personal Staff of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Private secy.	J. L. Maffey , C.I.E., I.C.S.
Asst. pte. secy.	Capt. W. Buchanan Riddell
Mly. secy.	Lt. col. R. Verney , Rifle Brigade
Personal asst.	R. Parsons
Comptlr. of household.	Maj. J. Mackenzie , C.I.E., 35th Sikhs

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The Supreme Legislative Council

A Elected members - 27.

Name.	Electorate.
Bao Bahadur B. N. Sarma (Garu)	Non-official Council, Madras
Mr. Srinivasa Sastri	Do do
Mr. V. J. Patel	Do Bombay
Sir Dinsha Eduljee Wacha	Do do
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee	Do Bengal
Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur	Do do
Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru	Do U. P.
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya	Do do
Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia	Do Punjab
Maung Bah Too, C.I.E.	Do Burma
Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay	Do Bihar and Orissa
Mr. Kaganji Kumar Chaudhary	Do Assam
Gonchik Shri Krishna Kharparde	District Councils and Municipal Committees, C. P.
Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar	Landholders, Madras
Khan Bahadur Sayad Allahabado Shah	Do Bombay (Gujarat)
Maharaja Sir Maulendra Chandra Nandi	Landholders, Bengal
Raja Sir Ranpal Singh, K.C.I.E.	Do United Provinces
Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo	Landholders of Agra
Rai Bahadur Bishan Dutt Shukul	Do Bihar and Orissa
Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan	Do Central Provinces
Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah	Muhammadan Community, Madras
„ Abdul Rahim	Do Bombay
Khan Bahadur Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhri	Do Bengal
Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan, K.C.I.E., Khan Bahadur, of Mahammulabad.	Do do
Mr. Mazharul Haque	Do United Provinces
„ Malcolm N. Hogg	Do Bihar and Orissa
„ W. A. Ironside	Bombay Chamber of Commerce
	Bengal Chamber of Commerce

B. Nominated Members 33.

OFFICIAL MEMBERS.

Lt.-Col. S. L. Aplin, C.S.I.	Burma.
Sir. J. S. Donaki, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	The N. W. F. Provinces
„ Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I.	The United Provinces
Vacant	The Punjab
Mr. A. R. Loftus-Tottenham	Madras
„ F. J. Monahan	Bengal
„ C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O.	Bombay
„ E. H. C. Walsh	Bihar and Orissa
„ F. S. A. Mowcock, C.I.E.	Central Provinces
„ W. J. Beck, C.S.I.	Assam
Sir E. D. MacLagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	Government of India
„ R. W. Gillan, K.C.S.I.	Do
„ A. H. Grant, C.S.I., C.I.E.	Do
„ J. H. Duboulay	Do
Surgeon-General W. R. Edwards	Do

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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Major-General A. H. Bingley, C.B., C.I.E.	Do
Mr. C. H. Kesteven	Do
" H. Sharp, C.I.E.	Do
" R. E. Holland C.I.E.	Do
" S. R. Hignall C.I.E.	Do
" R. A. Mant.	Do
" F. C. Rowe	Do
" A. P. Muddiman, C.I.E.	Do
" G. R. Clarke, O.B.E.	Do
" G. B. H. Fell, C.I.E.	Do
" H. F. Howard, C.I.E.	Do
" J. P. Thompson	Do
" C. E. Low	Do

Non-Official Members.

Si. Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy, Kt. C.I.E.	Indian Commercial Community
Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi C.I.E.	Muslim Com. Punjab Landholders
Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan, C.S.I.	
Sub-Major and Hon. Capt. Ajab Khan.	
Sardar Bahadur, I.O.M.	
Sir G. M. Chitnavis, K.C.I.E.	

Present Constitution of the Council.

By the proviso to Regulation I for the Legislative Council of the Governor-General it is declared that it shall not be lawful for the Governor-General to nominate so many non-official persons that the majority of all the Members of the Council shall be non-officials

Officials—

(a) Members of the Executive Council	
(b) The Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner of the Province	1
(c) Nominated Members	27

Total

Non-Officials—

(a) Elected Members	
(b) Nominated Members	
Total	32

Official majority, exclusive of the Governor-General 3

Proceedings of The Indian Legislative Council

Feb.-March, 1919.

The Council met at the Council Chamber, Imperial Secretariat, Delhi
on Thursday, the 6th February, 1919.

PRESENT :

His Excellency Baron Chelmsford, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E. G.C.M.G., G.C.B.E.
Viceroy and Governor General PRESIDING, and 59 Members, of
whom 52 were Additional Members.

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief first laid on the table telegrams
thanking the Council for its congratulations to the allied armies for
their victories. Then came the Viceroy's address.

H. E. the Viceroy's Opening Address.

In his review of the position of affairs since the Council last met
in September 1918, His Excellency at the outset alluded to the
elevation to the Peerage of Sir S. P. Sinha, and next explained
why the life of the Council, which would have ordinarily terminat-
ed in September next, had been extended to one year, so that it
remained as it was till 20 July 1920. He next said :—

“Among the **legislative matters** to be brought before you in the
ensuing Session are two Bills of the highest importance. I refer of
course to the Bills to give effect to the recommendations of the
Commission presided over by Sir Sydney Rowlatt. These recom-
mendations were unanimous, and coming as they did from persons
who command the greatest authority, the Government of India
decided that they should be brought before this Council in the
shape of the necessary legislative measures. The necessity for
proceeding with legislation on the subject in this Session is of course
due to the early termination of hostilities and the prospect of the
conclusion of peace in the near future. The very important powers
which have enabled the public peace and order of India to be preserv-
ed during the war will shortly come to an end. It is essential in
my judgment that they should be replaced by adequate substitutes.
The sudden release from restraint and control of the forces of anarchy
would involve a position which we cannot contemplate. The reaction
against all authority which has manifested itself in many parts of the

civilised world is not likely to leave India entirely untouched, and the powers of evil are still abroad. We cannot shut our eyes to the undoubted existence in India of definitely revolutionary organisations.

"There are facts which can neither be denied nor explained away, and the Government of India would be failing in its duty if it did not make preparation to deal with them. After the most anxious consideration of the subject I have come to the very clear conclusion that special measures are essential, not only to the maintenance of His Majesty's Government in this country, but to the safety of the lives and property of its citizens. I can only commend these Bills to your very earnest and careful consideration."

Then he announced that the Committee for investigating Indian Jail administration, held in abeyance since 1913 owing to the war, was soon to be appointed, and also that the recommendations of the Arms Act Committee are being considered and a communique was soon to be issued. He next turned to

Education.

"I have already mentioned in this Council the Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel to enable district municipalities in Bombay to adopt with the sanction of the Local Government compulsory elementary education for children. That Bill has now become law, and I am glad to see that the Government of Bombay propose to behave in a liberal manner to any municipality which desires and is able to adopt its provisions. I have recently given my assent to a Bill of a similar nature but of wider application in Bihar and Orissa, and other Bills are either awaiting introduction or have arrived at various stages in the process of legislation.

"It is a matter for congratulation that in two provinces where primary education has hitherto been peculiarly backward, namely, the United Provinces and the Punjab, vigorous action is now contemplated.

"The compulsory education Bills which are in process of becoming law require that Government should be satisfied that proper facilities are, or can be provided before the measure becomes applicable in any particular area. This is a very proper condition and I make no doubt that Local Governments, when laying down rules under such sections, will also pay special attention to the very important problem of the training of teachers. Among our vernacular teachers only 32 per cent are trained. If, as we hope now that the war is over, the rate of expansion of mass education is accelerated, the institutions for the training of vernacular teachers will have to be multiplied, enlarged and strengthened. For, the first essential of a school is an efficient teacher, and if our teachers are

inefficient, the money spent upon their pay and upon the buildings, equipment and up-keep of the school is only too likely to be money thrown away. We addressed the Local Governments on this important matter in 1916, and further allotted a recurring Imperial grant of 30 lakhs for the training and pay of teachers in the ensuing year. I observe with pleasure that the resolution issued by the Government of the United Provinces in pursuance of the policy for the expansion of primary education lays special stress upon the importance of training teachers, which is indeed, as I have frequently urged, a necessary preliminary to any effective advance.

Industries Commission.

"Since the last occasion on which I addressed you, we have received the long-expected Report of the Industrial Commission. I regard this Report as a State document of the greatest value and importance. With the underlying principles which form the basis of the Commission's recommendations, namely, the urgent necessity not only for the improvement of Indian industries, but for the more active participation of Government in developing them, I imagine there will be unanimity of opinion. I believe strongly that there is a great future before Indian industries, but it is necessary that, if the full harvest is to be reaped, the land must be ploughed and the seed sown at the best time and in the best manner. It is essential that Indian Industries should be guided on right lines at the early stages of their development. Few people, I imagine, will hesitate to agree that in order to ensure such guidance, a great expansion of the scientific and technical advice at the disposal of industry in this country is essential, and the proposals of the Commission for the organisation of scientific and technical services form probably the most important part of their Report. I need hardly say that we have lost no time in considering this Report and in consulting Local Governments on the proposals made by the Commission while I believe that the commission's proposal for the organisation of an Imperial Department will be found essential to supply the necessary stimulus to industrial development and to afford advice and assistance where required. I fully recognise that the actual work of developing industries will have to be chiefly carried out by Provincial effort and under Provincial control. I know that this is a matter on which local opinion is keen, but I have no fear that the organisation which will be ultimately established will involve any undue centralisation. I cannot conclude my remarks on this subject without expressing my appreciation of the work of Sir Thomas Holland and his co-adjutors in producing this Report. The labour which with great public spirit they devoted to their difficult and complicated task was

unstinted, and the care and thought with which they have elaborated their conclusions is beyond praise.

Then he went on in usual platitudes on the War and India's efforts and sacrifices, and next referred to the dreadful epidemic of Influenza (which had carried away 6 millions of Indians) and said that it taught two lessons : the defects of Sanitation in India and the importance of increased facilities for research. (This piece of Viceregal piety, however, could nowhere be found during Budget debate in March).

Then came the most important pronouncements of His Excellency :—

The Reforms and the I. C. S.

"You will expect me now to say something in regard to the Reform proposals. The Committees under the chairmanship of Lord Southborough are now sitting in Delhi, and hope in conjunction with the Government of India to lay their Report shortly before His Majesty's Government. I have dealt on other occasions with various aspects of this important question. To-day I wish to deal more particularly with the position of the services and the English commercial community." (To placate these bodies it had become absolutely necessary by this time, for they had since the famous announcement of August 20, 1917 been more and more openly in revolt).

"It is indeed natural that the services should feel keen anxiety as to their place in the future scheme of things. The Secretary of State and I could not within the compass of our report elaborate in full detail all the issues arising out of the proposals for Reform, but now that the criticisms and discussions of the past months have brought home to us something of the misgivings and anxieties which our services are feeling, I propose to take this opportunity of stating, as clearly as I can, what my conception of their future position is.

"And first let me say this. The services of India have just come through a long period of exceptional strain. Their strength has been seriously depleted by the war. They have been called upon not merely to run the administration with a far weaker staff ; not merely to help to steady men's minds during periods of depression and alarm ; but they have also had to organise and promote many forms of war activity. It has been out of the question to let them take leave, and so they have stayed at their posts year after year doing double work, often to the detriment of their health and commonly at the sacrifice of domestic comfort. They have been hard hit by rising prices ; and they have come in for attacks arising out of the agitation in connection with Reforms which have sometimes been

ungenerous and unfair. But they have risen superior to all these things, and as Viceroy, I am proud and glad to acknowledge on behalf of my Government the part they have played in keeping India contented and quiet, and in helping to win the war. And now the war is over, and they seem to see before them difficulties and sacrifices greater still. I want the service to know that my Government and I are fully cognisant and deeply appreciative of all these things.

"Let me state then, as clearly as I can, what I conceive to be the governing conditions of this problem. The changes which we are setting about in India must gradually involve a profound alteration in the position of the public services. Hitherto the great administrative and technical bodies of men recruited from England—such as the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police, the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Education Service, the Indian Forest Service, the Public Works Department—have not been civil services in the sense in which that word is generally understood. I have indeed seen criticisms which assumed that our public services had usurped to themselves a place which Parliament never assigned to them. That, as every reader of history knows, is a wholly wrong and unfair suggestion. The services were sent to India by Parliament not as the executive agents of a popular government in India, but to administer the country under the official Government of India. No one else could have done the work they have done. They could not have done it themselves, had their position been different. Now with the introduction of responsible government in India, however limited at first, a change must begin. If we set up ministers, ministers must administer ; and the permanent services must execute. That is so well accepted a maxim of our British polity that no one will dispute it. This then is my first proposition.

"But to suppose as has been alleged that we propose to place the services as a whole in helpless subordination to inexperienced and possibly hostile ministers ; that we intend not merely to deprive them of power, but to require them blindly to execute policies which they cannot reconcile with their self-respect, is very seriously to misconceive our purpose. Let me explain at once why that is impossible. Progress to further constitutional growth in India is to come not by a process of drift ; not by the English Departments or Governments throwing up the sponge out of weariness or a sense that they are fighting a losing game ; not by our taking back our hand from the plough ; but by the response made by Indians to the great opportunity now offered them—by the measured verdict of the highest outside impartial authority upon their performance. It is recognised at the present moment that

the time is not ripe for Indians to take over the entire management of the country. Every moderate and thoughtful Indian admits that truth himself. And government, believe me, is not the simple thing it may sometimes seem. The help of the services, trained, efficient, impartial, with their high standards of duty, of character, of the public interest, is absolutely essential if this vast experiment is to succeed. We cannot afford and we do not mean to lose them until India acquires, what she has not got at present, something approximately as good to put in their place. That is my second proposition.

"The Secretary of State and I have declared our intention to protect the services in the defence of their rights and the discharge of their duties. I see that apprehensions have been aroused by the general character of this phraseology. Let me now, speaking for myself and Government, endeavour to give precision to the undertaking. In the first place as regards their pay and pensions, I propose that the pay, pensions, leave and conditions of service generally of the services recruited from England shall be guaranteed at least by statutory orders of the Secretary of State, which no authority in India will have power to disregard or vary. My idea is that the all-India services are to be retained, as in a mould cast by Parliament and the Secretary of State, as an exemplar to all the services drawn exclusively from India. In this respect, therefore, I see no cause for disquiet.

"I pass to a more difficult question, and one which I know is causing more doubt than any mere questions of money—the position of the services which are under Indian ministers. Now I am not going to recite the series of ways in which I conceive it possible that difficulty may arise. I ask you to take it from me that my Government and I have considered this field very anxiously and have had vividly before our minds the sort of troubles that may arise over postings or promotion, or policy or professional questions or discipline. How then can these potential difficulties be mitigated? In the first place, we hope to get as ministers responsible men who will realize how greatly the services can help them. There is more in this than a pious hope. We may look to what has happened elsewhere. It has often been the case that men going in fresh to office, full of prejudice against the public services, have found them their best ally and protector against the critics which every administrator encounters, and have ended by gaining the full confidence of the service and giving the service theirs. Secondly, we do not intend to leave the handling of the services wholly to the minister. We propose to instruct the Governor, in a published instrument, that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the services. He will disallow proposals that aim

or tend towards their disintegration. The head of every department under ministers will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent difficulties to him before they become acute: and it will be for the Governor to deal with them by influence and persuasion, and finally by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly, we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments or pension by a minister's order.

"How these arrangements will work, you and I can only leave it to experience to show. But I think that the services will accept them as an earnest attempt to fulfil the pledges which we have given. It may be that even more provisions will be required. But about those I will say nothing at present, because I am anxious to give no countenance to the idea that the services will find their position made impossible. I will merely add that the Government of India will always regard this question of the fair treatment of the services as one of the cardinal tests by which our great experiment will be judged.

"Let me now turn to the very important matter of **British commercial interests** in this country. It would distress me profoundly if I thought that we could with justice be accused of under-rating either the colossal financial interests at stake, or the enormous part which British non-official energy, character and brains have played in the task of making India what she is. For myself I regarded these facts as self-evident and thought that, so far as it was necessary to reassure this important community, we had in our Report made our attitude towards them quite clear. However, the complaint has been made that we have dealt too summarily with the subject. So let me emphasise our intention. I have not found, by the way, in the papers of a year ago, or the criticisms just received, any reasoned statement of the ways in which it is supposed that British trade interests may be jeopardised by the changes which we have in view. I note, however, that in the joint address which some representatives of European commerce in Calcutta signed last year, reference was made to the risk of injury by 'predatory or regulative legislation' or the neglect of transportation and other facilities; and I see that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce appear to have chiefly in mind proposals for provincial taxation likely to prejudice commerce or industry.

"Now let me explain the position as I see it. The legislation on which British commerce in the main depends is mainly all-India in character. Some of it is embodied in the great commercial codes; some of it deals with matters of peculiar interest to industry like railways, factories, petroleum, explosives or mines. Now

inasmuch as these will remain with the Government of India, who will, as I have laid down more than once, retain indisputable authority, there is surely no reasonable ground for apprehension. Commerce can make its voice heard just as effectively as heretofore. It may be said however that, in the future, Provincial Councils will exercise more freely the power of amending all-India Acts. But that they can only do with the previous sanction of the Governor General. In any case there is the safeguard of the triple veto of the Governor, the Governor General and the Crown; and this applies to all provincial legislation.

"It seems to me indeed that the control of the matters of peculiar interest to European commerce is to a great extent concentrated in the hands of the Government of India. I am thinking of the tariff and the currency; of banking, railways, shipping, posts and telegraphs. In these respects no existing measure of security is being diminished, and therefore apprehension is surely groundless.

"But evidently it is in the minds of some people that in the provincial sphere it will be possible injuriously to affect the commercial community. Say, for instance, by special interests being singled out to bear the burden of provincial taxation or by rival interests being artificially stimulated by bounties. What protection will there be in such cases? Well, the Secretary of State and I have pledged ourselves in paragraph 344 to reserve to Government power to protect any industry from prejudiced attack or privileged competition. To speak for myself, I believe this can be secured by embodying this undertaking in the instructions given to the Governor on appointment, wherein he will be informed that His Majesty's Government lay on him a responsibility for seeing that the pledge is made good. With such a public document in his hands the Governor, with the Government of India and Secretary of State behind him, would be in a very strong position to resist all proposals of his ministers which appeared to him to be acts of hostility to British commerce. There will moreover be representatives of that interest sitting in the provincial chamber; and I cannot do them the injustice of supposing that they will fail to bring any just grievance effectively to the Governor's notice, or if need be to remind him of his responsibility."

After talking for a while on the supreme might of the British arms and the still more supreme power of the British character which have won the war, he then assured his Council that he did not fear Bolshevism in India, and of his faith on the good sense of the Indian Masses. H. E. then concluded with the peroration:—

"The good sense of India has been tried in this great war as never before and it has not been found wanting. The test, as I have

said, is not yet over; but, speaking for myself, I look forward confidently to the days ahead, fully assured that, when the dust of these days has subsided, a greater India will emerge—greater in resources, greater in self-help, great as ever in her loyalty to the King-Emperor."

After His Excellency's speech, interpellations followed and then Sir William Vincent introduced the Criminal Law Emergency powers Bill, well known as the infamous Rowlatt Bill. After a very hot debate with the unanimous opposition of the non-official Indian Members, which lasted during the whole of the 6th and also the 7th February, the motion to refer the Bill to a select committee was passed by sheer Official majority of 36 against 21, Messrs Bannerjee's and Patel's amendment to postpone the Bill having been defeated by Official Votes. On the 10th February, the Council again meeting, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill, popularly known as the Second Rowlatt Bill was introduced by the Home Member. Sir Sankaran Nair then brought forward the Local Authorities Pensions and Gratuity Bill which was introduced.

Sir James Meston next introduced the Excess Profits Tax Bill. He explained "We are now faced with a possible deficit of £ 4 Millions and additional taxation was inevitable. Large grants of money would be wanted for Railways. Government would be left with only 3 millions to meet eight and three fourth millions required next year. The super-tax and the excess profits tax would not both be levied, but only whichever yielded greater." He expected to realise £ Seven and half millions from this tax. Mr. Hogg and Mr. Ironside opposed on behalf of the European Chamber of Commerce, while Mr. F. Currimbhoy also opposed the Bill. The Bill however was referred to a select Committee with instructions to report on 12th March.

At the next meeting of the Council on Feb. 26th, after a long list of interpellations, the Local Authorities Pensions and Gratuities Act was passed, and Sir W. Vincent introduced the Indian Oaths amendment Bill. Mr. Patel was then permitted to introduce his Bill, the Indian Electricity Amendment Bill, the object of which was that local authorities may have a right to be consulted and preferentially treated as against a rival licensee. Mr. Patel next introduced a bill, readily accepted by Sir T. Holland on behalf of Government by reason of its great usefulness, to amend the Negotiable Instrument Act, 1881. The amendment referred to cheques. It had recently been held in the Bombay High Court that a Cheque with the word "bearer" struck out and no substitution of the word "order" is not negotiable within the meaning of the Act, although the custom of trade in India is, as a matter of fact, quite the contrary.

The Council assembled on March 1. After interpellations the finance Member Sir James Meston presented his financial statement of the year (see next page). Sir W. Vincent next presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Rowlatt bill, one peculiar feature of which was that all the Indian members dissented from it; Messrs Banerji, Sastri, Shastri and Nawab Ali signed the Report subject to strong dissentient minutes, while 3 other Indian members, Pandit Malaviya, Messrs Patel and Khaparde refused to sign the Report but gave separate dissentient notes which Government rejected and were not published along with the Report.

Sir James Meston then introduced the Indian Paper Currency amendment Act the object of which was to continue the Ordinance of 7th December 1918 to increase the maximum limit of the issue of Currency Notes against British Treasury Bills by another 14 crores temporarily, so as to make the whole total of reserve 100 crores. He further introduced the Motor Spirit Amendment Bill, and the Indian Income Tax Amendment Bill by which Incon. below Rs. 2000 P. M. was proposed to be free from the tax.

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Financial Statement of the year 1919-20.

Speech of Sir James Meeson.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE BUDGET.

The current year has been a period of crisis and dramatic change. The first half of it was marked by great manufacturing energy, high prices and a great deal of diffused prosperity. When the year opened the long threatened German offensive was developing in France, and India was called upon to redouble her efforts to provide men and munitions of war. Her response, as is known to this Council, was immediate. Recruiting made great strides, and under the guidance of our colleague, Sir Thomas Holland, the munitions Board set to work in grim earnest in supplying the Allies with material, military and otherwise, of which they stood in urgent need. Its financial consequences were derived from the great manufacturing activity of the period, the heavy exports of foodstuffs and every kind of article of national importance for which England and the Allies were indenting. The first consequence of these factors was a tremendous run on our currency resources to provide the money to pay for all this vigour of production. The second was a sharp upward movement in our revenues; the harvest of our railway returns had never been so rich; and the heavy sale of bills against our exports by the Secretary of State brought us lavish gains in exchange, for Sir William Meyer had cautiously refused to budget for anything better than a 1s. 4d. rupee, and large sums were being paid into our Home treasury at 1s. 5d. and 1s. 6d. It was not unnatural, therefore, that in September last, there were expectations of a record surplus. Then came the cessation of hostilities and the scene completely changed. Military activities could not of course be curtailed all at once, but private trade was very suddenly checked. Astute merchants who had been gambling on protracted fighting and a continuing rise in prices found all their calculations upset and Nemesis descended upon much unhealthy speculation, especially in the cloth and share markets of Bombay. By this time also it had unfortunately become evident that considerable areas in Bombay, the United Provinces and other parts of India would be unable to share in the general rejoicings about peace; for the monsoon had

failed badly, scarcity was imminent, and at the most critical time a fierce epidemic of influenza attacked the whole country, took a very heavy toll of the rural masses, and seriously weakened the agricultural labour power. The withdrawal of military orders and the impending shortage of supplies combined to check exports. The Secretary of State issued no more Council drafts after October, and the whole financial position began to undergo the painful transition back to a healthier and saner state of affairs. There was at first a little, not wholly unnatural, depression at the suddenness of the change : but we know that it is very largely disappearing now, and it may be hoped that we shall succeed in getting back to a healthier plane of business and finance without serious dislocation. The immediate result, my Lord, is that we have not got a bumper surplus. Nevertheless we have done uncommonly well. If it had not been for the large donation towards the expenses of the war which was undertaken by this Council last September, we should probably have closed the current year with a revenue surplus of over £8 millions in place of the £2½ millions which Sir William Meyer had budgetted for. As the donation in question, that is, the payment for an extra 200,000 Indian troops and the acceptance of a corresponding pension charge, has cost us £12½ millions this year, we shall really close with a deficit of about £4½ millions instead of a surplus of £8 millions ;—revenue £85½ millions and expenditure about £90 millions. I am sure that if Sir William Meyer had foreseen this—it was quite impossible that he should do so—if he had foreseen it, he would probably have asked last year for the extra taxation which we are now seeking to impose. As it is we must be content to take the deficit out of our cash balances, which only means that we shall have to borrow it directly or indirectly sooner or later.

“Well, my Lord, that is the story of the year which is now coming to an end. I need not weary the patience of the Council by discussing the figures in any detail, but pass on to the year which is before us. The year in front of us cannot possibly be a period more varied or full of surprises than that which is closing. Our trouble is that we cannot prophesy. We have no experience of the immediate sequels of a great war, either on the military or civil side of the administration. We cannot foretell the movement of prices in the next twelve months ; and we have nothing to show what shipping will be available for our external trade. It follows, therefore, that the yields from our customs revenue, from railways, exchange and many other heads are all far more uncertain than they usually are. The Army in parti-

cular has a financial future which it is very difficult to forecast. All that we know is, that the scale of expenditure must be very much higher than in the pre-war peaceful days. The requirements of modern armament, of much more rapid and efficient transport, of the entirely new military art of fighting in the air, all these mean money. The huge aeroplane which we have seen hovering over Delhi in the last few days is a much costlier instrument of war than its predecessors, just as the motor lorry means a good deal more than the old bullock or camel transport. We cannot resist taking our share in these developments ; and I am all the more deeply indebted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the great consideration he has shown for our financial difficulties in stating his requirements for the next year. They have been placed at the very moderate figure of £30 millions, and I am sure it is only his unflinching determination to insist on economy that insures the adequacy of that figure. To it we have added £2½ millions as a special war bonus to British troops, which has just been sanctioned ; the duration of this in our present exceptional circumstances it is quite impossible to foresee. We also have to add the next year's instalment of our official contribution to the expenses of the war which, as I mentioned the other day, comes to £87 millions ; and thus we arrive at the total anticipated military expenditure of about £41½ millions net. Military expenditure thus represents just a half of our total budget of outlay for next year. Seeing that we have practically no naval charges, this proportion certainly is nothing wonderful at a time like the present. It will, we hope, decline as the world returns to the paths of peace ; but none of us can hope that our military charges will ever again drop to the old pre-war standard. Turning to the rest of our expenditure the Council will find a considerable reduction in our political charges, through the curtailment of expenditure which had to be incurred on and beyond our frontiers as a direct consequence of hostilities. In many other directions savings have been possible on a smaller scale. At the same time, we have had to face the inevitable rise in wages which materially affects Departments like the Posts and Telegraphs ; and we have a considerable bill, though fortunately not nearly so heavy as it would have been without the recent winter rains, for famine relief. The chief rise in expenditure however is under our provision for renewing the permanent-way and the rolling stock of our railways. For that purpose we have allowed the very large figure of £6½ millions ; and I am sure that my friend Sir Arthur Anderson would gladly have taken a good deal more if he could have it. There will be, on the part of no

one in this Council, any disposition to contest a provision which the tension of recent years has now made absolutely necessary. To many of us it is a standing marvel that the railways have been able to do what they have done, with a wholly starvation allowance for even their barest necessities. The exigencies of war left the Railway Board with no option, and we ought cheerfully to assist them to the best of our power in recovering the ground that has been lost.

"There are of course many other items of interest in these elaborate statements, but the total result is to show that we require £85½ millions for the services of the year; or, if we exclude the second instalment of our special war contribution, £76½ millions. We have been able to make good the smaller sum; but without extra taxation, the higher figure was beyond us. For revenue we have taken liberal estimates, very liberal estimates: for example, we are estimating our gross receipts from railways at 80 crores, the highest figure of its kind which has ever yet been attempted. Under Customs, in spite of the possibility of falling prices, we have taken an increase even over this year's figures, and are putting up the total to 20 crores. This includes, I ought to note, the continuation of the special duty of 6 annas a gallon on motor spirit. As the Council are aware, this duty was imposed two years ago as a war measure, and has brought a very useful addition to our revenues. I have not heard that it has done any one any harm, and consequently I shall shortly ask the Council to accept legislation for its retention for the present at least. Under Mint and Exchange we cannot expect the same windfall as we enjoyed this year. Our recoveries from the War Office will be fewer and Our Council Bills an uncertain quantity. There is also a heavy loss on our coinage to be still adjusted, for it must be remembered that we are turning out vast quantities of rupees at something less than what they cost us to manufacture. Under the head of income-tax there appears the only concession in this hard-hearted budget. It is the raising of the taxable minimum from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 a year. With the hardship that we see all round us owing to the pressure of high prices on humble people with minute incomes, we felt that it is no longer possible to levy income-tax from assessors who draw less than £100 a year; and if we are going to establish a new minimum, there are great advantages in going up at once to Rs. 2,000. I will explain these in greater detail in asking for leave to introduce the necessary legislation.

"Omitting all the less interesting heads we arrive at a total estimate of revenue of £80 millions. It will be remembered

that we set out to find £76½ millions, without the special contribution. This we have succeeded in doing with a considerable margin in hand. If we put aside some what under £1 million of this as a surplus, we are left with about £2½ millions towards the payment of our special war contribution of £8.7 millions. In other words we are still £6 millions short, and hence the necessity for our excess profits duty. As I explained the other day in Council, we hope that it will provide us with that sum net, after allowing for remissions of super-tax and income-tax and after adequate deduction for depreciation and the other subsidiary allowances that may have to be made. I trust that this brief statement of our position, read with the figures which are being communicated to Hon'ble Members, will justify to the hilt the sheer necessity which has driven us to undertake a levy upon war profits.

"Our formal estimate thus stands at £86.2 millions for revenue, including the excess profits duty, £85.4 millions for expenditure, and a surplus of £868,000. Those who lament the tightness of our revenue estimates will, I am sure, rejoice when they turn to the Capital Account and find the imposing figure which we propose to allot for railway developments. The biggest railway programme ever yet undertaken has been £12 millions; the ideal figure, never yet attained, which Lord Inchcape's Committee pressed upon the Government of India seven or eight years ago, is £12½ millions. In recent years we have been down, I think to four and five millions. For next year we propose no less a figure than £17½ millions. I sincerely hope that this is the first augury of the coming expansion of India's commercial and industrial power. It is at any rate the first step that we can take to prepare the way for that advance. In order, however, to realise our hopes in this direction, I must warn the Council that we shall be dependent once more on a substantial loan. The conditions of the loan will be announced later, when we see how the money market is likely to receive it in the slack season. We shall be glad of all the money that we can get; but, so far as can be estimated now, we shall require at least 15 crores, and that is the figure for which we are budgetting to balance our ways and means account. There have been suggestions that concerns affected by the excess profits duty will find great difficulty in subscribing for any part of our loan. I trust that this pessimism is unjustified; and in any case I trust that our Victory Loan, as it may be described, will find friends enough in the country to prevent us from curtailing the generous programme of railway development which it is intended to finance.

"I now come to the third and last part of my story, a brief review of our general financial situation. Before embarking upon it, I would invite attention to the tale of our silver crisis last year. Very few would suspect the forbidding portals of the Finance Department of harbouring a romance—and yet the whole story of how Sir William Meyer and his trusty henchmen held the gate against inconvertibility and its attendant woes, and of how our old friend Sir James Brunyate fought our battle simultaneously in Washington—the whole story is as good as any romance. Since the days of classical mythology there has been nothing to equal the manner in which the United States descended on India in a shower of silver. To those like myself who were anxiously watching the situation from London, it seemed from week to week an utter impossibility that the Government of India could possibly escape from suspending specie payment; and yet the feat was accomplished, and India owes no inconsiderable debt of gratitude to those whose skill and tenacity averted the misfortune. The crisis however has a lesson; and that lesson is that we are on permanently unsafe ground until India learns to abandon its secular habit of hoarding money in unsettled times. India's reputation as the 'sink' of the precious metals is an unhappy one; and we all trust that in time she will outlive it. Meanwhile, Government cannot possibly go on meeting this insane demand for silver rupees, which disappear from circulation almost as soon as they are minted, without serious effects on the world price of silver, already far too high for our comfort. There is absolutely no justification for the continuing panic which has drawn twelve hundred millions of rupees from our mints during the last four years, and unless it is checked, and the hoarded coins restored to circulation, we may be forced to reconsider the whole basis of our currency and exchange policy.

"The second uncomfortable feature in our financial position is the large quantity of floating obligations, directly due to the war, which we must redeem before we can go ahead with generous programme of remunerative borrowing. We shall have to curtail our paper currency investment and to get rid of the troublesome discount upon our notes. We shall have to meet a considerable volume of short-term bonds, cash certificates and treasury bills which had issued since war began; and for the next few years we shall be hard put to it to pay off these liabilities and keep up the supply of revenue for our current requirements.

"However, my Lord, there is no possible reason for alarm. All that has happened in the past few years may well fill us with pride and hope. We know the splendid part that has been

taken by all classes in meeting a great emergency. We are, in this Department, particularly indebted to the leaders of British commerce in the great centres and to the banks:—to the Presidency Banks for the lead that they have given in supporting our big loans, and to the great Exchange Banks for the cheerful and unselfish way in which they have accepted the inconvenient restraints that had to be laid upon trade and finance in the interests of Imperial defence. We look forward to a time of Industrial awakening ; we have enormous strength in our command of raw materials. Whatever inconveniences therefore there may be in store for us, owing to the temporary difficulties which I have mentioned, will be transient and can be largely mitigated by a determined policy of economy. With this I close these remarks and lay the Financial Statement before the Council. We have come through a really great emergency. Our position is strong and with care it should grow stronger still ; but there is no margin for lavish expenditure. Among its many lessons, the war has taught us all, the State and the individual alike, that we can live less extravagantly than we used to do. I trust that the lesson has come to stay ; for our old familiar watchword of Economy will be just as necessary in the future as it has ever been before."

NARRATIVE OF THE HONOURABLE FINANCE MEMBER INTRODUCING THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1919-20.

A—General characteristics of the Financial year 1919-20.

"2. It is doubtful whether, in the financial history of British India, there has been a year of more diversified character or varied difficulties than 1918-1919. To understand our transactions during the twelve months, and our commitments for the future, explanations are necessary which, however briefly put, must cover a wide area.

"3. *The Armistice.*—Dominating all other features of the year, financial or others, was the sudden cessation of hostilities in November. The last budget was presented at a time of grave crisis for the Allied arms, when Germany was making its final and greatest endeavour to break through our line in France. The peril had the effect in India of calling forth more strenuous effort, in men and materials ; and the first seven months of the year were a period of great and widespread activity. Up to the end of October, the value of the external trade of India was bigger than in either of the two previous years ; the exports of food-grains,

tea and gunny bags being evidence of India's material help to the Allied countries, and the imports of sugar and textiles being indicative of the high prosperity which she reaped in return. The railway revenue corresponded : and at one time it looked as if trade remittances through the Secretary of State would be heavier than the record figure of the previous year. Prices remained high, and there was much speculation based on the expectancy that this hectic energy would endure. With the armistices came a sudden change. The wheat export had stopped in September for other reasons ; but cotton now fell off immediately, and there was a great slackening in gunnies. Imports of all kinds declined sharply, chiefly sugar and piece-goods. Panic fell upon the cloth market : prices came tumbling down, forward orders were cancelled and peace brought catastrophe to those who had been gambling wildly on the continuation of war. The reaction on the Government exchequer was mainly caused by the complete cessation of trade remittances to India. The Secretary of State stopped selling bills near the end of October, and since then we have lost the large exchange profits which a one-and six penny rupee had been yielding us, while we had to go on at express speed coining rupees, and losing on them, to meet the unassuaged thirst of the people for metallic currency. All these factors will be discussed in more detail later. The cardinal point is that peace has laid its hand upon the unhealthy prosperity which the war had brought us ; and we have now to descend to a more normal plane of trade and business.

"4. *Scarcity*.—To this painful process the chief obstacle at present is the persistently high range of prices for all the necessities, as well as the comforts, of life. The world factors responsible for high prices have been supplemented, so far as cereals are concerned, by the unfortunate agricultural situation over a large area in India. The outlook when the last Budget was prepared was generally good, although the several meteorological disturbance of the cold weather type which had appeared in January and February 1918 were all feeble and gave little. The weather was accordingly exceptionally dry throughout northern and central India. In the Peninsula on the other hand conditions had been unusually disturbed during January and February, and very heavy rain for the time of the year occurred in the west coast districts. The Arabian Sea monsoon appeared nearly three weeks before its normal date and gave widespread and unusually heavy rain over nearly the whole of the Peninsula for about five weeks. Its activities then began to decline and, after an appreciable improvement during the latter half of August

it merged during September into a complete break which continued till the end of the regular monsoon season. The Bay monsoon also arrived upward of two weeks earlier than usual, and was of normal intensity. But unfortunately its activities were confined during nearly the whole season to Burma and north-east India. The average rainfall over the plains was in defect by 6·5 inches, or 19 per cent., which is the highest deficiency on record since the year 1899. The prolonged break in the monsoon adversely affected the area and yield of the principal crops. The condition of the crops now standing is on the whole favourable, especially in the northern and central parts of the country, but there is a serious reduction in area. The shortage of rain has affected most provinces, although the Peninsula was favoured with abundant rain during November and December and more recent falls have much improved prospects in the Punjab, Central Provinces and the United Provinces. The Agricultural record of the closing year is therefore an unhappy one, and has entailed the usual consequences. Famine has had to be declared in the Ahmednagar district and in certain other parts of Bombay. Scarcity has been declared in 2 districts of the United Provinces, 6 districts of the Central Provinces, 11 districts of the Kathiawar Agency of Bombay. Distress prevails in Bankura, and is impending in Angul, in 5 districts of the United Provinces, 2 districts of Madras, and considerable areas in Central India. The number of persons on test works, in receipt of gratuitous relief, and in poor houses during the week ending 15th February 1919 was 128, 178. Cattle are suffering even more than men, for there is a serious scarcity of fodder in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay, Rajputana and the Bogra district of Bengal. Concession rates for the carriage of fodder by rail to affected areas have been sanctioned, and Fodder Controllers have been appointed in the Punjab and Bombay. All the elaborate mechanism for famine relief, well tried and now thoroughly understood, is ready to combat distress in its various forms. The approved prophylactic of agricultural loans on a generous scale has been already applied, the large sum of two crores having been sanctioned for advances in the United Provinces alone. The good seasons of recent years and the full prices paid for agricultural produce must have accumulated unusual reserves of rural wealth, and it may be expected that Widespread or acute distress will be averted; but it is a sad reflection that this calamity should have befallen the country at a time when it had hoped to join in the universal thanksgiving at the end of the war.

"5. *The Influenza*.—More calamitous than famine, or than

a great campaign, has been the epidemic of influenza which ravaged India in the autumn of 1918. A reference to this terrible scourge was made by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the opening of this session ; and all that need be added is to emphasize the effect of the epidemic in weakening the capacity of the rural population to cope with their ordinary work, and particularly with the drought which simultaneously fastened on them. It has had most depressing results on rural efficiency, and has complicated the task of famine relief.

"6. *Commerce and Prices.*—In judging of the year's trade, it has to be remembered that the steady rise in prices, which continued from 1917-18 into the current year, frequently obscures an actual fall in the volume of imports or exports. Subject to this reservation we have an increase of £8 millions in the total value of private merchandise imported into India during the first nine months of the current year, as compared with the same period in 1917. For exports of private merchandise, the increase is over £9 millions. The export figures incidentally demonstrate the extent to which India was able to increase her assistance in the way of supplies to the Allied nations and their armed forces. Exports of cereals rose by over 50 per cent, to a total in 1917-18 of 5,400,000 tons valued at £36,000,000. In the case of wheat the record figure of 1,500,000 tons was reached. In the earlier months of the current year, India's contribution of foodstuffs was maintained at an even higher level than 1917. With the failure of the monsoon, however, the exportable surplus rapidly diminished and artificial checks on export have had to be imposed. Fortunately a marked improvement took place in the food situation in the Allied countries during the summer months.

"7. Our command of raw materials apart from cereals placed us in a highly favourable position until the effects of scarcity began to make themselves felt. The trade in oilseeds suffered, it is true, from the shortage of freight, which was naturally most marked in the case of seeds not essential for war purposes. But a rapid expansion has taken place in the crushing of seed for the export of oil, and there is a marked rise in prices ; oil cake tends more and more to be retained for local consumption. Last year raw jute continued to decline as an export, and prices were low. In the summer of 1918 a sharp recovery took place, when it was apparent that the crop was likely to be short ; and with an improvement in shipping facilities exports during the first nine months of the current year showed an advance in value of 100 per cent, on the 1917 figures. In manufactured jute, high prices appear to have restricted to some extent the foreign demand for

gunny bags, but none the less this great industry has beaten all records by exporting goods to the value of £28,000,000 during the nine months, April to December 1918. Record quantities of tea were exported in 1917-18 though at a somewhat less remunerative price than in the previous two years. The current year promises to be equally prosperous for the tea industry. Coffee planters have been less fortunate during the war, but should be able to look forward to the future without apprehension. Valuable new markets have been exploited and the English market has now been re-opened to Indian coffee. Exports of rubber have grown steadily during the war, though prices ruled low during the current year. The price of raw cotton reached unprecedented heights early in the current year and there was consequently a striking fall in our shipments both of the raw material and of cotton yarn. Another consequence was that the rates for country cloth became so exorbitant as to cause much hardship and discontent. With better news from the theatres of war, the holding up of stocks for still higher prices came to an end, and the whole position became easier; but there are again signs of an upward tendency. In cotton piece-goods from Indian mills, the export naturally diminished, with the high prices ruling in the local markets; but it is noteworthy that in the first nine months of this year, a decline of 14 per cent. in the volume of export has been concomitant with a rise of 36 per cent. in its value. The net result of this brief review is to show the enormous strength that India has acquired as a producer, under peaceful conditions, of the chief necessities of life..

"8. *Restrictions on trade.*—With the cessation of hostilities, it has already become possible to withdraw many of the restrictions on trade which have been inevitable during the war. No one is more anxious than the Government of India to complete this process of liberation, and a word may now be said as to how far it has been possible to go in this direction and what is the position of Government with respect to the restrictions that still remain. Interference during the war with the normal course of trade has, as a rule, been undertaken in pursuance of one of three aims;—to satisfy India's own needs; to satisfy the needs of Great Britain and the Allies; and to hamper the enemy. Restrictions of the third class remain in full force. They consist in a complete prohibition of trade with enemy countries and a very strict control of trade with neutral countries adjacent thereto. These restrictions apply to other countries equally with India and their relaxation depends entirely on the decisions of the Peace Conference. Of the second class of restrictions, namely, those designed to

the Allied cause, some are of necessity still in force. Until the food situations has become normal in the Allied countries and until their depleted industries have been rehabilitated, it is only just that they should have some form of preference in the supply of certain raw products and other necessities of national existence. The scheme for the control of tea which gave to the producer a guaranteed market at a fair price for a large percentage of his output has been maintained in the interest of the consumer hitherto, but will shortly be terminated. Control is still being maintained over mica which is an essential to Allied industry, and a system of licensing is being retained for certain other products for which a survey of the Allied demand is not yet complete. On the other hand, the restrictions on the export of jute manufactures, saltpetre, tanning materials and petrol have been removed. The control of raw and tanned hides has been very greatly relaxed subject to certain safeguards in the interest of the future of the trade. The tanning of skins is no longer prohibited and restrictions on the transport of skins by rail have been withdrawn and export has been reopened. Shellac exporters have been relieved of their obligation to give preferential supplies to the Ministry of Munitions and free export of oilseeds, vegetable oils and manganese is now permitted. The prohibitions on the import of motor cars has been raised. The Ministry of Shipping has already, subject to certain safeguards, terminated the Liner Requisition scheme and freights have been reduced to a fraction of their recent rates.

"9. In the case of interference with trade undertaken in India's own interest, much has also been done. Restrictions on the transport of wool by rail and coastwise by sea, which were imposed in order to ensure adequate supplies of wool for the manufacture of Army blankets, have been removed, and numerous textile and other industrial undertakings brought under control for the production of war supplies have been freed from that control. The difficulty of obtaining supplies of manufactured articles from the United Kingdom has during the war forced many of the British Colonies in the East to look to India for the replenishment of their stocks. India herself has had great difficulty in obtaining supplies and it was eventually found necessary to establish a system of priority for demands of this nature on India similar to that instituted in the United Kingdom, and to couple with it a comprehensive set of restrictions on the exports from India of manufactured articles. With the termination of the Home priority scheme and the re-opening of exports in the United Kingdom, the necessity for these restrictions has largely ceased. The Indian priority system has, therefore, been abandoned as

regards both demands from India on the United Kingdom and demands on India from the Colonies, and the great majority of manufactured articles have been expunged from our export prohibition list. Similarly in the case of drugs, for which the war produced a universally enhanced demand, the prohibition on export has only been maintained in the case of a very limited number, such as quinine which are of vital importance to the health of the country. The failure of the 1918 monsoon has necessitated certain further restrictions on the movement of foodstuffs. The machinery for the control of rice originally set up in the interest of the Allies is now being applied to the relief of distress in India and to the distribution of supplies so far as possible to countries with Indian population. It has also been found necessary to prohibit the export of certain other cereals which formerly were unrestricted.

"10. I may refer to one other respect in which it has not been found possible to remove the interference with the normal course of trade which Government has been obliged to effect. As this Council is aware, Government took powers during the last session to provide for the manufacture of standard cloth. Soon after this legislation was passed, the piece-goods market slumped and for some time the Act was not applied. Now, however, it has been found necessary to commence the manufacture and distribution of standard cloth in the interests of the poorest classes and I am sure that, if he were here, Sir George Barnes would like me to take this opportunity of acknowledging the willingness of the local industry to co-operate in the working of the scheme.

"11. *War Effort.* The beginning of the year witnessed the great German offensive in the West,—an offensive which had been foreseen by the Allies and to meet which every possible preparation had been made. The initial successes of the enemy were, however, great, and the situation became so critical that the Prime Minister called on India to rally again to the assistance of the Empire. How successful that effort has been is well known to this Council. His Excellency the Viceroy summoned a Conference at Delhi towards the end of April, and as a result of the resolutions passed thereat the Government of India offered to raise and train an additional 500,000 men in the twelve months commencing from the 1st June. This offer was accepted and recruitment proceeded apace. The raising of a large additional body of Indian troops involved heavy expenditure in many directions. Temporary accommodation had to be hastily provided; the recruiting and training staff had to be largely increased; the men had to be clothed, fed, armed and equipped; large bodies of

men had to be moved by rail : more officers had to be entertained . and instructional classes of various kinds had to be hastily organised. I will not weary this Council with detailed figures, but will merely mention that the immediate result of this great expansion of our military activity led to an increase in our recoverable war expenditure from a scale of £60 millions in 1917-18 to an estimated expenditure of £70½ millions in 1918-19. This latter figure would have been far higher, had it not been for the decision by this Council last September to relieve His Majesty's Government of the charges of 200,000 additional troops with effect from 1st April 1918, and a further 100,000 troops from 1st April 1919. Fortunately, with the collapse of our principal enemies in October and November last, the necessity for continuing recruitment on this scale ceased. Nevertheless, the offer made by India of further assistance to His Majesty's Government has resulted in an addition of £12·7 millions to our military expenditure during the current financial year, and there will be further large sums due to His Majesty's Government next year, after which the Government of India will only be responsible for meeting certain non-effective charges as they accrue.

" 12. The raising of recruits was in some ways the simplest part of the task which India set before herself. Thanks to the loyalty and martial spirit of the peoples of India and to the magnificent efforts of the Provincial recruiting boards, men, both combatant and non-combatant, were obtained in large and increasing numbers. To stimulate recruitment, it was decided to offer still better terms to the Indian Army, which had already received a material concession in the grant of free rations to all ranks from the 1st January 1917. Consequently a gratuity was granted to each man on completing the recruit's course, and in addition, to every Indian officer and soldier, a war bonus payable every six months until the declaration of peace, or until general demobilization is declared. It was, however, the provision of the necessary munitions of war which presented the most urgent and difficult problem. To meet this, the activities of the Indian Munitions Board, which had been started early in 1917-18, were expanded in every direction. Additional staff was engaged : the Army Clothing Factories were expanded : the output of the Ordnance Factories was increased ; and closer control was exercised over the stocks of imported articles still available in India. After three and a half years of war, India had been almost drained of such stocks, and it was essential to conserve for military purposes the little that was left. This, however, proved quite insufficient in most cases to meet our needs, and it became necessary

to stimulate the local manufacture of many articles for which India had hitherto relied upon importation from abroad. A Controller of Contracts was appointed to supervise the purchase of all food-stuffs and various other articles for the use of troops. This measure led to considerable economies, as did also the assumption of control over a number of mills which were employed solely on producing flour and atta for the Army. In order to increase the world's food supply, and in particular to reduce the enormous demands made by Mesopotamia on India for feeding the troops in that country, a large and costly scheme of agricultural development was adopted in Mesopotamia. This, too, had to be financed by recoverable advances from India, and seed grains and most of the agricultural produce had to be furnished by this country. To meet the ever-increasing strain on our Railway system due to the larger movement of troops, passenger traffic had to be curtailed. Large quantities of locomotive and rolling stocks were sent from India to Mesopotamia and the whole output of rails from 'Tatas' works was utilized to meet overseas requirements, though the condition of our own lines was such that rails were urgently needed to replace those which were worn out. These we had to forego. Simultaneously India had to be prepared to meet the contingency of a strategical situation arising which would enable the Powers in the west to threaten our Northern Frontier. This new danger entailed special measures to increase the mobility and radius of action of the troops which guard our country, and thus added to our already heavy financial burden.

SECTION II—THE YEAR 1919-1920.

F.—Budget Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure.

"39. The task of forecasting our resources and requirements for next year is unusually perplexing. On the military side there is no experience to guide us in calculating the legacies of a great war. The pace and cost of demobilization, the future strength of the army and its reserves, the new equipment which the lessons of the war will force upon us—all these are uncertain. On the civil side our external trade is largely governed by shipping, which may or may not be available, and there is thus no estimating with any confidence for our customs revenue, our gains or loss by exchange, etc. Our internal trade will be affected by scarcity and may be seriously hit by a slump in prices: hence uncertainty about our railway earnings and other important heads of revenue. After the strain and artificial conditions of recent years it is not easy to speculate how far the rebound will go or what directions it will take, and the only thing that is certain is that we must

incur a large expenditure to recover the ground which has been lost in a period of severe economy. There is, however, no cause to be pessimistic for 1919-20. A depression may come in time, but we need not anticipate that will come so soon as next year, and there is much diffused prosperity in the country which even high prices and local scarcity cannot seriously impair. We have therefore felt justified on the revenue side in taking an optimistic view of our general prospects and we have allowed for a substantial improvement in receipts under the majority of the more important revenue heads. Before discussing these it will be convenient to examine first the needs of our spending departments and to arrive at the total revenue which will be necessary to provide for them.

"40. *The Army*.—For next year we trust to do without the special war provision of £1·8 millions for expenditure on our own frontiers which appears in the current year's estimates ; and there is a reduction of nearly £1 million in our expected outlay on Military Works, in view of the cessation of many of the special works, including accommodation, which were called for by our greatly expanded army. But these and other economies have been outpaced by the imperative demands of military efficiency in the light of the lessons taught by the war ; and we have had to accept an extra charge of over £2 millions for the war bonus to British troops. Another heavy liability which we have to face is the clearing of the war stores suspense account, which has been steadily grown up in the last few years. A large part of this will be taken off our hands by the War Office ; but still a substantial quantity of the stores will have to be taken over by the military authorities in India as a nucleus for the mobilization stores which experience has shown to be absolutely necessary. As a beginning of this process we have decided to provide £1 million in next year's budget. For all the many unforeseen contingencies of a year of reconstruction, we have inserted a lump provision of only £871,000. No one can assert that this is extravagant in view of the large new up-to-date equipment which will be forced upon every modern army now-a-days,—its improved armament, its requirements of more rapid transport, and in particular its air fleet. With the most cordial and helpful co-operation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, however, have decided to fix the net figure in the budget for our ordinary charges at £32½ millions as against £31½ millions in the current year. To both of those figures have to be added the instalments of the war contribution which we offered last September. These amount to £12·7 millions in the current year and £8·7 millions in the coming year ; further details

"41 Without entering into wearisome details, I may mention a few of the heads under which substantial savings are expected next year. The first of these is *Political*, where we estimate for a reduction of £2 millions as compared with the current year. This is due mainly to the curtailment of our expenditure in South Persia and to the omission of special political expenditure which the cessation of hostilities has happily brought to an end. Another head is *Refunds*, where we are budgeting for over £½ million less than in 1918-19. The bulk of this is due to the omission of a large provision made this year for the refund of advances which salt traders in Northern India had paid in during the period of high speculation in that commodity. We have also been able to reduce our customs drawbacks very materially. These were specially high in the current year, as owing to shipping difficulties large consignment intended for Mesopotamia, have been sent in the first instance to India and reshipped to Mesopotamia, the customs duty upon them having had to be refunded on their re-export. Another head under which we expect a saving of £½ million is *Miscellaneous*; the reduction here is an echo of the war, being due to the absence of the provision which had to be made this year for losses of stores at sea on the voyage between England and India.

"42. A few of the heads may now be mentioned under which we expect the chief increases of expenditure next year. Of these the most prominent is *Famine Relief*, where the Imperial share of our extra liability will be about £450,000. It is expected that the total requirements under this head will be nearly 90 lakhs in the United Provinces and 45 lakhs in Bombay, while Bihar and Orissa will require 16 lakhs and the Central Provinces over 14 lakhs. Against this, however, we have much lower figures for remission and suspension of revenue, and our betterment under that head is very substantial, close on £1 million. Another expenditure head which is growing is *Post and Telegraphs*. Here we have had to replenish stores which were depleted by military requirements, as well as to contemplate substantial improvement in pay and in postal efficiency generally. Increases in pay and wages will run through most of our spending departments, and may indeed upset estimates which we have had to frame before the full effects of high prices have been made evident.

"43. Apart from these, and the Railway figures which will be discussed below, there is no startling variation from the position in the current year. Full details are as usual given in the Finance Secretary's Memorandum. The aggregate result is

that we find ourselves obliged to make provision for Imperial expenditure amounting to £85,357,300. Our task is to provide that amount from our current revenues ; and, as will be shown below, we are unable to do so without extra taxation. A few of the main heads of revenue may briefly be examined.

"44. *Railways*.—The gross receipts taken in the current year's budget were, as I previously mentioned, Rs. 70½ crores, against which we now expect to receive Rs. 76½ crores. All our experience shows a rapid and unfaltering growth of traffic, and as military requirements fall off, private demands for railway facilities will more than take their place. For next year, therefore, we propose to go up to Rs. 85 crores,—a figure which is regarded in the Railway Department as daringly optimistic. There will be a corresponding rise in working expenses : but the heaviest deduction will be for special renewals after the forced neglect of the past few years. Apart from the large capital programme to which I shall shortly refer, we propose to earmark no less than £6½ millions or Rs. 9½ crores for renewals from current revenue. It is a large sum, but the railway authorities are confident of being able to spend it profitably and it is impossible to deny either the need or the urgency for drastic renewals. We take our net railway revenue at about Rs. 33½ crores against about Rs. 40 crores in the current year.

Customs.—It may reasonably be assumed that tonnage will gradually get easier next year and that the return of peace will bring down prices. The latter movement will tend to reduce the proceeds of customs dues which are levied on an *ad valorem* basis ; but we count upon an influx of commodities to replenish exhausted stocks. We are consequently budgeting for Rs. 20 crores against about Rs. 19 crores expected in the current year. This assumes that we shall adhere to the special duty on petrol which is a very reasonable addition to our revenues even in peace time. I shall subsequently introduce a small bill continuing our present Motor Spirit Duties Act, which covers only the period of the war and six months thereafter and which probably would otherwise lapse before the close of the coming year. Under the majority of the other tariff heads we have allowed for substantial increases, but we anticipate a considerable decrease in (a) the export duty on rice, owing to the large diversion of Burma rice for Indian requirements, and (b) the import duty on cotton manufactures, as a result of agricultural conditions and the present disparity between European and Indian prices.

Mint and Exchange.—The gain on exchange is taken at a little over £1 million. Though high, this figure is a serious drop from

what we expect in the current year—nearly £4½ millions. There are three reasons for the decline. First, there will be a large falling off in our gross receipts from exchange in consequence of the great reduction in our anticipated recoveries from the War Office against expenditure undertaken on their behalf in India. Second, we are estimating for much smaller sales of Council Bills, while there will at the same time be a diminution of the gain on exchange which we shall realise from them. This is due, not to any expectation of departing from the present rate, but to an arrangement into which we entered with the Exchange Banks during our period of financial strain. I think it is an open secret that, in consideration of their insuring the finance of exports of national importance, the Secretary of State guaranteed the six British Exchange Banks that they would be allowed to bring back to India, at the rate at which the transactions took place, funds to the extent to which they were compelled to overbuy in that connection. Third, though we do not anticipate that our actual silver coinage will be as great as in the current year, we expect that the loss on coinage to be set off against the gain on exchange will be no less; since a considerable portion of our silver coined in the current year was paid for by rupee credits granted to the United States Government, the rate of which is so adjusted that no formal loss arises out of these transactions.

We have also again allowed for high receipts under Mint, though here too there is some reduction owing to the fact that a somewhat smaller amount of new silver will come under coinage. The estimates as they stand include provision for seigniorage on the coinage of the balance of the American silver as well as for new purchases by the Secretary of State, also for a large amount of subsidiary coinage which we expect to undertake in view of the present extraordinary demand for small coin.

Other Heads.—We provide for increases, as the result of normal growth, under Stamps, Excise and Posts and Telegraphs after allowing in the case of excise revenue for the prevalence of famine conditions in several provinces. Under Posts and Telegraphs, there will be a falling off in the volume of military traffic, but we shall realise a full year's yield from the enhanced rates introduced in the current year. We anticipate some decline under Salt as we expect further large issues against uncleared indentments in respect of which duty has already been paid.

Income tax.—The figures here will be explained in a moment. They cover however one concession—the only fiscal concession possible in this budget—which we have felt ourselves constrained to make. On none has the present range of prices fallen more

heavily than the people on low salaries who are caught in the smallest mesh of our income-tax levy. There can be no question that the Rs. 1,000 minimum is now a serious hardship, and we have decided to raise the taxable limits of income to Rs. 2,000. We estimate that we shall thereby lose 75 lakhs or £500,000; we shall relieve no fewer than 237,000 petty assesses, out of the total number (381,000) of people who pay the tax now. Incidentally I may explain here that as income-tax revenue is shared between Imperial and Provincial, a portion of the loss would in the absence of any adjustment fall on provincial revenues. It will, however, of course be necessary for us to make good to the provinces by assignments the amount so lost, just as we took assignments from them in respect of the additional receipts due to the enhancements of taxation effected in 1916 when these would otherwise under the ordinary classification have been credited to provinces.

"45. Enough has been said to show that we are not free from difficulty with our revenue estimates, but that we have not allowed the uncertainty of the future to deter us from pitching our figures as high as prudence permits. The total result is that we get a revenue of £80,192,100 all told, or a shortage of £5,165,200 in comparison with our estimated expenditure. To fill this gap, and to give us a small surplus as a margin for the fluctuations of the year, we are asking the Council to impose a duty on Excess Profits earned in the current year. We estimate the gross yield of this duty at about £7½ millions. Against this, there will be a loss of super-tax (estimated at £1 million), since super-tax and excess profits duty will not be both assessed on the same business, and also of income-tax (to the extent of about £450,000) since a rebate will be given for the purposes of this tax in respect of the amounts paid as excess profits duty. Allowing for these losses, we place our net estimated receipts from the excess profits duty at about £6 millions, and our estimated surplus will be £868,100.

"46. *Revenue and Expenditure—Provincial*—The provincial revenues are taken in the Budget at close £37 millions, and the expenditure at a little over £38½ millions. With the conclusion of the war we felt that we could not reasonably ask Local Governments any longer to refrain from drawing to a moderate extent on the large accumulated balances which most of them have now at their credit. We therefore informed them that in our opinion additional expenditure may now be reasonably incurred upon:—

- (a) the extension of education in directions where it has been specially hampered by war economies;
- (b) the development of industries;

- (c) the repair of actual damage which the financial stringency of the last three years has caused to public institutions and services, and
- (d) purposes which, though not immediately remunerative, will secure an improved and not greatly deferred return to the State or the country at large, such as capital outlay on the development of forests, agricultural experiments and the like.

It was also added that of course expenditure in connection with the relief of distress and the like in consequence of the present agricultural situation in several provinces, whether in the form of famine relief outlay or of advances, should be duly provided for and incurred in accordance with real requirements. The provinces have taken full advantage of this advice, and it will be observed that the estimates provide for a draft on provincial balances of over £1½ millions. This does not, however, represent the full extent of the proposed expansion of provincial expenditure as compared with that undertaken in the current year, as the provinces collectively are now budgetting for an increase of £3½ millions on their revised estimates of £34.8 millions.

The details of the Budget are set out in the following table.

	Accounts. 1917-1918.	Revised Estimate, 1918-1919.	Budget Estimate, 1919-1920
REVENUE.	£	£	£
Principal Heads of Revenue—			
Land Revenue	21,607,246	20,945,500	22,653,100
Opium	3,078,903	3,229,000	3,056,200
Salt	5,499,487	4,176,300	3,914,300
Stamps	5,727,522	5,896,500	6,097,100
Excise	10,161,706	11,541,300	12,133,300
Customs	11,036,588	12,603,200	13,352,400
Income Tax	6,308,104	7,300,900	13,521,500
Other Heads	3,885,177	4,094,600	4,568,900
TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS ...	67,304,733	69,787,300	79,296,800
Interest	2,170,108	4,020,800	3,637,400
Posts and Telegraphs	4,616,690	5,322,900	5,716,800
Mint	517,401	1,716,800	1,303,200
Receipts by Civil Departments ...	1,935,364	2,086,600	1,957,500
Miscellaneous	4,868,356	5,771,000	2,507,400
Railways: Net Receipts	24,141,708	25,347,400	21,372,900
Irrigation	5,063,879	5,402,200	5,498,600
Other Public Works	323,599	331,909	312,900
Military Receipts	1,720,509	1,713,600	1,287,300
TOTAL REVENUE ...	112,662,347	121,500,500	123,190,800
DEFICIT ...	.....	4,350,600	.....
TOTAL ...	112,662,347	125,851,100	123,190,800
EXPENDITURE.			
Direct Demands on the Revenues ...	9,854,695	11,676,600	11,293,300
Interest	7,328,169	7,733,200	7,763,500
Posts and Telegraphs	3,567,730	4,116,500	4,580,200
Mint	167,382	267,000	284,500
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Depart- ments	20,855,368	24,474,800	24,536,400
Miscellaneous Civil Charges	5,918,707	6,130,700	6,115,700
Famine Relief and Insurance	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,502,400
Railways: Interest and Miscellaneous Charges	14,227,385	14,154,000	14,468,900
Irrigation	3,784,838	3,988,300	4,075,400
Other Public Works	5,048,294	5,596,800	6,761,400
Military Service	30,763,650	45,639,600	42,782,300
TOTAL EXPENDITURE, IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL ...	102,516,650	124,777,500	123,964,000
<i>Add</i> —Provincial Surpluses, that is, portion of allotments to Pro- vincial Governments not spent by them in the year	2,256,623	1,165,900	11,500
<i>Deduct</i> —Provincial Deficits, that is, portion of Provincial Expen- diture defrayed from Pro- vincial Balances	197,568	97,300	1,652,800
TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE.	104,575,273	125,851,100	122,342,700
SURPLUS ...	8,087,074	.....	868,100
TOTAL ...	112,662,347	125,851,100	123,190,800

Discussion On Imperial Budget

Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy congratulated the Finance Minister and laid stress on the increased grant on railways which would facilitate the development of trade. He believed that the levy of Excess Profits Tax would seriously handicap trade. The commerical community had already borne a severe burden during the War, and it was not fair that they would be asked to pay more. He welcomed the proposal about increasing the minimum of incometax. He said that a free hand should be given to Provincial Governments for the extension of education, and they should be free to draw on the provincial balance.

Mr. Khaparde said that this annual budget debate was like the annual Xmas dinner when all departments were present, some invited, some uninvited, all wanting a slice from the revenue. Some got more than others, for instance, Railway people, being masters of the locomotion, got the largest slice of pudding, though they paid nothing out of the large amount of money made here on account of large traffic. Railway kings sat in England, and did not pay the excess profits tax. The money was earned in India, and he did not see why they should not pay a share to the Indian Exchequer. He did not grudge soldiers getting 33 percent, because they had fought the War and won it, and after all that was a great thing. There was one item in it, however, of eight lakhs provided for barbers(?) and he thought that to be very excessive. He was of opinion that the railway grant should be cut by half and distributed between sanitation and education.

Mr B. D. Shuku said a beginning had been made in the direction of what the Finance Member had said "strict economy," but the country had been disappointed in that nearly 33 per cent of the total revenue would be consumed by the Military Department, and a heavy capital outlay amounting to £17.7 millions had been budgetted for railways while the beneficent department, such as education, sanitation, agriculture and industries had been allowed to starve. It was in the fitness of things that the Government should divert their attention from the problems of the War to no less complicable and urgent problem of peace and reconstruction. India had already missed a great opportunity for the development of indigenous industries. The failure of a single monsoon was sufficient to create famine and acute distress, and the people had hardly any staying power to face it, and it was a pity to find no effort had been made by the Government to improve the moral and material condition of the people. Famine, scarcity,

plague and pestilence had become permanent factors in rural life in India. He suggested that the railway allotment be reduced to ten million pounds, and suitable grants made for irrigation which would greatly add to the resources of the people and large grants should also be made for sanitation and education. He concluded by urging (a) fiscal autonomy for India, (b) a sum of fifteen crores out of fifty crores of Gold Standard Reserve held in England should be withdrawn for industrial purposes (c) large exports of foodstuffs should be stopped, and (d) the establishment of a High Court and a University at Nagpur.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji said that it was a people's budget. He congratulated the Finance Member for the raising of taxable income from 1000, to Rs 2000, and appealed for a reduction in the military expenditure at the earliest possible opportunity. Mr. Banerji asked for further information about the extra charge of two millions as bonus for British Officers.

He then deprecated the vast sums put down for Military and Railways and criticised at length the Government attitude towards the sanitary problem, and recommended the transfer of two millions from railways to sanitation. He said, for the highest ends of National progress and for the advent of a new era about which they were all anxious, education was the one indispensable condition. He earnestly pleaded for the transfer of another 3 million pounds from railways to education. Mr. Banerji trusted his appeal would not go in vain.

Rai Sitanath Roy called the budget one of surprises and disappointments in which the disappointments overshadowed the surprises. High hopes had been entertained that after the War, large sums would be available for the spread of education, improvement of sanitation and the establishment of industries. It was disappointing that the Government had not signalled the victorious termination of the War with the inauguration of a more liberal policy in these matters.

Mr. Chanda was glad of the relief in the income tax but what painfully oppressed him was the colossal growth of expenditure, military and civil which, from an economic point of view, must be regarded as wasteful. The claims of sanitation, medical help and education had been almost absolutely ignored. He criticised the sanitation policy of the Government, and said they should not grudge the money required, and expressed disappointment at there being no mention of provision for industrial development made in the budget. No doubt the Report of the Industry Commission was receiving consideration. The war had come and was as good as gone, but India was still standing by and her markets were

being captured by other people owing to their unpreparedness. They could cut a substantial sum from railway and military expenditure, and provide for industries, sanitation and primary education. Mr Chanda pointed out that there was no reference to the acute distress prevailing in most parts of the country, and said they would be grateful, if some of the ambitious provisions in the budget were cut down and the money diverted for alleviating the distress. Dealing with the increase in the military expenditure, he said they could not go on increasing it indefinitely without endangering the stability of the financial position of the country. He questioned the urgency of the work in connection with new Delhi, and urged that the grant be cut down. In conclusion, he submitted that, in view of the frightful increase in the expenditure, their whole financial position would have to be looked into and systematically overhauled. This could only be done by an independent commission, and he urged that the matter should receive consideration. He also emphasised the desirability of letting the nonofficial members to have opportunities to know the real financial position, and, if necessary, to form small committees.

Mr. W. A. Ironside said that the whole tone of their criticism had simply been "cut down the efficiency of one department irrespective of the results to the community at large in order that some other departments may benefit". Now he looked upon the railway programme as vital necessity, and he observed that it must be maintained at any cost. Some members had urged for expenditure for other very necessary projects such as education, medical relief and the like. He gave them his assurance, and assurance of the commercial community, that there was nothing which they felt affected the future of the country to such an extent, but they could do that efficiently by finding money in other directions. The proposal they had heard to day proved that the financial future of the country was going to be one of stringency in all directions. They had heard appeals for the increase of expenditure in one form or another, but apparently, except with the reduction of the vital chord of the economic future of the country. They had not heard one concrete suggestion about finding the wherewithal to meet this position. It seemed the members had very little idea of the necessities of railways in India.

Mr. Patel said that, in his opinion, there were three pressing problems at present, poverty of the people, illiteracy and high mortality. Very little had been done to combat these evils. He asked the Finance Member to enlighten him if the contribution of 45 millions towards War they had voted last session had been sanctioned by Parliament. They could not be too sure

of that, in view of the numerous protests, that had gone forth against the contribution. He also wanted to know whether provision had been made in the present budget for increase of emoluments of medical and police services recently sanctioned by the Secretary of State. There was no mention of this in the financial statement. He would like to know in this connection whether the Council would be given an opportunity to express its opinion on the subject.

Mr. Sarma thanked the Finance Member for relief in income tax and for the inauguration of a policy of active railway expenditure, but he emphasised that the railway expansion should always be accompanied by irrigational activity. The main feature of the budget was that it was an orthodox service and army-railway budget. Dealing with military expenditure, Mr. Sarma hoped it would soon come down to a normal level. If the League of Nations Scheme was worth the paper on which it was written, he hoped to see considerable reduction in military expenditure. The speaker questioned the correctness of the theory that Indian commerce was protected by the Navy. India exported raw produce, and someboby else sent in the manufactured goods, and ships were non-Indian and so it could not be said that the Indian commerce was protected by the Navy.

Mr. Ayyangar first drew attention to the Excess Profits Tax and complained that Govt. was following Russian ways in alienating the wealthier classes and sending them into the arms of socialism. He strongly criticised the Govt. on its huge expenditure on Railways which is cruelly draining the resources of the country for the behoof European exploiters.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha said that he was one of those who would bless the budget twice. It was only ignorant critics who cursed it. He did not blame them, for they were not well informed. He cordially associated himself with most of what had fallen from his esteemed and worthy old friend, Mr. Surendranath Bannerji. His criticisms were indeed very sound. During the debate, they found the railways and military expenditure had been criticised most. He did admit that at the present moment military expenditure had gone very high but they had to take into consideration the extraordinary times they were passing through. He would congratulate himself, if the Finance Minister were able to reduce the military expenditure by many millions next year. He asked those gentlemen who had criticised the expenditure to consider what might happen if the enemy were at the gates of Peshawar or Kashmere. Many more millions would then be required. Where were they to come from? Their first

duty was security from external aggression, and the preservation of internal law and order. And so long as they were incurring reasonable expenditure on this, he for one would not oppose it.

Turning to the head of railways, Sir Dinshaw said that this was another subject to which he had paid great attention for the last fifty years, and had written a series of articles which he had issued in pamphlet form in 1909. At that time he had said that railways were being built at breathless pace, and he was one of those who clamoured that more attention should be bestowed on irrigation. He was glad to say that, since then, almost all great works of irrigation had been completed, and other large works were projected. These could not make great progress, as he understood there was dearth of water works engineers. Apart from that, he must admit that they were getting on very smoothly. Coming back to the railways, he observed that, though he had been one of the greatest opponents, at the present moment he was convinced that the expenditure that was going to be incurred was absolutely necessary, considering the enormous depreciation of railway stock. He asked them to consider the enormous translocation of railway material to Mesopotamia. He thought that, by doing that, India had helped a great deal in bringing Victory. In this connection he also pointed out that it was their good fortune that they had the Tata Iron Works which supplied rails to them in a way. The great Tatas were really helping the Government and the people. Then he asked them to consider the high prices of materials, and he was of opinion that the prices would not go down for at least three years to come. He believed that, if the railway board would put all estimates of how expenditure was made up, every member would be satisfied that the amount was actually required. They must remember that they must put railways in such a position that they could carry food in a cheaper way. It was for cheapening food that this expenditure was required.

NON OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS ON THE BUDGET

1st. Resolution :—Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma moved :—

"This council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Budget allotment providing for the flotation of a loan of £ 10 Millions be reduced by £ 4 millions".

There was only a short debate, only Hon. Pundit Malaviya supporting it. It was put and rejected.

2nd. Resolution.—Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma :—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Budget allotment "24-B—Sanitation, etc" be increased by Rs. 50 lakhs towards the equipment and improvement of the Health department, and by Rs. 50 lakhs for the improvement of water-supply in rural areas".

The mover pressed the urgency of the matter and implored the Government to take this resolution sympathetically and vote the money. The first man to oppose it was Mr. Ironside who tried to throw dirt on Mr. Sarma and the province (Madras) from which he came, and sneeringly quoted statements to show the "utter incapacity of the educated class to grasp the value of sanitation". "When one deals with finance," he declared, "the immediate necessity is to see what expenditure gives the quickest return," and asserted that Railways have first to be provided for (Mr. Ironside was the head of the Burn Company). Mr. Ironside was at once taken to task for his insulting and utterly groundless attack on the "educated class" by the Hon. Mr. Banerji, Sir Dinshwa Wacha and others and he was made to withdraw his unparliamentary remarks. The resolution was strongly supported by most of the Indian members as also by Mr. Malcolm Hogg. The finance Member (Sir James Meston) accepted the principle of the resolution but opposed it on technical grounds: first, that when proposals are put forward for extra grants, we should clearly specify where the money is to come from, and this the mover has not done; secondly, that it is primarily a matter for the provincial Governments; thirdly that it is reviving the old, the discredited, the dead system of doles. He, however, promised to look into such matters as sanitation, education etc and on this the Resolution was withdrawn.

3rd. Resolution.—Mr. Sarma moved.—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the expenditure under Education be increased by Rs. 150 lakhs for the extension and improvement of primary education".

The mover said that the provincial governments have passed Local Acts for the extension of primary education but these remain merely as paper Acts for want of funds. And the India Government should only give back a part of what is due to the provinces. During the last five years the revenues of the country have increased by 60 Crores but education has received only 4 more. "Am I to be told," he exclaimed "the Army wants this, the Railways want that, a third administration want money, therefore we cannot provide for the prime necessities of education?" The finance Member opposed on the same grounds as before and put

forward the hackneyed argument that the trained teacher, the pivot of the whole scheme, can not just be found, so what is the use of the 150, lakhs? The motion on being put to vote was defeated by 32 to 18, all the non-official Indian members voting for it.

4th. Resolution.—Hon. Mr. Kamini K. Chanda moved :—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the grant to the Assam Government be increased by a non-recurring grant of Rs. 11 lakhs and a recurring grant of Re. 1 lakh for the Murarichand College of Sylhet".

The finance Member opposed it on the ground that the matter was one for the local Government to decide. The Resolution was withdrawn.

5th. Resolution :—Mr. Sarma moved that.—

"The allotment 26B—Scientific and Miscellaneous Departments be increased by Rs. 50 lakhs for carrying out the recommendations of the Industrial Commission".

There was a strong non-official support but Sir T. Holland on behalf of Government said that he thought it unwise at the moment to make the grant and that local Governments must be consulted before large sums could be spent in the direction indicated. He gave several instances showing that the Government was not altogether idle in the matter. The motion was therefore put and negatived.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT—3rd. STAGE.

Sir Claude Hill.—opened the third stage on the Budget discussion on heads "Revenue" and public works".

He said that although the failure of the monsoon had been widespread, the number of relief work was undoubtedly small when compared with 1900. Agricultural schools were being started in several provinces, but development in agriculture was being severely handicapped by the shortage of research officers. He hoped that an inquiry committee would be appointed during the ensuing year. In Forestry, the United Provinces and the Punjab had made great strides in the production of revenue. The Forestry Board at Dehra Dun would shortly consider methods for improving lac industry which is worth £1½ millions. With regard to irrigation, the system had produced 345 lakhs of rupees that year and he hoped for an increase of 10 lakhs in the forthcoming year. Messrs. Barlow and Mears had been appointed to examine and make a preliminary survey of the potentialities of India in utilising water-power for the development of industries and the preliminary report was expected in

the following June. He concluded with a reference to the necessity for restricting exports from India.

6th. Resolution. Rai Bahadur B.D. Shukul then moved that "this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the provision for expenditure in agriculture be increased by Rs. 50 lakhs to provide for the extension and improvement of agricultural education". After discussion the resolution was by the leave of the Council withdrawn.

On March 10, Sir C. Sankaran Nair pointed out that under the revised Budget estimate for the current year the expenditure on education was nearly 731 lakhs. He gave the figures by which the education grants had been increased during the past two years and said that in five of the major provinces measures permitting adoption of **compulsory education** had either been passed or were on their way to being passed. The Government of Bombay had guaranteed one half of the cost of providing compulsory primary education incurred by the Municipality for this purpose in any given year, and in certain cases even a larger amount might be given. He also gave various figures regarding sanitary improvements and hoped that much would be done in the matter of sanitary research work during the next year.

7th. Resolution. Rao Bahadur B.N. Sarma moved that the Railway Budget programme be reduced by £500,000 sterling. The gist of his complaint against the proposed expenditure was that the money was not to be spent on increasing the total mileage of railways but was solely and wholly to be used to develop opened lines, to add to the existing rolling stock and to make other improvements. He tried to show that for such additional expenditure there was no justification. Mr. M. N. Hogg in opposing the resolution detailed the tremendous difficulties under which the railways had worked and how necessary the proposed grant was. The proposed sum, far from being excessive, was really inadequate and expenditure would have to be maintained on the present programme level for several years to come. Amongst others who opposed the resolution was Sir Thomas Holland who pointed out that the increase of wagon capacity would only be about 6 to 7 per cent : on the other hand the ton-mileage, that is the amount of goods carried per mile, had increased from 15 thousand millions in 1915 to 21 thousand millions in 1918 : that is an increase of 40 per cent. The motion was put and negatived.

8th. Resolution. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda then moved the following resolution. "That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the surplus of the budget estimate for 1919-1920 be reduced by Rs. 10,000 in order to provide for the

appointment of a Committee to inquire into the administration of Delhi Province."

He declared that in Delhi an entirely bureaucratic Government had sprung up in a short time in proximity to the Imperial Government and that the Province of Delhi did not enjoy the benefits which people in other Provinces enjoyed. The Province was denied direct representation in the Imperial Legislative Council. The speaker complained that official high-handedness interfered with personal liberty, right of public speech and public action. The Home Member opposed, ridiculed the idea and submitted that no case has been made out for an elaborate inquiry into matters of the kind touched upon by Mr. Chanda. The resolution was, by leave of the Council, withdrawn.

9th. Resolution Rao Bahadur B.N. Sarma next moved that :—

"This Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that the expenditure under Miscellaneous 32 be increased by (a) Rs. 10,000 to meet the cost of a Committee to recommend the measures needed for organising and developing the banking system of the country; and (b) by Rs. 30,000 towards the cost of a committee to inquire into and report upon the civil expenditure of the country during the last five years and recommend measures for the retrenchment of the annual expenditure."

In moving this Resolution Mr. Sarma stated his belief that there was enough capital in this country if only people would use it to run their industries without much extraneous help. If there was to be any industrial advance, however, the habits of the people would have to change considerably. He quoted statistics to show that from £200 millions to £300 millions worth of gold had been imported into this country and about Rs. 400 crores worth of silver for coinage etc., whereas in England there was not so much gold or silver as in India, although the fluid resources there were incomparably superior. Mr. Howard said Government fully recognised the importance of banking development. So far as industrial banking was concerned, it was certain that there must be an inquiry. With regard to Mr. Sarma's second suggestion, he thought the time inopportune, especially considering that the country was on the eve of great reforms. The resolution was put to the Council in two parts, both parts being lost. It was then put as a whole resolution to the Council and was rejected it by 31 official votes to 9.

The Council again met on the 12th March. The Com. in Chief introduced the I. D. F. amendment Bill to extend the period of operation of the I. D. F. Act of 1917 for six months more. Then the Indian Paper Currency Amendment Bill was passed, as also the Motor Spirit Duties bill which retained the tax on petrol of annas Six per gallon. The Income tax Amendment Bill to relieve taxation on Income less than Rs. 2000 p.a. was passed.

Then came that most unpopular bill for consideration—the infamous Rowlatt Bill. The Council sat from 11.14 a.m. on the 12th till 7 p.m., from 11 a.m. to long after midnight on the 13th and again for the whole day till 7 p.m. on the 14th and the 18th when the Bill was passed by sheer official vote, the whole body of non-officials with the vast country behind them hotly opposing, condemning, praying against, this most insulting piece of arbitrary and high-handed legislation (For this terrible outrage on India see “Punjab Unrest—Before and After”—where the Act and the full Council Debate are given).

After this despotic legislation the Council met again on the 19th March when the *Termination of the present War Bill* was passed. The I. D. F. Amendment Bill was then passed after meeting some opposition from the non-official European members. Mr. Patel's Negotiable Instruments Amendment Bill was then passed. Then came the Excess Profits Duty Bill. It was hotly opposed by the European merchants, who had made enormous unconscionable profit during the war, and also by the representatives of trade. Govt. was firm and said that they wanted to raise £ 6 millions from this source and after a hot contest the Bill was passed. The next measure was the Punjab Courts supplementing Bill which was passed with out discussion and the Council adjourned to the 21st.

On the 21st March, the closing day of the Delhi Sessions. Sir J. Meston presented the Budget in its final form, and said that the estimated surplus was £ 660,000 against £ 868,000. Provision was made for Famine Relief in the C. P., and also for a new public health fund. The Viceroy then closed the sessions with a short speech.

Imperial Legislative Council

The September Session.

The Viceroy opened this session on Sep. 3rd at Simla with a preliminary speech reviewing generally the events of the foregoing months. He first referred to the Punjab disturbances of last April and said :—

"Last sessions certain Hon members gave me warning of a minatory character that if the (Rowlatt) Bills passed into law, there would be agitation.....No Govt. could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essential on account of threat of agitation. However, there are those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat, and as a consequence deplorable events occurred."

It was difficult to understand what was intended to be conveyed by this piece of Viceregal wisdom. It showed, if anything, the utter unfitness of Lord Chelmsford to understand the Indian people and at the same time his profound ignorance of political history. When a governor can not prevent 'deplorable events,' it lies upon him and not on agitators to show why he can not maintain peace, for after all, Governments and Governors are intended to keep social order and not machine-gun it.

His Excellency then announced that a Punjab Disorders Enquiry Committee (popularly known as the Hunter Committee) have been appointed with Lord Hunter as chairman to enquire into the late Punjab disturbances, and in the same breath said that an Act of Indemnity legalising the (illegal) acts of officers of the Punjab was soon to be passed. He then referred to the Afghan War (see p. 65) and said that though a treaty of peace had been signed there still remains a treaty of friendship to be concluded. He then made a heroic attempt to defend the medical arrangements during the Afghan Campaign entailing serious hardship and loss of life on the troops about which he had been strongly taken to task in England. Turning next to the Reforms he denied the popular belief that Govt. was trying to "whittle it down" and affirmed that he would loyally carry out whatever may be the decision of Parliament. He next referred to the failure of the Monsoon of 1918 and of the good rains of the year under review and expressed genuine sympathy with the European Commercial Community for fluctuations in Exchange which were greatly hampering European trade.

He then announced that two Govt. nominees were being sent to the International Labour Conference at Washington to represent Indian Labour there, as if labour in India could not elect its own representatives! Referring to the iniquitous South African Anti-Indian Legislation he said that it was unjust but pleaded for calmness and moderation and announced that Sir Benjamin Robertson was being deputed by Govt. to South Africa to urge Indian interest. Another very alarming announcement that he made was that a Fijian deputation under a Christian Bishop was soon coming over to India to open negotiations for resumption of Indian Cooly emigration, and the Viceroy hoped it would be given a patient hearing, as if Labour to open up Industries here in India was in surfeit! After making big promises about industrial development in the country and alluding to the Sadler Committee Report on the Calcutta University and the forthcoming Dacca University Bill, His Excellency then advised to his betters: "do not wrangle for what has been done in the past, that will fan up racial animosities"—a very unwise thing to do—but "let us reach forward to those things which are before us"—a piece of wisdom much more than once heard in the world, specially from the world of junkerdom!

After the speech sometime was given to interpellations and then Mr. Shafi introduced the Sea Customs Amendment Bil. The following Bills were also introduced:—Provident Fund Amendment Bill; Census Bill, Calcutta High Court Jurisdictional Limit Bill, Naturalisation Amendment Bill and the Land Acquisition Amendment Bill—Sir W. Vincent then introduced the Charitable and Religious Trusts Bill intended to check misapplication of Trust funds by obtaining information and audit of accounts through Civil Courts.

On the 10th Sep. the Council reassembling, Mr. B. N. Sarma moved a **resolution** congratulating His Majesty's naval, military and air forces on the victorious conclusion of peace, and it was accepted. Then came Pundit Malaviya's **Resolution on Punjab Disorders** :—

"That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he should request His Majesty's Government to appoint without further delay a **commission** consisting of gentlemen not connected with the Indian administration to inquire into (a) the causes of the **recent disturbances in the Punjab** and (b) the propriety of the measures taken in dealing with them, and to vest such powers with legal authority to annul or modify

sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission or by Magistrates specially empowered to deal summarily with cases alleged to have been connected with such disturbances." Pundit Malaviya said that had certain officials managed affairs better, these disturbances would never have taken place. Indian members, he said, had strongly objected to the constitution of the Commission announced by the Viceroy, and strongly urged a larger number of Indians being appointed on the Committee on the ground that Indians were more concerned in the matter than Europeans. The Indian community would have far more confidence if a third Indian were appointed. He strongly urged that the Commission should have powers to annul or modify the sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission.

Discussion on this resolution was suspended and during the suspension, the **Indian Coinage Amendment Bill**, the **Cantonments Bill**, the **Cinematograph Amendment Bill**, the **Indian Companies Restriction Repealing Bill**, and the **Indian Merchant Shipping Law Amendment Bill** were passed.

The member for Commerce and Industry introduced the **Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill** the effect of which was to impose an export duty of 15 per cent. on hides and skins and a rebate of 10 per cent. on hides and skins exported to other ports of the Empire. Its object was to ensure that Indian hides and skins shall be converted into fully tanned leather for articles of leather as far as possible in India. The present position in India was that there were some hundreds of tanneries for the tanning of hides, a large number of which had come into existence in order to satisfy military requirements during the war but which might dwindle and disappear with the termination of military requirements, if some other support were not given. Mr. Crum and Mr. Nigel Paton, Sir Dinshah Wacha and Mr. Sarma supported the Bill. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said that he did not see the justification for the rebate of 10 per cent. to other parts of the Empire. He advocated that Government should start tanneries and schools and the importation of expert tanners from any country whence it could be obtained.

The Home Member introduced a Bill further to Amend the **Indian Arms Act of 1878**. One of the changes contemplated in the Bill was a curtailment of the number of unlicensed persons; it was probable that a number of persons in lawful possession of arms and ammunitions would be in unlawful possession when the curtailment took place. The present Bill, for the safe custody

of such arms and ammunions, would give their possessors an opportunity to dispose of their property.

Mr. Shafi introduced the **Dacca University Bill**. He went fully into the objects and reasons of the university and outlined the provisions made. The march of education in East Bengal had been extraordinarily rapid since 1904. Now that the war was over domestic problems could no longer be neglected. He believed that the new university would be heartily welcomed and that it would relieve the burden falling on the Calcutta University.

The debate on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Punjab Enquiry resolution was continued. Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda strongly urged another Indian member to the Committee selected in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the Indian community. Raja Sir Rampal Singh questioned the necessity of declaring the Punjab in open rebellion and pressed for the appointment of a greater number of Indians on the Committee. The Home Member insolently replied to the debate, mercilessly humiliating the Indian Members, and said finally that he deplored the tendency to minimise the dreadful happenings in the Punjab. Govt. secured the defeat of the motion in the usual way.

Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda next moved "That this council recommends to the Governor-General in Council the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to investigate the causes and nature of the recent outbreak of disorder in Delhi and the circumstances of opening fire on the crowds there." The resolution had naturally to be withdrawn.

Mr. Chanda then moved that "this council recommends to the Governor-General in Council the appointment of a mixed committee of official and non-official members to investigate into the causes of firing on the crowds in Calcutta in April last." This too was withdrawn.

Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda then moved: "that this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that Simla should cease to be the summer headquarters of the Punjab Government." He quoted the Government of India to show that it is undesirable for the supreme Government to be at the headquarters of the Provincial Government. Further the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab was the only Provincial Governor having a seat on the Imperial Council which gave him opportunities not enjoyed by other rulers. The Home Member opposed, saying that to make Simla an Imperial enclave would be very expensive. The cost of the move might be at least 50 lakhs, which would not include

railway communications, which might bring the cost up to 124 lakhs. The motion was put and lost.

Mr. Chanda then moved : "This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that immediate steps be taken for the reduction of the unprecedented **high prices** of necessary articles of food and of cloth which obtained in several provinces either by further controlling all exports or facilitating imports or both and by such other means as may be considered proper." He urged that the situation was dangerous and its acuteness was being felt by both Europeans and Indians. He mentioned a suggestion that Burma rice should be freely imported and Government control removed. He said that it was generally understood that stocks were being held up by merchants in Calcutta. Mr. Mant on behalf of Govt. said, owing to the war there was a **world shortage** of produce and this was bound to react on India. Widespread failure of the monsoon in the previous year and the restricted cultivation of rice and other crops had grave effects on the food position. He quoted figures showing how heavily the exports of grain and rice had been curtailed in the present year. There was really a general shortage of rice throughout the East. Government had refused to export rice to Japan and Java but had done their best for Indians across the seas. Government were also indebted to the Wheat Commission for their assistance in getting wheat from Australia at a reasonable rate. He finished by declaring that the crisis had passed as the last monsoon had been good and a plentiful *khari* harvest was now assured all over India. Mr. Sarma said the question was how did the Government propose to relieve the position in the near future ? The inflation of prices was bound to continue owing to the currency position and he argued that wages in India had not increased in the same proportion as prices. About 50 millions of people in India could now only afford one meal a day. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also contended that there was pressing need for action. He believed that the present scarcity was largely due to facilities which had been afforded for exports to other countries. The food produce in India was not enough for the people in this country, nor have the poor in India enough money to buy enough food and he quoted Lord Sinha saying in London that millions in India were on the border of starvation. The resolution was slightly amended and was put to the meeting and accepted.

Rai Bahadur Sitanath Rai next moved that a **university** be established in **Nagpur** and the resolution was accepted. Mr. Crum next recommended that the **Calcutta Mint** be removed from its

present site. The removal of the Mint would effect a much needed improvement from a trade and health point of view. Government accepted the resolution with a proviso that it would not bind itself to immediate action and the question must be fully gone into *de novo*.

On 17th September the Viceroy invited attention to two tablets, one in bronze and the other in marble, which had been prepared for the purpose of recording in villages the number of recruits furnished for the war. The **Sea Customs Amendment Bill**, the **Provision Fund Amendment Bill**, the **Calcutta High Court Jurisdictional Limit Bill**, the **Indian Naturalisation Amendment Bill** and the **Repealing and Amending Bill** were all passed.

The **Indian Tariff Amendment Bill** was then taken up. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma moved that the duty be raised from 15 per cent to 20 per cent. Mr. Crum opposed saying that practically all hide exporters were of opinion that the proposed duty should be reduced. The figure proposed by Government was the fairest that could be taken. The motion was negatived. Mr. Sarma then moved that in column 4 in clause 3 the proviso be omitted, which was tantamount to deleting the clause giving rebate between the various parts of the Empire. Mr. Sarma's amendment was put to the vote and lost. Mr. Sarma then moved several other amendments to secure Indian interests but govt. secured their rejection. His last amendment: "Provided, further, that no rebate shall be granted to any Dominion, State or Territory which discriminated against the Indian tariff policy" was also opposed by Govt. and so lost !!

The Home Member next introduced the **Workmen's Breach of Contract Amendment Bill**.

On September 18 the Member for Commerce and Industry introduced a Bill to extend the duration of the **Import and Export of Goods 1916** by two years and six months, as it was necessary to retain the powers of control in the interests of India and the Empire for some time to come.

The Viceroy then rose and said that the **Indemnity Bill** was now before the Council. (For the Bill and Council Debate, see "Punjab Unrest—Before and After," which gives every thing about this matter).

On September 23 Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma moved "This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that a **State Bank** on the lines suggested by Professor Keynes in his

annexure to the Report on the Indian Currency be established in India at a very early date." Mr. Sarma said that his justification for it was the example of almost every European State. They in India had considered the desirability of establishing a central bank on the lines indicated by the Government of India in 1901. He believed that it was advisable to relieve Government of its present heavy responsibilities and to secure the advantages arising from a centralised control of the banking system. It had been suggested that the Presidency Banks should be amalgamated under one control, but such large sums as were involved could not be entrusted to amalgamated banks. The State control of banks should be very stringent and such control would be to the advantage of the people of India. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya pointed out that Indian Banking was in a very backward condition and that the enormous industrial and commercial interests which had grown up in India required sound banking facilities. Other Indian members strongly supported. The Finance Member said that Government supported many of the remarks. He was not, however, altogether in favour of the immediate establishment of a State Bank. The Presidency Banks had carried on when the Government had their hands full and after the armistice the amalgamation of the Banks was suggested and the opening of a number of branches had been promised. At present the main object was to push forward the work in hand as under present arrangements and, when the latter had somewhat developed, the establishment of an Imperial Bank in India could be given consideration to. Mr. Sarma's resolution was put and negatived.

Mr. Crum then moved a resolution : "That the Council should recommend the **electrification of the suburban railways** within 25 miles of Calcutta and improvement generally of the local passenger transport and travelling facilities." By the electrification of suburban railways much quicker train service would be possible, and great numbers of clerks and others who were compelled to live outside Calcutta owing to lack of accommodation in the city itself would be helped. Owing to the bad train service, very many people had to catch a train before eight o'clock in the morning in order to get to their offices in time. The Member for Commerce and Industry declared that he hoped to discuss the matter further with the officials concerned when he visited Calcutta in the cold weather, and the resolution was accordingly adopted.

Mr. Sachidananda Sinha then moved "That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he may be pleased to

make a representation to the Secretary of State for India (or, if not, to His Majesty's Government) that an Indian Member chosen from the non-official Indian members of the Council be appointed to the **Indian Army Commission** recently constituted." He said that, as there had been an impression in India for many years that the expenses of the Indian army had been much greater than the finances of India, it was necessary that a public man be appointed to the Committee to give his advice to the military members. General Bingley announced that Government had anticipated the Resolution and had appointed Major Sir Umar Hayat Khan to the Commission. He also mentioned that the other members of the Committee would be President: Viscount Esher; Members, Sir Michael O'Dwyer; Lieut-General Sir H. V. Cox; Lieutenant General Sir W. C. Jacob, Lieut. General Sir H. Hudson, Lieut. General Sir J. P. Du Cane; Sir G. Fell, Major General Sir W. Gillman and Secretary Brigadier General C. M. Wagstaff. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya declared that he did not think that the selection would be welcomed by the Indian people. The questions to be decided greatly affected the life of the people of India and the personnel of the commission was alarming to them.

On September 24 the Law Member presented the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the **Provincial Insolvency Act, 1907**, the Bill to amend the **Indian Arms Act, 1878**, **Indian Coinage Act, 1906**, the **Cantonments Act, 1910**, the **Cinematograph Act, 1918**, the **Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1859** and **1883**, and the Bill to remove the restrictions imposed on the withdrawal of capital from the money market by Companies. They were all passed without discussion.

The Finance Member then introduced a Bill further to amend the **Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act, 1917**. In introducing the Bill Mr. Howard said that the amount of Treasury Bills outstanding amounted to 50 crores and advances to the amount of 13 crores had been obtained from the Presidency Banks. The reason for the present urgency of the measure was that Government had deferred the introduction of the Bill to the last possible moment owing to the undesirability of such a financial measure. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma opposed the Bill. He described it as a tinkering measure. The normal channels for the flow of gold and silver must be re-opened and the issue of more notes must be backed by the British Treasury. The Bill was then taken into consideration and passed.

For All About the Indemnity Bill! The Text. Debates in the
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Acts Passed in 1919

By the Imperial Legislative Council of British India.

1. **The Local Authorities Pensions and Gratuities Act** enacted that the local Government may grant a pension or gratuity to any of its officers who may, since the 4th August 1914, have been wounded or otherwise incapacitated in the service of Government or to the widow or child of any such officer who may have died in consequence of injuries received or illness contracted since 4th August 1914 during such service. This grant may be in addition to the pension or gratuity granted already; but will not ordinarily exceed the amount of pension or gratuity payable in case his employment had been for service for the same time and on the same pay under Government (s. 4.)

2. **The Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act.**—On the 7th December, 1918, the Governor-General in Council promulgated an Ordinance increasing the maximum limit for the issue of Currency Notes against British Treasury Bills by fourteen crores of rupees to eighty crores of rupees. This Act merely embodied the provisions of that Ordinance.

3. **The Motor Spirit (Duties) Amendment Act.**—In February 1917, the Government of India passed Act II of 1917 providing for the imposition of an excise and customs duty of six annas per gallon of motor spirit. The duty was imposed as a war measure to conserve the use of motor spirit in India and was to expire at the end of six months after the conclusion of Peace. But since its operation the tax has been found to be a useful source of revenue. The duration clause was therefore removed by this Act and it was placed permanently on the Statute Book.

4. **The Income Tax (Amendment) Act.**—By this Act the minimum limit of taxable income was raised from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 per annum. It came into force on the 1st April 1919. The scale under the new Act stands as below :—

1. No tax : when the taxable income is less than Rs. 2,000.
2. Tax of Five pies in the rupee for income of more than Rs. 2,000 and less than 5,000.
3. Tax of Six pies in the rupee for incomes more than Rs. 5,000 and less than Rs. 10,000.
4. Tax of Nine pies in the rupee for incomes more than Rs. 10,000 and less than Rs. 25,000.

5. One anna in the rupee for income of Rs. 25,000 or upwards.

5. The Termination of the Present War (Definition) Act.—During the war a number of emergency Acts were passed to be in force during the continuation of the war and for six months thereafter. The war came abruptly to an end on the 11th November 1918; but since peace terms were not finally settled even in a year it was found necessary to keep in existence all the emergency measures till peace is finally settled. In England a statute (8 & 9 Geo. V, c 59) has already been passed for the purpose. The present Act is on the lines of the English Statute and provides that the present war shall be treated as having continued to and as having ended on such date as His Majesty in Council may declare in that behalf in pursuance of the provisions of the Termination of the Present War (Definition) Act, 1918.

6. The Indian Defence Force (Amendment) Act.—Indian Defence Force Act of 1917 was timed to expire after six months from the conclusion of the war, but was by this Act extended to one year.

7. The Negotiable Instruments (Amendment) Act.—In a recent Bombay case B. L. R. Vol. XXI, p. 1, it was held that a cheque from which the word "bearer" has been struck out and with no substitution of the word "order," is not negotiable within the meaning of the Negotiable Instruments Act 1881. But in the Bombay market such cheques are regarded as order cheques: the learned Judge treated the custom as void. The present Act was enacted to validate the custom and such cheques are now to be treated as order cheques.

8. The Punjab Courts (Supplementing) Act.—On the 1st of April 1919, a High Court of Judicature was established for Punjab at Lahore by Royal Letters Patent replacing the Punjab Chief Court. The Act enacted that all suits, appeals, revisions, reviews, executions and other proceedings whatsoever, whether Civil or Criminal, pending in the Chief Court shall be continued and concluded in the High Court at Lahore, as if the same had been instituted in such High Court.

9. The Indian Oaths (Amendment) Act.—The provisions of the Indian Oaths Act 1873 do not apply to proceedings before Courts Martial. They are further made inapplicable to oaths, affirmations or declarations prescribed "by or under any Instruction under the Royal Sign Manual of His Majesty." The reason for this exclusion is that s. 16 of the Oaths Act of 1876 abolished official oaths. These are now revived, for it has been found that the

assumption of their high offices by the Governor-General, Members of Executive Councils and Chief Commissioners, is hitherto lacking in any formality of a nature to mark the serious nature of the occasion or the weight of responsibility involved. The effect of this Act is that oaths or affirmations of allegiance and office should in future be taken with due solemnity by the officials concerned at the time of entering upon the discharge of their duties.

10 **The Excess Profits Duty Act**, the most contentious measure, was introduced as a bill on the 13th December 1918 and was passed and came into force on the 20th March 1919. Persons who have reaped excess profit owing to war conditions were called upon to contribute fifty per cent. of their excess profit to the State exchequer. All incomes below thirty thousand rupees were exempted. "Subject to the provisions of this Act, there shall, in respect of any business to which this Act applies, be charged, levied and paid on the amount by which the profits in the accounting period exceed the standard profits, a duty of an amount equal to fifty per cent. of that excess. Provided that the amount of the said duty shall not exceed such sum as would reduce the profits in the accounting period below thirty thousand rupees" Standard profits are : (1) an amount calculated at the rate of 10 per cent. or at such rate not being less than 10 per cent. as may be prescribed, on the capital of the business as existing at the end of the accounting period, or (2) at the option of the person by whom the duty is payable (i) if the profits of the business have been assessed in 1913 and 1914 for the purposes of income tax—the aggregate of half of the profits so assessed and half of the interests, if any, received in these years on securities forming part of the assets of the business : or (ii) if the profit of the business have been assessed for the said purposes in 1913 and 1914 and in two only of three years 1915, 1916, 1917—the aggregate of one-fourth of the profits so assessed ; or (iii) if the profits of the business have been assessed for the said purposes in all the five years 1913 to 1917—the aggregate of one-fourth of profits assessed in the years 1913 and 1914 and in each two of the years 1915, 1916 and 1917 as may be selected by the said person. Exemptions from the operation of the Act are :—(1) agricultural incomes ; (2) offices or employments ; (3) any profession depending on the personal qualification of the person by whom the profession is carried on.

11. **The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act.**—This is popularly known as the **Rowlatt Act** or the **Black Act**. It was passed against the unanimous and strenuous opposition of the Indian members of the Legislative Council. The Act contains

four parts. Part I deals with the trial of offenders, defines offences, establishes Courts and provides procedure to be followed at trials. The provisions of the Act can be put into force in any area by a notification published in the *Gazette of India*, when the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that anarchical or revolutionary movements are being promoted and that scheduled offences in connection with such movements are prevalent to such an extent that it is expedient in the interest of public safety to provide for the speedy trial of such offences (s. 3). Proceedings under the Act can be taken by the Local Government ordering any officer of Government to prefer a written information to the Chief Justice against any person. The trial is to be before a special bench of three Judges of the High Court nominated by the Chief Justice (s. 5). In passing judgment the opinion of the majority of the Court is to prevail (s. 14). The judgment of the Court is made final and conclusive; no appeal is allowed (s. 17). There are special rules of evidence which go far beyond the provisions of the Indian Evidence Act. When it appears that a witness is dead, or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence and it is proved that such death, disappearance or incapacity has been caused in the interests of the accused, then the statement made by such person to a Magistrate and read over, explained to and signed by him may be admitted in evidence.

Part II deals with preventive measures. Government can bind down persons to good behaviour. The Local Govt. can place all the materials in its possession relating to a case before a judicial officer who is qualified for appointment to a High Court and take his opinion thereon. If the officer is satisfied that action is necessary, the Local Government may require such person to (1) execute bond with or without sureties agreeing that he will not take any part in any of the offences alleged against him for a period of one year, or (2) to notify his residence and any change of residence; (3) or to remain or reside in any part of British India; or (4) to report himself to the officer in charge of the police station nearest to his residence at stated periods (s. 22).

The inquiry before the investigating authority shall be *in camera*. The investigating authority is to report secretly to the Local Government the conclusions at which it has arrived (s. 26). On receipt of the report, the Local Government may make any order it pleases. If the accused disobeys the order he is liable to be sentenced to imprisonment for 6 months or to pay a fine of Rs. 500 (s. 28). There are to be Visiting Committees, whose function will be to report upon the welfare of persons kept under restraint (s. 31).

Part III can be put into operation by a notification published in the Gazette of India by the Governor-General in Council. The procedure is : Where the Local Government is of opinion that any person in the prescribed area is concerned on any scheduled offence it will place all materials before a judicial officer. If such officer agrees, the Local Government may make an order s. 22 and may further order (1) the arrest of any such person without warrant ; (2) the confinement of any such person in any place and (3) the search of any place specified in the order.

The fourth part deals with persons already under executive control. It provides against the contingency of the expiration of Defence of India Act which being a war measure is timed to exist during the continuance of the war and for 6 months thereafter. Persons already under detention at the date are to be deemed under detention under the provision of this part (s. 39). The last two sections are very sweeping in their scope. Section 12 provides that orders passed under the Act cannot be called in question by the Courts. The last section enacts that the powers given by the Act are in addition to, and not in derogation of, any other powers already conferred by any other enactment !!!

12. The Poisons Act.—The present Act empowered Local Governments to make rules for (1) grant of licence to persons for poisons for sale ; (2) the classes of persons to whom licences can be given and the classes of persons to whom the poison may be sold ; (3) the maximum quantity that can be sold ; (4) the keeping by vendors of register of sales ; (5) the safe custody of such poisons and the labelling of vessels and packages in which the poison is kept ; (6) the inspection and examination of such poison. The Governor-General of India in Council has the power to prohibit importation of any poison except under a license. The Local Government have the power to regulate possession of any poison in any local area.

13. The Sea Customs (Amendment) Act was passed to prevent importation of adulterated foods and drugs by sea. It is an amendment of s. 195 of the Sea Customs Act (VIII of 1878) and provides that the Customs Collector may take samples of imported drugs or articles intended for consumption as food and submit them for examination to a specified officer of Government. The Act does not authorise detention or seizure of the foods by the Customs office.

14. The Provident Funds (Amendment) Act.—This Act makes provisions for the old age of teachers in non-pensionable

service of Government by making applicable the provisions of Act IX of 1897.

15. The Calcutta High Court (Jurisdictional Limits) Act—The limits of the Original Side of the Calcutta High Court was fixed as early as 1794. The marks and limits which then existed are now no longer to be found. These are now demarcated afresh and defined by this Act.

16. The Indian Naturalization (Amendment) Act.—By this Act a certificate of naturalization granted to an alien is liable to be cancelled not only when it is proved to be obtained by fraud or misrepresentation but also when the person to whom it has been granted has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal to His Majesty or is shown to be otherwise unfit to continue to enjoy the privileges of British nationality.

17. The Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act puts the registered societies within the meaning of Co-operative Societies Act (II of 1912), on a par with companies. It enables them to acquire any building sites required by them. It is designed to remove the difficulty experienced by those societies to secure sites for buildings.

18. The Repealing and Amending Act 1919 a periodical measure resorted to by the legislature from time to time to weed out surplusage from the Statute Book.

19. The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Act.—This Act enables the Government of India to levy a duty of 15 per cent. on raw hides and skins exported to foreign countries with a rebate of 10 per cent. for hides and skins tanned within the Empire. Raw hides and skins exported to and tanned outside the British Empire are hence forth liable to an export duty of 15 per cent. whilst those exported and tanned within the British Empire are to pay an export duty of 5 per cent. only. The object of the Act is to encourage tanning industry in India.

20. The Indian Arms (Amendment) Act.—On the 21st March 1919 the Government of India issued a Resolution (H. D. No. 2125c) to the effect that from the 1st January 1920, with very few exceptions, every person of whatever caste, creed or nationality had to obtain a license for fire arms in his possession. This resolution received legislative sanction by this Act; it also makes provision for custody of fire arms after the 1st January 1920 when the possessor has not obtained a license.

21. The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Act—to make up for shortage of silver so sorely felt by every one including Govern-

ment who had accordingly to replace two anna silver coins by nickel coins of the same denomination. The four anna and eight-anna pieces are also made liable to be converted into nickel currency. The former coin is to be 90 and the latter to be 105 grains troy in weight.

22. The Cantonments (Amendment) Act—The Cantonment Committee are authorised to prohibit the practice of any profession or of the carrying on of any trade, calling, or occupation in any part of the Cantonment otherwise than in accordance with the conditions of a license : and to levy fees for the grant or renewal of licenses. The Committee are also authorised to make rules for the suppression of brothels and for prevention of prostitution.

23. The Cinematograph (Amendment) Act—Before the Cinematograph Act II of 1918 could come to operation it was found that some modifications were necessary to be introduced into it. The Local Government are given the authority to constitute Certifying Boards, not more than one half of whose members shall be officials. The certifying authority is to require production before it of a film already certified by any other authority. It is also enacted that the Act may be introduced into any area piecemeal, in order to allow a preliminary period during which owners of films now in use may submit them to optional certification before the Act comes into force.

24. The Indian Companies Restriction Repealing Act.—During the pecuniary war it was found expedient to conserve resources of the country by placing certain restriction on the power to call of capital by companies already floated or about to be floated. With the termination of the war the Act was repealed.

25. The Indian Merchant Shipping Law Amendment Act.—Section 5 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act (V. of 1863) exempts ships in the service of His Majesty or the Government of India from the provisions of the Act relating to investigations into shipping casualties. Section 114 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act (I of 1915) exempts ships in the service of His Majesty from the provisions of the Act. The result of these exemptions has been that proper investigations cannot be made into shipping casualties occurring in connection with hired transports or of suitable disciplinary measures being taken against officers and crews of such vessels when found guilty of infringements of the shipping law and regulations. This anomaly has therefore been removed ; and the exemptions are granted only to ships belonging to His Majesty or the Government of India.

26. The Indian Paper Currency (Further Amendment) Act.—The maximum of Currency reserve which was fixed at 80 crores of rupees by Act II of 1919 was raised by this Act to Rs. 100 crores, of which 80 crores must be in British Treasury Bills. Opportunity has also been taken to provide for the issue of notes against gold held on behalf of the Secretary of State in the United State of America or in transit therefrom to India.

27. The Indemnity Act.—Another plague spot on the Indian Statute Book. It was passed against the most bitter opposition of the Indian Members. Early in March, April 1919, riot took place in the Punjab and other parts of India under the Iron Rule of Sir M. O'Dowyer. To quell them, martial law was declared at those places and the assistance of the military was invoked to restore order. The most abominable inhumanities were committed on the helpless people by the military, and thousands of people were machine gunned, bombed by aeroplanes, killed and mutilated. To examine into the working of the martial law, a Committee known as the Hunter Committee, commenced its sittings from the beginning of November 1919. But before the Committee could sit and report, the Government of India thought it fit to pass the Indemnity Act in order to protect its officers. That no suit or legal proceeding whatsoever whether civil or criminal, shall lie in any Court of law against any officer of Government or against any other person acting under the orders of such officers, or in respect of any Act done or ordered to be done for the purpose of maintaining or restoring order in any part of British India where martial law was enforced between 30th March 1919 and the 26th August 1919, provided that such officer has acted in good faith and in a reasonable belief that his action was necessary for the said purposes. A certificate from a Secretary to Government that any Act was done under the orders of an officer of Government shall be conclusive proof thereof; and all action taken thereunder shall be deemed to have been taken in good faith unless the contrary is proved (s. 3). Every person confined under, and by virtue of any sentence passed by a Court or authority constituted or appointed under martial law and acting in a judicial capacity shall be deemed to have been lawfully confined (s. 4). Where, under martial law, the property of any person have been taken or used by an officer of Government, the Governor-General in Council shall pay to such person reasonable compensation for any loss immediately attributable to such taking or using (s. 5).

MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. 1919

The first meeting was held in February 4th. The object of this session was the consideration of the amended draft financial statement. But at the outset the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar brought in a motion for the adjournment of the house for 24 hours on the ground that certain paragraphs which appeared in the Administration Report of the Presidency betrayed an attitude antagonistic to popular aspirations, that the Government were creating the impression that they were taking sides with the capitalists in the economic struggle of the labourers. It was also widely believed that the I. C. S. circular was engineered by the Government. H. E. the Governor disallowed the motion. The Hon'ble Member stated that the ruling had not the support of any provision of law or statutory rule and protested against the ruling by leaving the Council Chamber. The Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew then presented the draft Financial Statement 1919-20 on the 5th Feb.—the discussion extended for over three days when numerous non-official Resolutions were moved asking for grants to Mahomedan College, on Education, Sanitation, etc., which were all rejected by Govt. On the succeeding four days the consideration of the Madras City Municipal Bill and the Madras Agricultural Pests and Diseases Bill was taken up. The **Madras City Municipal Bill** was by far the most important piece of legislation that the Council had before it during the administration of Lord Pentland and no less than four and a half days at this session and nearly two days at the March session were devoted to the consideration of its various clauses. 130 amendments were proposed to the various sections of the Bill. They related, among other things, to the securing of the panel system of appointing its chief executive officer, powers for fixing the salary that should be paid to the higher officers, the representation of the Muham-madans and other minorities, the prevention of persons interested in contracts with the Corporation (mainly European Merchants) from becoming members of the Corporation Council and for securing additional powers for the imposition of new taxes. The Bill in the form in which it was finally accepted by the Council gave effect to the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission in regard to the control of the Local Government of the City Municipal Corporation. It conferred on the Council full control over taxation and the budget, subject only to certain statutory limitations and full powers in regard to the staff, the right of the Local Government to exercise a veto in the case of certain high officials

being now reserved. It transferred many powers from the Local Government to the Council and from the Council or the Standing Committee to the Standing Committee or the Commissioners. It also increased the borrowing powers of the Corporation and authorised it to raise new taxes. The changes introduced will have the effect of popularising the administration and associating a much wider circle of people in the task. The motion for the City Municipal Bill being passed into law had, however, to be deferred to the meeting held in March as the sanction of the Government of India had to be obtained on certain details. An interesting scene occurred when the motion that the Bill be passed into law was brought in. The Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar, in opposing it began to read his speech in Tamil. The President of the Council (Lord Pentland) objected. Mr. Narasimha Ayyar, asked for a ruling prohibiting a speech in Tamil. The President had to rule him out of order. Mr. Ayyar thereupon walked out.

The Madras Agricultural Pests and Diseases Bill was taken up on the 8th Feb. The few amendments proposed to the clauses of the Bill related to matters of detail. They were mostly accepted by the Government. The non-official members, in giving their support to this Government measure, recognised that it was a piece of beneficent legislation intended for the welfare of agriculturists. The Bill was passed into law on the 13th February, 1919.

At the March meeting, the Hon'ble Mr. B. V. Narasimha Ayyar moved that a committee of officials and non-officials be appointed to enquire into the grievances of the public regarding the distribution or supply of kerosine oil, paddy and other **necessaries of life**. Similar resolutions were brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Rama Ayyangar for the allotment of funds to relieve distress caused by the high prices of food-stuffs and by the Hon'ble Mr. B. Venkatapathi Raju asking for the issue of instructions to the Director of Civil Supplies to remove the inter-district restrictions on the transport of food-stuffs. The Hon'ble Sir A. Cardew, on behalf of the Government, explained that the Government were alive to the seriousness and gravity of the situation and rejected the motion.

The resolution for checking the growth of **juvenile smoking** was next considered and overthrown, Government not being satisfied that on the information before them legislation on the subject could be undertaken. The next resolution was that certain of the recommendations of the Government of India made

in their resolution on Local Self-Government for the non-officialisation of local bodies should be given effect to immediately. The Hon'ble Mr. P. Rajagopalachariar, on behalf of the Government, promised that the suggestion would be considered in connection with the District Municipalities and Local Boards' Bill which were then under revision. The resolution was thereupon withdrawn. A resolution suggesting that the Government of India should be approached for a lump grant for the development of industries in this Presidency was also withdrawn when the Government pointed out that under the existing financial relations, the proposal was not acceptable.

At the April meeting, the Hon'ble Mr. Todhunter presented the Budget for 1919-20. A Bill to amend the Madras Outports Fees Act was then introduced and referred to a select committee.

On August 12, the newly elected Legislative Council was held under the new Governor Lord Willingdon. Resolution congratulating His Majesty the King-Emperor on the victorious termination of the war and the successful signing of the Peace Treaty was adopted.

A resolution expressing regret and the sense of the loss to the Council in the death of Mahomed Azimuddin Sahib was carried, the Council standing.

Mr. B. V. Narasinha Iyer moved a similar resolution touching on the death of Dr. T. M. Nair.

H. E. the President then addressed a few words to the Council. His Excellency referred to the constitution of the Council and to the non-official majority as at present constituted. Government were anxious to secure as far as possible representation for the various important communities in the Council. His Excellency went on to say that another reason which had prompted Government to put in more non-officials was that having regard to details of the clauses and purposes of the Reforms Act which they all hoped would be passed in England before very long, it would be desirable to secure a clear non-official majority so that the opinions and notes of members may be governed by a sense of responsibility.

The Hon. the Advocate General then moved :—That the business of the council shall be conducted in English. The Hon. Narasinha Iyer moved an adjournment and an amendment. Both were rejected and the original proposition was carried. After the bills amending the Outputs Landing and Shipping Fees Act, Civil Court Act and Madras Forests Act were passed and after the election of the members of the Finance Committee for the year 1919-20, the Council adjourned.

At the November session Lord Willingdon exhorted the interpellators to have some consideration for the overworked Secretariat and to use their powers of interpellation only in regard to matters of real public interest, and suggested that the Publicity Board and the Editor's Table may be freely used to obtain the information they wanted. He also advised them to take the District Officers into their confidence as most of the matters interpellated upon were within their knowledge.

The **Village Courts Bill** was passed into law. It vested full and autonomous powers in the hands of villagers to deal with the civil and criminal litigation, the former up to Rs. 50 and the latter confined to petty cases of theft and mischief arising in the village. These are to be panchayet courts, the members of which will be wholly elected by the villagers, and the members, in turn electing their own President. These courts will practically have exclusive jurisdiction of village litigation.

The **District Municipalities Bill** was a comprehensive measure introduced to revise and bring up-to-date the law relating to these bodies which are coming into existence in increasing numbers in the Presidency. As in the case of the City Municipal Act, the measure is intended to vest larger powers in the Municipal bodies, increase their elective element and develop their resources. Non-official members sought to have the measure postponed till after the Reforms had been introduced, as they were of opinion that the Bill could not be further enlarged and that it could not introduce popular and progressive reform in urban areas in the districts. This, was strongly resisted by the Government and by those who felt that to postpone it would be to throw away so much labour and thought bestowed on the Bill, which was a great improvement on the present Act.

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 1919

The first meeting of the Council was held on Jan. 21, 1919.

Hon'ble Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar asked a question regarding the formation of the Indian Civil Service Association in Bengal. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr gave the following reply:—The Indian Civil Service Association was formed in Bengal in 1894. The objects of the Association are (1) to deal with questions affecting the interests of the Indian Civil Service as a body, (2) to

promote unity among its member, and (3) to ascertain and formulate the views of the Indian Civil Service on matters in connection with which in the opinion of the Association a knowledge of the views of the service would be useful to the Government. After the territorial re-adjustments of 1912 a separate branch of the Association was formed in Bihar and Orissa. Membership of the Bengal branch is open to all officers of the Indian Civil Service serving in Bengal and Assam. There are at present 130 members of the Bengal branch of whom eleven are Indians. The Association has no regular office. Its affairs are managed by a general committee of five members elected annually. The members of the existing committee are Mr. K. C. De, Mr. A. R. Cumming, Mr. H. R. Duval, Mr. A. J. Chotzner, Mr. J. A. L. Swan, Mr. H. M. Veitch is the Honorary Secretary.

The Hon'ble Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhicary moved a resolution expressing thanks to His Majesty the King Emperor for the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as the first Indian Minister of the Crown and also expressing thanks to the Prime Minister and congratulations to Sir S. P. Sinha.

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Babu Akhil Chander Dutt moved that all detenues interned in Bengal be now set at liberty and made a very impressive and eloquent speech. The motion was opposed by Mr. P. C. Mitter and Rai Debendra Chunder Ghose as also by Sir Henry Wheeler on behalf of the Government. The motion was lost.

On February 18, Sir Henry Wheeler moved that the report of the Select Committee on Bengal Village Self-Government Bill, 1919, be taken into consideration. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq moved an amendment that the Bill as amended by the Select Committee be republished. He pointed out that the Bill as amended was quite different from what it was originally and the public should be given an opportunity to express opinion. The Bill was the foundation of Self-Government in Bengal and as such should not be rushed through. Sir Henry Wheeler replied that he was not convinced that there was any use in republishing the Bill. The amendment was put to the vote and lost, seventeen voting for and twentythree against. Mr. Fazlul Huq moved another amendment that the Bill be recommended to the Select Committee. The Hon'ble Mr. W. E. Crum pointed out that 283 amendments on the Bill as amended by the Select Committee were on the agenda for discussion by the Council. If all their amendments were taken in this Council, it would mean enormous waste of time. By referring it back to the Select

Committee they might be able to arrive at quick decision by informal discussions. He was therefore in favour of Mr. Huq's amendment.

Sir Henry Wheeler on behalf of the Government opposed the amendment. The amendment was put to vote and carried, twenty-one voting for and nineteen against. Most of the non-official European members voted for the amendment.

Then the Bengal Primary Education Bill came up for consideration. There were forty amendments on the agenda on this Bill, of which 34 were disposed of by 6-30 p. m. when the Council adjourned.

On February 19, discussions on the amendments on Primary Education Bill were proceeded with. After amendments were disposed of, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Ray member in charge of the Bill, formally moved that the Bill as settled in Council be passed. The Hon'ble Mr. Ambica Charan Muzumdar moved that the Bill be not further proceeded with on that day. In support of his motion Mr. Muzumdar said that the Bill in the select committee had been altered beyond recognition and he objected to the Bill being rushed through highly. The Hon'ble Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt supported Mr. Muzumdar. Hon'ble's Mr. Surendra Nath Roy and Mr. P. C. Mitter opposed the objection of Mr. Muzumdar. His Excellency after informally associating with the views of non-official members admitted Mr. Muzumdar's objection and consequently the Bill was not further proceeded with.

The Council met again on 5th March when the financial statement for 192 was laid on the table by Sir Henry Wheeler. It met again on the 13th. The Budget debate continued for three days when various resolutions were moved. Hon. Mr. Phelps wanted Rs. 200 000 for Calcutta Hospitals which was refused. Rai M. C. Mitter wanted Rs. 2 lakhs. for the Medical College—the motion had to be withdrawn. Mr. Fazlul Huq moved for 3 Lakhs for famine relief—motion lost. Several other non-official resolutions met the same fate.

The Council met again in Calcutta on July 3rd.

The Honble Maharaj Dhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan moved on behalf of the Government that the Calcutta Municipal Bill 1917, be withdrawn. The bill was introduced in 1917 with a view to provide the Calcutta Corporation with a more liberalised constitution and to enlarge the principle of local self-government. Instead of evoking a warm welcome the bill met with hostile criticism from many quarters. Government did not desire to force upon the Corporation a constitution which they did not like. The bill was accordingly withdrawn.

Sir Henry Wheeler introduced the bill to amend the Calcutta Police Act and the Calcutta Suburban Police Act of 1866. Amendments were intended to remedy immediately some defects in the Calcutta Police Act which were likely to impair the discipline of the police force and which might at any time lead to serious practical difficulties.

Sir Frank Carter moved a resolution urging the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into the whole problem of leprosy in Calcutta and the legislation required in connection therewith.

Government appreciated the sentiments expressed by Sir Frank Carter but there were practical difficulties in the appointment of a provincial commission of enquiry. The attention of the Government of India would be drawn to this matter. The motion was withdrawn.

In reply to a question the Hon'ble Mr. M. C. Alpin said that experiments had been made in Bengal with a view to producing paper pulp from bamboo, but these experiments had been carried out by private (European) firms who desired that the result should be kept confidential.

On July 4, the Hon'ble Surendra Nath Roy moved resolutions recommending the adoption of early measures for the reduction of high prices of rice and other necessary articles of food and also of cloth in Bengal. The Hon'ble Mr. Cumming, on behalf of the Government, accepted the resolution and promised that steps would be taken to meet the situation.

At the Sept. meeting of the Council Mr. Phelps moved for a committee to be appointed to consider causes of high rent in Calcutta. This was adopted with a view to controlling house rent and land values.

On Nov. 19 Hon. Mr. S. N. Ray moved that Govt. do approach Govt of India for grant of Rs. 50 lakhs to alleviate distress in East Bengal during the recent cyclone. This was carried.

The last meeting of the year was held on Dec. 18th when the Cruelty to Animals Bill was passed.

BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Sir George Lloyd, the new Governor, opened the first Council of the year on 12th March. In his opening speech the Governor referred at length to the invaluable services rendered by the Navy and the Army during the War and also to the glorious achievements

of the Mahratta Army in the fighting line. He next referred to the pressing problems of housing, famine and high prices.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parek, the oldest member of the Council, welcomed and thanked His Excellency on their behalf and assured him of full non-official support and co-operation.

The Council met again on July 7th.

Replying to the question by the Hon'ble Mr. D. V. Belve, whether Mr. A. Montgomerie, I. C. S., had been deputed by the Government to assist Sir Valentine Chirol in a civil suit brought against him by Mr. B. G. Tilak the Government replied that Mr. Montgomerie while on leave in England was placed on deputation in connection with the Tilak Chirol case as the issues in the case involved questions concerning the administration of the Bombay Presidency.

GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

At a meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council Sir George Lloyd in the course of his speech said :—Peace is to bring to India new responsibilities and with them possibly new dangers. The reforms Bill is, I am glad to say, now before the parliament, and I hope will be passed into law without any great delay. It is our task, both the task of my Government and of you, gentlemen, to guide India's national aspirations and enthusiasm which after all the British people are responsible for awakening—and it is our pride that we are so responsible—out of the difficult and sometimes stormy waters of transition into ample harbours of prudent and deliberate achievements. Just as in your armies a regiment that tries to move with forced marches becomes a rabble so equally in our national development, you should remember that safety and solidarity of a state is perfected by steady advance rather than by forced marches. But this must not delay us in starting out on that march. The sooner we come to grips with the problem, more certain we shall be of our success.

On July 8 in winding up the debate on the budget in the Legislative Council His Excellency the Governor strongly advocated the increase of pay of the police forces and educational staff such as teacher. It was the duty of the Government, as well as non-official public, to provide facilities for industrial and technical education and see that the people recognised the importance of industries. With regard to famine measures the Government was bound to move with certain amount of prudence.

On July 8 there were two prolonged and animated debates on the social betterment of depressed classes in the presidency. The

most interesting discussion was over a resolution by Mr. Paranjpye recommending that instructions be issued to the Commissioners and Collectors asking them to include among nominated members of various local boards and municipalities suitable men from the depressed classes whenever such men were available.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah on behalf of the Government accepted the resolution with an addition that such instruction should be to include as far as possible men from depressed classes.

The second was Mr. Belvi's resolution recommending that the Government might be pleased to make it compulsory on all municipalities and local boards in the presidency including Sind either to throw open the existing wells and dharmasalas owned by them to the members of untouchable classes or to maintain separate dharmasalas for their use.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah on behalf of the Government welcomed the debate. He pointed out that this was a matter which local bodies themselves had power to adjust.

On July 7 the revised Financial statement for 1919-20 was presented. The figures show an opening balance of 45,52,60,000, revenue 10,38,27,000, expenditure 10,52,00,000, closing balance, 4,41,53,000.

The second Poona sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council commenced on 25th Sept. His Excellency the Governor spoke on the housing problem of Bombay which had been constantly engaging his personal attention. He had hoped to have laid some concrete proposals for the solution of this great problem within six months of his arrival but the disturbances of the earlier part of the year engaged the full attention of the Government. The problem could not be solved in a moment. The Government had extended the period of the Rent Act in Bombay not as a substitute for housing operations but as a necessary palliative to those who needed it for another two years: during the time the Government plans were being matured and schemes undertaken. The demand for accommodation was confined not only to the labouring classes but almost to every other class, whether Indian or European. They must provide at least fifty thousand one-room tenements for the labouring classes in as short a time as possible. Government were going to do something but they counted on local authorities such as the Port Trust, Railways and others.

JUVENILE SMOKING BILL.

Hon. Major Fernandez moved the first reading of his Juvenile Smoking Bill. There was a three hours' discussion on the measure,

in the course of which the Council seemed to be almost equally divided in opinion, and Major Fernandez withdrew his motion.

The Council reassembled next day. His Excellency referred to the new procedure introduced for taking a division. Hitherto the practice was to circulate the voting list among the members for recording their votes. Under the new arrangement, which also obtained in the British Parliament, the members are required to go to a place in the hall where two tables have been provided, one for "Ayes" and the other for "Noes," there to record their votes.

Among the resolutions the most important was the one from the Hon. Mr. Thakurdas regarding the movement of food-grains in India. The Hon. Mr. Curtis complimented Mr. Thakurdas on the excellent work he had done in connection with the famine and said that the Government could make no definite statement of policy in the matter, but they would place before the Government of India the views expressed by the hon. members in the Council. The resolution was agreed to.

The resolution from the same member asking for a survey in the Presidency of suitable sites in beds of rivers for growing green fodder as a protection against scarcity was fully discussed, but as the Government of India had appointed a special officer to inquire into the matter the resolution was postponed.

The Council came to a close on 27th Sep. It was a three and a half hours sitting devoted solely to the resolutions of the Hon. Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas on irrigational matters. The Hon. Mr. Manmohandas Ramji's resolution to make provision for more medical colleges was withdrawn.

The Hon. Mr. Thakurdas then moved a resolution urging Government to accelerate further the pace of construction of irrigation works in the Presidency.

The Hon. Mr. Godbole thought Mr. Thakurdas was too optimistic with regard to the irrigational development of the Presidency. The great question was that of funds. Only three out of the fifteen irrigational works were paying and unless the Government of India raised its grant from thirty lakhs to a crore of rupees there was no change of Mr. Thakurdas' heroic measures being carried out. The Hon. Mr. Curtis and the Hon. Mr. Gebbie were of the same opinion. Mr. Thakurdas replying on the debate submitted that it was not the Government of India, but the Government of Bombay, that was in fault, for he gathered from a conversation he had as chairman of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau with Sir William Meyer

some time ago that the Bombay Government was not pressing the Government of India for more funds for this purpose.

Mr Thakurdas pressed for a division which resulted in the resolution being carried against Govt. by 22 votes against 17.

The Council next met at Bombay on Dec 10, 1919.

The proceedings opened with the swearing in of two new members followed by the answering of questions. His Excellency then addressed the Council. Speaking on the Reforms Bill, His Excellency said the success or failure of this great measure would depend now upon the spirit that animated both Government, and the peoples of India. During the negotiations with regard to the reforms scheme, his Government had made every effort to assist, and it was determined that so far as Government was concerned, a spirit of cordial sympathy and co-operation shall prevail in all ranks. He earnestly hoped that not only the honourable members of his Legislative Council, but also the press and public at large would treat this moment in a large spirit of statesmanship and by their words as well as their actions assist in cultivating an atmosphere of good-will between the various communities so as to ensure the fruition of the seeds now sown.

The Bill to amend the Bombay Prevention of Gambling Act was passed. The two main objects of the Bill were (1) to make it clear that betting offices, or as they are popularly known "bucket shops," were within the purview of the Act and (2) to suppress betting in streets and other public places.

All classes of the public and all sections of the press in Bombay had by their demand clearly shown that there was need for this legislation.

On the motion of Sir George Carmichael the Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Police Act was read a first time and referred to a select committee. The Bill provided (1) for the more effectual control of prostitution in the City of Bombay; (2) a summary remedy for enforcing bonds taken under the Act; and (3) means of enforcing an order prohibiting smoking and spitting in public buildings.

The Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola then moved that the Bill to provide for the Constitution of Village Panchayats be read a first time. The Bill was conceived in a most democratic spirit. It gave all male adults of a village the opportunity of voting, a principle which was introduced in that Council in advance of any other province in India. The second principle embodied in the Bill was that the

village panchayat would be wholly an elected local body. There would be no Government nominations and the only person who would be a member of the panchayat ex-officio would be the village Patel. The third advance that the Bill established was that the control of the rural bodies was transferred from the revenue officers of the Government to the District Local Boards, which were even then largely elected bodies. The principles of the Bill were far-reaching.

The Hon. Mr. P. A. Desai also thought that the village panchayats should be invested with civil and criminal powers, but as this provision could not be embodied in the Bill without the previous sanction of the Government of India, he submitted that the consideration of the Bill should be postponed until such sanction was obtained. Under the present system if a villager had to bring a suit on a bond of say Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 he had to travel sometimes 40 to 50 miles to go to a Sub-Judge's Court. He had to take witnesses with him from his village, and if the bond was contested he had to meet the evidence of the defence. The Council would thus realise to what trouble and expense he was put to recover such a small amount. Therefore if they were to give judicial powers to these village panchayats to decide petty cases on the spot, it would be a great boon, to poor villagers. Mr. Desai also submitted that every big village with a population of over one thousand should have a panchayat as a matter of course, and in such cases it should be left to the Collector or the District Local Board to prove that such village was not fit to have a panchayat. He also took exception to Section 6 which disqualified a female from becoming a member of the panchayat. The motion was carried.

The Council then proceeded to discuss matters of general public interest. In all there are 18 resolutions standing in the names of different members, of which four were discussed and one was postponed. A resolution from the Hon. Shaikh Hidayatallah urged for a substantial increase in the number of police officers doing investigation work in Sindh. The resolution was accepted by the Government. There was a lively discussion on the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye's resolution asking the Government to reconsider its recent orders regarding the changes in the curriculum of the vernacular training colleges, viz., the abolition of Sanskrit (or Persian), and algebra and the alteration of the course in geometry. The Hon. Mr. Covernton, Director of Public Instruction, explained that these subjects were dropped because the teachers in the vernacular schools were not required to teach these subjects. The resolution was lost.

Hon. Hidayatullah moved: This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor in Council that the present inadequate number of police officers for the work of investigation in Sind be substantially increased. Mr. Hidayatullah said the whole police strength of Sind was 6,812 in officers and men, and out of these there were 199 sub-inspectors who were investigating officers. For a large province like Sind this number of investigating officers was small, and the result was that head constables, who were mostly uneducated men and who drew salaries ranging from Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 were entrusted with the work of investigation. He submitted that it was not fair to entrust head constables with such responsible duty. In consequence of this state of things a great deal of crime remained undetected.

The Hon. Sir George Carmichael accepted the resolution.

The resolution was carried.

The Hon. Mr. D. V. Belvi moved: "This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council to be pleased to direct all Mamlatdars and Mahalkaris in the Presidency not to hear as far as possible criminal cases and suits under the Bombay Mamlatdars' Courts Act, 1906, while on tour."

Mr. Belvi said his object in moving this resolution was that the rural population of the Presidency should be freed from the inconvenience and the enormous expense to which they were put at present by the practice of Mahalkaris and Mamlatdars to hear criminal cases and civil suits under the Bombay Mamlatdars' Courts Act, while on tour. Some times parties had to travel fifty to sixty miles with their legal advisers in connection with such cases and to incur large expenditure. This would not be the case, if the cases were tried by stationary magistrates at headquarters.

The Hon. Sir George Carmichael said that he would like the resolution to be so altered as to enable Mamlatdars to dispose of possessory suits in villages which they might happen to visit while on tour. With regard to the rest of the resolution he was prepared to say that the Government accepted it and would act upon it.

The resolution was amended as follows: "This Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council to be pleased to direct all Mamlatdars and Mahalkaris in the Presidency not to hear as far as possible criminal cases while on tour and as far as possible suits under the Bombay Mamlatdars' Courts Act, 1906, in the villages where the suits arise or failing that at taluka headquarters."

The resolution thus amended was agreed to.

THE U P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 1919.

The Council met at Allahabad on 24th January, Sir Harcourt Butler presiding. Mr. Chintamani moved that the development of industries should be a provincial subject with full liberty of action to the Local Government and Government of India officers should stand in the relation of advisers to the Local Government. Mr. Chatterjee, the Chief Secretary said the question was under discussion between the Government of India and the Local Government and he was not in a position to express any opinion. Mr. Chintamani also moved that the Government of India should allow the Local Government to draw upon its accumulated balance to the needed extent for expenditure non-recurring or recurring in coming financial year. Mr. Sim opposed and said : as regards the first part, Government had no objection to make provision for non-recurring expenditure in the coming financial year. The first part of the resolution was carried and the second lost. Mr. Chintamani then moved that the Lieutenant Governor should abrogate the rule requiring Deputy Collectors to call on Superintendents of Police. The resolution after discussion was withdrawn. Mr. Shahid Hosain moved a resolution of congratulation to Lord Sinha on his elevation to the peerage. Govt. agreed.

The Council next met at Lucknow on 4th March, Mr. Sim presented the **Financial Statement**. The Budget estimates for the financial year 1919-20 provide for an income of Rs. 8,11,03,000 and an expenditure of Rs. 8,53,56,000. The estimated income is Rs. 83,14,000 in excess of the original and Rs. 43,99,000 in excess of the revised estimate for the current year, while the estimated expenditure exceed the original budget figures of 1918-19 by Rs. 1,34,24,000 and the revised by Rs. 99,94,000.

The Council met on 13th March. The United Provinces Public Gambling (Amendment) Bill, the United Provinces Municipalities (Amendment) Bill and the United Provinces Primary Education Bill were passed.

The discussion of the Budget took place on 7th April. Among the speakers were Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, Mr. Chintamani, Mr. Crawshaw, the Maharaj-Kumar of Benares, the Maharaja of Balrampur and Sheikh Shahid Hosain. All of them offered their congratulations to Mr. Sim, the Financial Secretary, on the excellence of the Budget, especially that which with the expenditure on education. Mr. Sim thanked his non-official colleagues for the able assistance he had received from the Finance Committee. The Government accepted a resolution moved by Mr. Chintamani recommending the early consideration of the subject of minute subdivision of agricultural

holdings and the taking of such steps to remedy the evil as may be found practicable.

The Council met at Naini Tal on 2nd June. Mr. Lambert introduced the **Town Improvement Bill 1919**, and said that advisory committees had for some time been working in examining improvement schemes for Lucknow, Allahabad and Cawnpore and the reports from Lucknow and Cawnpore were now ready. In both cities schemes of far-reaching importance had been considered and the benefits which they were designed to confer should be realised as soon as possible. Government was anxious that no further time should be lost in pressing on this important piece of legislation.

At the meeting of the Council at Naini Tal on 22nd September, Mr. Lambert moved that the U. P. Town planning Bill be taken into consideration and passed. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana moved certain changes but these were rejected by the Government. Several other minor amendments proposed by Hon'ble members were lost. The Bill was passed. Munshi Narayan Prasad Asthana subsequently moved another amendment to the Bill providing for appeals to the High Court from awards given under the Act. This was accepted by Government, subject to restrictions. Lalla Sukhbir Singh moved a resolution providing for the increase of the rate collection allowed to zamindars on account of the water rate. This was accepted in a modified form.

Hon' Raza Ali moved a resolution on the shoe-removal question. High officers are in the habit of requiring their visitors to leave back their 'native shoes' outside the room. This was a highly objectionable practice. The resolution was however lost.

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 1919.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, that mighty Hero of Punjab, was the president up till April 7th. He held the first Council of the year, on February 6 and 7. Four important Bills were passed by the Council. Of these the **Punjab Courts Act (Amendments) Bill** converted the Chief Court into a High Court. The **District Boards Act (Amendment) Bill**, was also passed. The **Punjab Custom (Power to Contest) Bill** proposed to enact restrictions on the power to contest an alienation of immoveable property or the appointment of an heir by descendants or collaterals on the ground that it was contrary to custom; it was circulated for opinion. The **Adulteration of Food Bill** which aimed at securing the sale of food in a pure and genuine condition and for prevention of adulteration was passed. **Punjab Compulsory Education Bill**, to which a full day's

sitting was devoted was passed into law under the new title of "The Primary Education Act." A resolution brought before the Council by R. B. Bakshi Sohan Lal, recommending that in future not less than three-fourths of the educational expenditure of local bodies should be met from provincial revenues was lost, and another in the matter of sanitary expenditure, was withdrawn.

The amended draft **Financial Statement** was presented by the Hon. Mr. O. F. Lumsden, Finance Member, at a meeting of the Council on March 7. The opening balance was Rs. 2,23,35,000; the revenue Rs. 5,88,50,000; the expenditure, Rs. 6,02,28,000 and the closing balance Rs. 2,09,57,000. The statement dwells on the fact that the year did not pass without financial anxieties, owing to failure of the rains, high prices of food grains, provision of a special war allowance to Government servants, etc.; and provincial balances escaped being indented on only by unexpected and substantial betterments under certain land revenue heads and a large surplus under excise. The discussion on the budget took place on March 13 and was characterised by the way the President gagged free expression of non-official views. Under the Reform Scheme he said non-official members would probably have a great increase of power and responsibility and the chief direction in which this would be employed was the region of finance. His Honour congratulated the Finance Member on the manner in which he had run the gauntlet of non-official criticism. Of three resolutions on the Budget moved by the Hon. K. B. Fazli-Hussain, two were negatived and one had to be withdrawn.

There was a full meeting of the Council on April 7 when **Sir Michael O'Dwyer** held his last Council and the Budget after final discussion was passed. His Honour gave a parting kick to Indian Leaders in his farewell speech dwelling at some length on the success of the frightful measures which he had taken to secure public order in the Province. He emphasised that Government would not hesitate to use all means at its disposal to check any disorder. As a matter of fact however he lashed up the people into fury and then made good his threat by letting loose all the horrors of war on the unarmed people. Punjab during the months of April and May under Sir Michael was very much worse than was Belgium during the German occupation in the early part of the late War.

On Nov. 10 the Council met under the new Lt. Gov., Sir Edward Maclagan, with blasted hopes. There was a sigh of relief from the tortured soul of the whole Punjab on the departure of that paragon administrator, Sir Michael, and Sir Edward began his work in an atmosphere of deep depression.

Mysore State.

**RULER :—H. H. SIR SREE KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR, BAHADUR, G.C.S.I.
MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.**

YUVARAJA—Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahdr G.C.I.E.

**DEWAN—Sir M. Visvesvaraya, B.A., L.C.E., M. Inst. C.E.K.C.I.E. Retd, 1919,
R. D. M. Kantaraja Urs, apptd. 1919.**

The Council.

Dewan & Presdt. of Council—M. Kantaraja Urs.

Extraordinary Member of Council—Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar.

**Bahdr. G.C.I.E. Yuvaraja of Mysore, Pro-Chancellor of the Mysore University.
Members of Council, 1st. member—Albion Raj Kumar Banerji, M.A. I.C.S. C.I.E.**

(Actg. Dewan), 2nd member.—Mir Humza Hussain.

Actg. 2nd member—P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A. B.L.

3rd. Member—Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhar Iyer.

Legislative Council.

OFFICIALS,—

**Dewan Bahdr. J. S. Chakravarti, M.A., F.R.A.S. ; C. S. Doraswami Iyer,
B.A., B.L., K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A. ; C. S. Palasundaram Iyer, B.A. ; K.
Chandy, B.A. ; Srinivasacharya Cadambi, B.A. L.C.E. C. R. Reddy, M.A. ;
Mir. Humza Hussain, B.A., B.L.**

NON-OFF. MEMBERS,—

**Dewan Bahdr. K. P. Puttanna Chetty, C.I.E. ; M. Chengaiya Chetty, B.A.
Nawab Gulam Ahmad Kalami, M. Basava Iyar, B.A. B.L. ; B. Narasinga Rao,
M. Karnik Krishnamurti Rao, C. Narasimhaiya, B.A., B.L. ; B. K. Garmachar,
M. Venkata Thirishnaiya, B. Venkata Samanna, B.A. B.L. ; S. Sectaramaiya,
Rao Sahab H. Chennaiya and L. Srinivasa Iyengar.**

Mysore Legislative Council.

Bangalore—March 24, 1919.

Mr. A. R. Banerji, the acting Dewan, opened the sessions. He alluded to the illness of sardar Kantaraj Urs who was rapidly progressing, and then made a lengthy and detailed statement regarding food situation in the state, mainly recapitulated what was being done since July 1918 and mentioned various orders of the government issued from time to time. He also detailed the steps that was being taken to handle the situation in the future. This includes representation to the Government of India against export from the state and importation of Burma Rice and opening of depots for sale of food stuffs to the poor in Bangalore and Mysore cities and in

headquarter towns. He alluded to the help accorded to agriculturists in the matter of irrigation facilities in Taccavi loans etc. to increase production.

There was an interesting and lengthy discussion over the new Bill to introduce income-tax in the Mysore State. Dewan Bahadur, J. S. Chakravorthy, Financial Secretary to Government, moved to introduce the Bill. He pointed out the necessity of imposing the tax and spoke of the need of more money in the interests of efficient and progressive administration. He referred to the non-official support to the measure on various occasions, attempted to justify the tax on various standpoints and said that it was not a measure of financial necessity only, but was also of financial justice. Three non-official members supported the motion and eight other non-officials opposed the measure.

During Interpellations question was asked as to the cause or causes of the heavy mortality in the Kolar Gold Fields, and to ascertain the minimum and maximum dimensions of huts of coolies, number of occupants, the number of latrines provided and lighting convenience. Mr. Mir Humza Husseni, Member of the State Executive Council replied :—From enquiries made the Government have no reason to think that mortality on Kolar Gold Field is heavy as compared with other important industrial cities and therefore they see no reason to make any special investigation as suggested. The minimum dimension of a hut is 998 and maximum 2,498, and in minimum size 2 children and in maximum size 4 adults and 4 children, and 4 was the average number of actual residents over all huts. There are public latrines on the surface with accommodation of four per cent of the population at one time, in addition to which latrines (sanitary boxes) are provided underground at convenient points in every working level and regularly cleaned by a special sanitary staff. The number of scavengers employed is 909 or an average of one for 57 persons. All thoroughfares are lighted by electricity and it does not appear that any other special lighting arrangements is necessary.

On MARCH 24 Dewan Bahadur Chakravarti moved for leave to introduce the bill to amend the law relating to paper Currency in Mysore. He said that the measure was intended to place permanently on the statute the emergency regulation passed last year making Government of India notes legal tender in Mysore State. Till last year notes were legal tender in Bangalore City only.

Mr. K. P. Puttanna Chetty drew attention to the statement in newspapers that the Government was considering the introduction of currency notes within the state, and enquired whether the present measure had anything to do with it.

The Dewan :—This measure has nothing to do with that.

On the next resumed discussion on the **Income-Tax Bill** Dewan Bahadur Chakravarthi in the course of his long speech recapitulated his argument in support of the measure and replied to non-official criticisms. The motion was carried by 12 against 7.

Mysore Representative Assembly

Supplementary Session—28 April, 1919.

The Acting Dewan, Mr. A. C. Banerji in his opening address reviewed the general situation and deplored the widespread distress caused by Influenza which had carried away 166,000 souls! Then rainfall was poor, the monsoons failed, food became scarce, and prices rose higher and higher. He then detailed the measures taken against these and passed on to Finance. He presented the Financial Statement prepared on the lines recommended by Mr. K. L. Datta, and "based on his scheme of Financial Settlement."

"A hurried retrospect during the past six years shows that the receipts have gone up from 251,08, to 305,79 that is 55 lakhs and the expenditure from 197,18 to 304,00, that is, 107 lakhs. The expenditure of 304,00 includes a sum of 55-26 on account of contributions to Departments and Reserves not actually spent in the year. Making allowance for this, the actual expenditure was only 248,74 which means a growth of 514 lakhs. It will be seen that the increase in expenditure was well within the growth of revenue. Besides owing to increased activities in several directions, the establishment charges alone have risen from 1912-13 in five years by 14 lakhs per annum and since up to the current year by 11 lakhs. Education expenditure has increased from 11 lakhs in 1912-13 to 26 lakhs in 1916-17 and in the current year, it is expected to rise further to 36-30. Public Works expenditure has increased from 24.66 in 1912-13 to 34-20 in 1917-18 and is expected further to rise to 42.21 in the current year. The figure for 1917-18 and the current year include a contribution of 5 lakhs on account of irrigation capital reserve. The capital expenditure not charged to revenue has increased from 18.61 in 1912-13 to 49 lakhs in 1916-17, 41 in 1917-18 and in the current year it is expected to be 58 lakhs. It was Mr. Datta who advised Government in 1919 that optional and obligatory expenditure should be separated. He said: "It should be seen how far the growth of both obligatory and optional expenditure was justified, and what steps should be taken to keep down expenditure without affecting the efficiency of the administration and then to frame an approximate estimate of the

probable rate of growth of the obligatory and optional expenditure under each head in future. The growth of the charge for salaries and establishment should be carefully examined and it should be considered whether the growth is justified by the needs of the administration." In his opinion the State should satisfy itself that its normal revenue would yield a surplus sufficient to meet not only the charges for interest on the capital expenditure during construction of work, but also to meet the deficiency in the net earnings for some years. He however sounded a note of warning about the present scale of expenditure chargeable to revenue and said : "I am, however, not quite so sure about the present scale of the expenditure chargeable to revenue. Such expenditure appears to have grown at a tremendous rate during the last five years and I am unable to say at present how far this has been justified by the annual growth of its revenues or how far the additional expenditure is really conducive to the material prosperity of the State."

The Dewan admitted that careful scrutiny of the position is certainly desirable both as regards ordinary revenue and expenditure as well as capital expenditure. Referring to capital expenditure, Mr. Banerjee quoted the late Dewan's (Sir M. Visvesharaya's) opinions on the subject that for productive works loans should be raised : "I am gratified to observe that this view of our financial policy has now received acceptance at the hands of the public and suggestions for financing productive works from borrowed funds have been made by the members of this Assembly." Mr. Banerjee continuing said :—

"Mr. Datta had advised us to sell away securities as fast as possible up to 80 lakhs, to fulfil our capital programme, and his forecast was that we can provide for a capital expenditure of 60 lakhs in 1919-20 without borrowing. Our Budget forecast is framed accordingly and we have provided for a capital expenditure of 90 lakhs without proposing to borrow. But we have to so adjust our finances that our annual revenue and expenditure account result in a sufficient surplus to meet—

- (1) The growth of expenditure for expansion and development :
 (2) Interest on loans : (3) Depreciation charges : (4) Several reserves, e. g., famine, etc.

"It would be a foolish policy to cut down our capital programme in respect of works already in progress or commenced. It is also incumbent on us to frame future budgets in such a manner that the normal standard surplus of 50 lakhs is guaranteed to meet the necessities of the position under the four heads specified above. I think our resources also require watching, and expenditure, a more detailed scrutiny.

"I will now take you through the figures of the revised estimates for the current year, and budget estimates for the coming year. The revised estimates of receipts for the current year is 3/4 lakhs better than the budget, as a net result of large increases under some heads and decrease in others. We have lost ground under Land Revenue, Forest, Mining, Revenue, Krishnarajasagara Works and Cauvery Power Scheme, and gained under Excise, Assigned Tracts' Revenue, Railways and Sandal Oil Factory.

Under expenditure, the budget figures are exceeded, so far as General Administration, Sanitation and Civil Works are concerned. Influenza, food control, and war and grain compensation allowances are responsible for large increases. There are however anticipated lapses under Education, Irrigation Works charged to revenue, Agriculture and Army. The result of these estimates is a net surplus of 49,000 as against the budgetted estimate of 41,000. The next year's budget estimate of revenue shows an improvement of five three-fourth lakhs as a net result of variations, increases being noticeable under Land Revenue, Forest and Excise; also under industrial concerns which are expected to bring a net revenue of one lakh, a very pleasing and hopeful feature."

Mysore's present position is that under the scheme of Financial Settlement, the whole of the normal revenues of the State is distributed amongst the several groups of spending departments and the reserves. The annual anticipated surpluses due to growth in the revenue are similarly distributed. "It is therefore plain that further demands for extra expenditure can be met only as our revenue grows. The normal annual growth from the existing sources has been calculated at 6 lakhs. But this rate can be secured only under favourable conditions of seasons and trade. For rapid growth of expenditure beyond the rate thus indicated, new sources of revenue will have to be discovered.

The Budget Estimate.

"For the ensuing year, we have budgetted for a revenue of Rs. 304,98,000 and for an expenditure of Rs. 306,08,000 chargeable to this revenue, resulting in a deficit of 1,10,000.

"The net assets of the State by the end of the current year will be 639.75 lakhs and during the next year there will be a further accretion of about 4 lakhs. The capital expenditure on productive works by the end of the current year is expected to amount to 794 lakhs and as the programme for next year is fixed at 90 lakhs the total amount invested by Government in these works by 30th June 1920 will be 794 lakhs."

In conclusion the acting Dewan said :—

"We are rich in ideals and schemes, and have put our hand on the plough, started and continued in motion by successive administrations for tilling the almost unlimited expanse of Mysore's possibilities, under the wise and benevolent guidance of His Highness the Maharaja. Consolidation of work done in the past should be our motto for sometime to come and if we succeed in keeping burning the flame of enthusiasm for progress, kindled by Sir M. Visvesvaraya and his distinguished predecessor, and in showing continued and tangible results in at least some of the schemes and projects so often mentioned in the Dewans' Addresses in this Assembly of past several years, we should deserve well of all classes amongst His Highness' subjects."

Next day, April 29, the Representative Assembly met at 12 Noon when subjects relating to Revenue Survey and Settlement were taken up.

To the representation that no resettlement of a Taluk may be sanctioned until the report of the Settlement Officer is considered by a representative non-official body and both the reports are discussed by the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, the Government replied that orders will be issued in about 10 days in the matter.

In reply to the representation that each district may be given the privilege of electing a member to represent it in the Legislative Council, that power of electing four members now vested in the Representative Assembly should continue while providing for the election of a member from each district, and that the Mysore Economic Conference, the University, and the Chamber of Commerce, should each be allowed to elect. Govt. promised further consideration.

On June 20 a meeting of the Mysore Legislative Council was held. On the motion of Mr. K. S Chandrasekara Iyer, the First Councillor, the Bill further to amend the Mysore Legislative Council Regulation was passed. This bill related to granting of privileges to move resolutions in the Council. Mr. Iyer in introducing the measure spoke of the increase of privileges accorded to the Council since its constitution in 1907.

In reply to an interpellation suggesting to the Government the establishment of Asylums of rest houses for the benefit of decrepit and disabled persons who roam about in streets Mr. Mir Humza Hussain, Councillor, stated that that was a question for the local bodies to consider.

Dewan Bahadur Chakravarthi replying to an interpellation relating to the details about the gold coins and securities sent from the state treasury to the Mysore bank said :—It is not in public interest to give information of the kind required by the member.

Gold coins were only sent once to the Mysore Bank on condition that they would be returned intact whenever required on three months notice, and except interest paid by the bank there is no gain or loss involved in the transaction.

Suggestions were made by non-official members to curtail the expenditure on public works and to provide facilities for technical, industrial and professional education. One of the nonofficials desired the publication of the report of Mr. K. L. Datta about the finances of the State. Another member suggested the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into all aspects of the State. A suggestion was also made for the establishment of a Board of public health and desire was expressed for large grants for rural areas.

The Legislative Council reassembled next day when the discussion of budget was continued. Official members replied to non-official references to their departments. Mr. Balasundaram Iyer, Chief Secretary, said that he was quite in sympathy with the request for greater provision for medical relief and sanitation in rural areas. The medical committee which was recently constituted had submitted its report to the Government and orders on it were likely to issue shortly and the proposals of the committee include the starting of more dispensaries for the next two years. As regards the improvement of indigenous system of medicine the Government have under consideration certain proposals. The suggestion for the establishment of board of health would also be favourably considered. Mr. Cadambi, Chief Engineer, pointed out that the establishment charges of P. W. D were not higher than those in British India and quoted the figures of Madras and Mysore for three years to show that the Mysore charges were lower than those of Madras.

Mr. K. Chandy, Excise Commissioner, said :—During the last two excise sales over 570 shops were closed and in the recent sale the Government were prepared to incur a loss of one and half lakhs by closing 20 shops around Bangalore. In spite of all that, income had increased and that is due to increase in consumption. He also stated that if in any definite area like a taluq the majority of people would come forward with a request to the Government not to have shops in that area the Government would be prepared to forego revenues.

The budget discussion concluded after the financial Secretary, members of the council and the President of the Council had made their observations. Mr. Chandrasekara Iyer, First Councillor, stated that proposals were before the Government for the establishment of an agricultural college at Mysore and the Registrar of the University had been asked to report the site and plans and details. He also

said that an elaborate scheme had been prepared for the improvement of indigenous system of medicine. The Dewan in his concluding remarks said that matters relating to education to which references had been made had been considered in a Government resolution on education which would be issued shortly. He also stated that the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the finances of the state was now unnecessary, but the request might be repeated if non-officials remained unsatisfied after they had seen the Government review of finance and the forecasts of expenditure of the State which was promised at the last session of the representative assembly.

Bikaner State.

Ruler :—MAJ.-GENL. H. H. MAHARAJAH RAJ RAJESHWAR NARENDRA
SHIROMANI SRI MAHARAJAH DHIRAJ SINGHJI
BAHADUR, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., LL.D

Heir-Apparent :—MAHARAJ KUMAR LIEUT SRI SADUL SINGHJI BAHADUR

Pte. secy, to H. H.—Pyare Kishen Wattal, M.A. F.R.E.S. F.R.S

Mily. secy,—Lt.-col. Kanwar Baney Singh of Motasar (hony. a.-d.-c. to H. H.)

State Administration.

MOKHMA KHAS

Vice-presdt. and pol. member of the State council—Col. Maharaj Sri Sir Bhairoo Singhji Bahdr. K.C.S.I.

Ordinary member State council.—Rai Bahdr. Raja Jeoraj Singh of Beri.

Home member, State council.—Rai Bahdr. B. Kamta Prasad, B.A.

Reve. & fince member, State council—G. D. Rudkin, I.C.S.

Public wks. member of the State council.—Lt. col. Rao Bahdr. Thakur Sadul Singh of Bagesen.

Mily. member, of State council,—Rao Bahdr. Bgdr-Genl. Thakur Hari Singh of Sattasar, O.B.E.

Hony. member, State council,—Rao Bahdr. Raja Hari Singh of Mahajan.

Permt. asst. reve. & fince, member,—Maharaj Sri Pirthisinghji Sahib.

Secy. legtive. dept,—Dwarka Singh, B.A.

Addtl. secy, legtive. dept,—D. M. Nanavati, B.A., LL.B.

Secy. reve. & fince, dept.—B Mathura Prasad, B.A.

Secy. State council,—B. Naunehal Singh, B.A.

Members of the Legislative Assembly.

Col. Maharaj Sri Sir Bhairoo Singhji Bahdr, K.C.S.I. ;

Rao Bahdr. Raja Hari Singh of Mahajan ; Rawat Man Singh of Rawatsar ;

Maj. Maharaj Sri Narayen Singhji Sahib, Maharaj Sri Pirthi Singhji Sahib,

Rao Bahdr. Raja Jeoraj Singh of Beri ;

Rao Bahdr. Rao Jeoraj Singh of Pugal ; Thakur Bijay Singh of Sankhu ;

Thakur Sadul Singh of Jasota ; Rao Bahdr. Thakur Kishen Singh of Baslana ;

Ugdr.-Genl. Rao Bahdr. Thakur Hari Singh of Sattasar, O.B.E.

Lt.-col. Rao Bahdr. Thakur Sadul Singh of Bagesh.
 Thakur Nawal Singh of Magrasar ; Rai Bahdr. Kamts Prasad, B.A. ;
 P. M. Nanavati, B.A., LL. B. ; G. D. Rulkin, I.C.S. ;
 Rai Bahdr. Seth Bisheshwar Dass Daga of Bikaner ;
 Seth Chand Mal Dhakla, C.I.E. ; Seth Ram Rattan Dass of Ragri ;
 " Tola Ram Surana of Churu ; " Jawahir Mal Khemka of Ratangarh ;
 " Jagan Nath Thirani of Nohar ; Seth Sahib Ram Sarraf of Hanumangarh ;
 Pt. Jiwan Ram Hareha ; Prohit Bakhtawar Singh ;
 Sheikh Mohammed Ibrahim ; Munshi Fatch Singh ; B. Nihal Singh ;
 K. Rustomji, M.A. ; Pyare Kishen Wattal M.A., F.R.E.S., F.S.S. ;
 L. P. Lajoie ; B. Nehal Chand ; Thakur Bhur Singh ; Pt. Bisheshwar Nath ;
 Seth Shiva Ratan Mobta ; Seth Ram Prasad Jagmihia of Sujangarh ;
 " Ganesh Dass Dulhanja of Sar darabahr ;
 " Gurmuk Rai Lahari-wala of Rajgarh ; Seth Likhmi Chand Nahta of Bhadra ;
 Rai Bahdr. Seth Hazari Mal of Dulhwala ;
 " Bahad. Seth Ram Chandra Mantra of Rani ;
 Chowdhari Jagmal Saran of Ganeshgarh ;
 " Bhai Uttam Singh of Samaninagar ;
 Seth Daulat Ram Bhadani of Sri Dungargarh.

Proceedings of the Council

The Legislative Council of Bikaner State was opened at Bikaner on 18th October 1919 and continued several days, His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singhji presiding. The Maharaja was dressed in military uniform, wore the Order of the Star of India, and on his head-gear a jewelled frame containing a photo of His Majesty the King Emperor.

The Council was inaugurated in 1912, and since then it has been enlarged and now possesses the same powers as the Viceroy's Council in regard to interpellations, the moving of resolutions and introducing bills. The elective principle has been introduced into the Council, and every Municipality having a population of 2,500 return one member. The members take an oath of allegiance to His Majesty as well as to His Highness. Among the members of the Council are some veterans who have won distinctions in various battlefields during the war.

Kumar's Maiden Speech

In order to have continuity of work in his absence the Maharaja has nominated his Heir-Apparent to the Council. He took the oath of allegiance on the first day, in the usual manner, both to H. M. the King-Emperor and to H. H. the Maharaja. Rai Bahadur Raja Hari Singhji of Mahajan and several other speakers expressed their joy at the Maharaja Kumar's participation in State affairs. They hoped that he would secure the undying love and willing devotion of the Maharaja's loyal subjects by keeping an ever-watchful eye over their interests.

The Maharaja Kumar in his maiden speech said : I thank the Raja of Mahajan, speaking on behalf of the official and the non-official members, for the encouraging words with which he has greeted me here, and I thank the Assembly for their spontaneous welcome. I beg to assure Your Highness and this Assembly that it will be my constant endeavour to devote myself to the furtherance of the prosperity of Bikaner and the well-being of its people, taking as my guide our traditions and the example of my honoured father. My cup of happiness will be filled when I feel I have earned Your Highness' approbation as a successful servant of the State.

Resolutions moved.

1. Rawat Man Singhji then moved : "That the members of this Assembly, representing all classes of Your Highness' subjects, most respectfully beg Your Highness to be graciously pleased to convey to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor their humble and most respectful congratulations on the achievement of the great and the glorious victory won by the mighty British Empire in the cause of freedom and justice, a victory which has saved the world from the domination of militarism and savagery and has vindicated once more to the eternal glory of the British nation and her Allies the triumph of right over might and in which Bikaner, with the rest of India, is proud to have borne her share with the other members of the Empire." During the four and half years of war, said the speaker, we have suffered the loss of many brave and valuable lives, and we have not stinted our assistance in money and material, and it is because we feel we have borne our full share as far as we were able in the victory now won that we are proud to-day to request Your Highness to convey our loyal congratulations to His Imperial Majesty.

The resolution was carried and His Highness promised to remit it through H. E. the Viceroy.

2. A resolution was proposed by the Heir-Apparent expressing gratitude to the Army. "That the members of this Assembly, on behalf of the whole people of Bikaner, do hereby express their heartfelt thanks to the officers and men of the Ganga Risala who by their courage and endurance during 4 years of active service in Egypt and Palestine have so gloriously assisted the forces of the British Empire in bringing the world-wide war to a victorious end and in warding off its ravages from the boundaries of India, and who have by their cheerfulness and gallant conduct, under strange and arduous circumstances, so worthily upheld the tradition of Bikaner, and further, that the members of this Assembly do tender their deep sympathy with the families and relations of those brave men of the regiment who have fallen and trust that the pride which all feel in

their gallantry may to some extent mitigate the sorrow caused by their death."

Maharajah's Great Speech.

In closing the session, His Highness the Maharaja delivered an important speech in which he dwelt at length on the attitude of the Indian Princes to the problems of constitutional reform both in British India and in their own States especially rebutting certain critics in England and in India.

His Highness in the course of his speech first paid a tribute of deep devotion to their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress. Said His Highness, "The firm hold of the monarchical form of government in Great Britain is due again to what I might with all reverence term the splendid example of devotion to duty and the love and care for his people which His Imperial Majesty has so graciously displayed and to the wonderful work in the cause of the country which both the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress have done—work which has come into special prominence during the five trying years of the war. Even in so democratic a country as America, they have come to learn of the advantages of a Crowned Head, and the war has brought to them an agreeable surprise by revealing the fact—already known to his peoples—that our King-Emperor and Queen-Empress are the hardest worked people in the whole of Great Britain and the British Empire. Long may they be spared to us."

The Princes and Reform

The Maharaja next turned to constitutional reform in British India, speaking warmly of 'that staunch friend of India, Mr. Austen Chamberlain,' and of Mr. Montagu and condemning the opposition to the reform proposals by those whom, to avoid personalities, he called "the English-Extremists." He referred to various criticisms specially of his famous Savoy Hotel Speech of March last (for this see the Register for 1919, Part II, p. 81), and said :—

"I have seen it expressly stated in one place that in common with some other Princes I had from time to time expressed or been persuaded into expressing myself as whole-heartedly in favour of Home Rule League and all its propaganda. I have seldom seen a greater perversion of truth. As I have publicly stated previously, I, in common with my brother Princes, belong to no political party whatsoever. I hope I am a moderate in my views. In common with many loyal Indians and Englishmen I desire to see India once again rise to full nation-hood under the aegis of British Crown and attain the fullest autonomy as an integral and contented part of the

Empire, which will be a sure source of strength and not of weakness to Great Britain, but I have never been associated with Home Rule Leagues in any way and have no connection with them whatsoever. What is more, I have not on a single occasion uttered a single word which might be taken to imply that I was even partially in favour of that league or its propaganda, with the extreme views and tactics of which body I am personally altogether unable to agree, and to the best of my knowledge the same applies to my brother Princes.

"The allegation that my action was an unprecedented and direct interference with the purely domestic affairs of British India is however one that must be dealt with more seriously, the more so as the same charge is made against the Princes as a body. Of course I today speak only for myself, but as I have the honour of knowing an exceptionally large number of my brother Princes and have, moreover, come in close contact with them in the past few years in my capacity of Honorary General Secretary to Their Highnesses for the Princes' Conference, I feel that in regard to this point in particular I should not be far wrong in giving expression to feelings which I believe will be generally shared by the Princes. We have made it abundantly clear on many previous occasions that the Princes of India have not the slightest desire to interfere in the purely domestic concerns of British India, just as we would emphatically resent any interference in regard to matters concerning our internal independence and autonomy. This is a policy from which I am not aware that we have ever deviated. But in all questions of Imperial or common concern the Princes have an indisputable right to, and must always claim, a voice not only in view of their political importance but also in view of their territories forming a third of the area and over a fifth of the population of India.

"The question of constitutional reform in British India is really one of Imperial and common concern and one, moreover, in which the Princes are more than indirectly concerned. The well-being and prosperity of India and the ever-increasing happiness and contentment of its people must necessarily be matters of very deep concern to every loyal Indian, whether he be a British subject or a resident within the territories of an Indian State. The vital considerations involved and the great issues at stake in regard to this question are not confined to British India. On a sympathetic, generous and bold handling of this question depend the happiness, the loyalty and the contentment of the people of India. A loyal, progressive and contented India will be an asset of immense value to the Empire which in itself would be of immense advantage to all concerned, including the Princes and the States. Not only have the

Princes a very large stake and vested interests of vital importance in the country, but there is a very great and real identity of interests between the British Government and themselves. And, as has been repeatedly stated by the highest officers of the Crown, they have also their duties and responsibilities as pillars of that Imperial edifice and as partners and colleagues of the Viceroy—in the words of Lord Curzon—to share with him the burden of rule.

The Duty of the Princes.

"As I said in my speech, the Princes out of their loyal and deep devotion to the King-Emperor and their attachment to the Empire are concerned to see such measures adopted as will further popularise, strengthen and preserve the King-Emperor's rule in India, as also the ties that bind England and India together and to see the elements that make for sobriety, moderation and restraint, strengthened and consolidated.

"It is plain to any sober-minded person that should the counsels of the opponents of genuine reform prevail, the feeling and the political effect which would thereby be created in India would be deplorable. Surely the duty of the Princes, as friends and Allies, and in view of the identity of interest, to advise the British Government on matters which, in certain eventualities, are likely to create a disturbing situation in British India, cannot be questioned, and past precedent is forthcoming, as in 1908, when Lord Minto asked for the co-operation of the Princes and their advice in dealing with the unrest in parts of Bengal and elsewhere. Whilst the Princes of India can always be counted upon to throw the whole weight of their influence and resources on the side of law and order and constituted authority, as they have invariably and unflinchingly done in the past, they are, apart from all these weighty considerations which appeal to them most, prompted not unnaturally by reasons of self-interest also, to see such a course followed as will ensure tranquillity on the other side of their borders and thus avert serious trouble from crossing into their territories. For conditions existing in British India and the attitude of the people there find their inevitable reflex in our own States. It is quite clear that any grievance and discontent in British India, still more anarchy and sedition, are bound sooner or later to spread to our States and to affect the Indian Rulers and their Governments. Many of us are surrounded by British territory. With the increased railway, telegraph and postal facilities, and the spread of education and Western thoughts and ideals, and with a large number of our State subjects carrying on business in British India, there are, much more than formerly, frequent and intimate interchange of ideas and opinions

and greater contact between our own subjects and those of British India."

His Highness finally proceeded to rebut the criticism that the Indian Princes who advocated reforms in British India did not apply them in their own States and showed what measures of reforms he had inaugurated in Bikaner. Consultation with representative citizens was, he said, fundamental in Indian systems of government but it did not follow that modern Western institutions imported without modification were the best developments in every State in India.

The Nizam's Council

New Executive Council Opened.

On November 21 1919, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad held a Durbar at the Kingkoti Palace to announce the institution of an Executive Council for his Dominions. The following are the new Executive Councillors :—

1.	Sir Syed Ali Imam kt.	President, and in Charge of Legislative Department.
2.	R. I. R. Glancy (on Leave) Nawab Ameen Jung Bahadur (Actg.)	Finance.
3.	Nawab Vilayat Jung Bahadur	Judicial.
4.	" Latafat Jung "	Army.
5.	" Balwant "	Revenue.
6.	" Tiltwat Jung "	Public Works.
7.	" Nizammat " "	Political.
8.	" Akhil " "	Commerce and Industry.
9.	" Faradoon Mulk "	Member Extraordinary.

The Nizam's Speech.

In declaring the Council open His Exalted Highness said :—
 "This durbar has been convened to mark an event of very great moment in the history of my dominions. As you are all probably aware the original form of Government in this country was a pure autocracy assisted by a Prime Minister. It is a matter of history how with a few honourable exceptions the Prime Ministers of the past steadily pursued the policy of undermining the authority of the Nizam under whom they served and to whom they owed allegiance as subjects and servants. The State archives are replete with evidence of such transgressions resulting in friction and the destruction of administrative efficiency so largely detrimental to public weal. The

passion to grasp at power, however unlawful and unconstitutional, dried up the sources of initiative and reform. Successive ministries disclosed the imperfection of the system. My father long after the death of the First Salar Jung, having given his reorganisation of the administration a full and fair trial, was deeply impressed by the defects present in it and was impelled in 1892 to promulgate the *qanunchna mabrick* defining thereby the powers and responsibilities of the Prime Minister and his assistants. A further attempt at efficiency was made by the issue of the rules of the *qanunchna* soon after my accession. My own scrutiny and examination of the administrative problems of my dominions convinced me that the defects were ineradicable unless and until there was a structural change in the Government. After anxious and mature consideration, I decided to take up the heavy burden of direct administrative change without the help of a Prime Minister. For five long years I have toiled hard and ever kept in view the measures that promised to secure the happiness and prosperity of my beloved subjects in whose contentment and advancement my interest is paternal and abiding. Close and personal association with the administration has revealed to me the necessity of the departure from the existing method. Change of times, complexities of modern life, a new political perception in the East and internal and external interests of my dominions have put such a severe strain upon my personal and direct control as to call for some immediate measure of appreciable relief. Finding it impossible to revert to a system, whose repeated breakdown had proved its futility, I resolved, after much reflection to give my Government a new constitution which would secure greater efficiency and ensure progressive force. Experiment elsewhere has proved that the Council form of Government has many and varied advantages over Government vested in a single official, however eminent. It is my earnest desire therefore to secure these advantages for the well being of my people. With these end in view I have by a firman issued to-day constituted an Executive Council consisting of a President, seven ordinary members and an Extraordinary member without a portfolio. Under well considered rules the powers of the Council, of its President and Members have been defined and their collective and individual responsibilities fixed. Its personnel has been determined with the greatest possible care. It includes men of mature experience and approved merit. The President, Sir Ali Imam, needs no introduction. His career in British India is very well known. A Council so constituted will strengthen the administration in all its branches and offer sound advice on those matters affecting the larger interests of the State that have been specifically reserved for the exercise of my own powers. Its corporate action

will give administrative cohesion and yield results highly beneficial to my people. The spread of education, the development of economic resource, the encouragement of commercial and industrial enterprise, the adoption of advanced sanitary and hygienic measures, the improvement of roads and communications and many other measures await solution. In these and other directions of internal reforms the labours of the Council will be of value no less than in matters of general policy and the political relations of Government with the Government of India. These are as friendly and cordial as in the past. Ever since the dawn of British rule in India an unbroken record of alliance and friendship with my House has been maintained. In more than one crisis the sword of an Asifah has been drawn in the defence of the honour and integrity of the British Empire. My own contribution to win the world-wide war from which the British Empire has so triumphantly emerged are too well-known for me to dwell upon. The Council will therefore find itself in a happy position to approach the all important question of the restoration of the Berar. My claim to the possession of this integral part of my dominions is based on absolute justice and it is inconceivable that on an impartial examination it can be ruled out. I shall therefore await the advice of the Council on this momentous question with deep interest. To my nobles, officials, jagirdars and my beloved subjects generally, I commend this new constitution and earnestly call upon them to support it with unfaltering devotion and loyal cooperation. No constitution can fulfil its functions without strict and jealous regard to its observance. With these words I wish Sir Ali Imam and his colleagues every success in the discharge of the great duties upon which they now enter."

Travancore State

Ruler—H. H. SRI PADMANABHA DASA VANCHI SIR BALA RAMA
VARMA KULASSEKHARA KIRITAPATI MANI SULTAN MAHARAJA
RAJA RAMMA RAJA BAHR. SHAMSHER JUNG, G.C.S.I.

G.C.T.E., F.M.U., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.,
Officer de l' Instruction Publique.

State Officers.

Dewan.—Dewan Bahdr. M. Krishna Nair, F.A.B.L.

Itc. secy to Dewan.—K. Parameshwaran Pillai B.A., B.L.

Chf. Secy to govt.—B. Mahadeva Aiyar A.B.

Under secs.—M. Raja Raja Varma M.A., B.L. R. Krishna Pillai, B.A., B.L.,
and K. Narayanan Pandalay, B.A., B.L.

Asst. secs.—K. Venkata Row, S. Parameswara Aiyer, M.A., B.L. T. P. P.
Ramasubha Aiyar, B.A., and R. Ramalingam Aiyar B.A.

Legislative Council

Prsdt.—Diwan Bahdr. M. Krishna Nair, B.A., B.L.

Offl. members.—B. Mahadeva Iyer, B.A. chf. secy. to govt; V. Subba Aiyar,
B.A., B.L. addtl. head sirkar vakil; N. Subrahmanya Aiyar, M.A., senr. Diwan
pcishkar;

N. Rajaram Bai. B.A.; I.C. Chacko, B.A., B.S.C. state geologist; N. Raman
Pillay, B.A., excise. comms;

Bai Bahdr. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar, B.A. profsr. of history and
economics; and John Kurian, B.A., B.C.E. ex. engrt.

Non. offl. members.—R. Govinda Menon, B.A.; M. Subramania Pillai, K. A.
Krishna Iyengar, B.A., B.L.; R. Gopal Pillai, B.A., B.L.; K. Parameswara Pillai,
B.A., B.L.; Paul Daniel, M.A., L.T; and J. A. Richardson.

Secy—K. Narayanan Pandalay, B.A., B.L.

The Popular Assembly

February 1919

The 15th Session of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly met at Trivandrum on the 17th February 1919. The Dewan of Travancore in opening the Assembly made a speech in which he detailed the War efforts of the State, the enormous economic distress and the action taken by the Durbar to ameliorate it. He then presented the following *resume* of details of administration:—

Revenue and expenditure.—The revenue and receipts of the State rose from Rs. 1,63,43,576 in 1092 (M. E. year) to Rs. 1,65,89,541 in 1093 and the ordinary expenditure from

Ra. 1,53,24,370 to Ra. 1,61,55,926 resulting in a surplus of Ra. 4,33,615. Including the capital expenditure on the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum, amounting to Ra. 8,70,116, the total expenditure of the year was Ra. 1,70,26,042, giving a net deficit of Ra. 4,36,501. The revenue for the year was the highest on record showing an increase of Ra. 6,75,841 over the amount budgetted for. The receipts under "Forest," "Salt" and "Customs" reached higher figures than those in any previous year, the slight decrease under "Stamps" and "Registration" being attributable to the dislocation of business activities as a result of the economic strain to which reference has already been made. The expenditure for 1093 was also the highest on record, with the solitary exception of the abnormal year of 1090. The expenditure on "Education" has been particularly noteworthy during recent years, the amount rising from Ra. 9,55,951 in 1087 to Ra. 22,21,674 in 1093, the highest figure ever reached. The assets of the Government at the end of 1093 amounted to Ra. 1,34,36,438 and the liabilities to Ra. 94,89,578, leaving a closing balance of Ra. 39,46,160. As I explained in my address last year, there need be no apprehension on account of the reduction of the closing balance from Ra. 77,91,725 in 1088 to about a moiety of that amount in the course of the last quinquennium, in view of the fact that a sum of Ra. 49,86,819 has been spent during the interval on the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum, and that if this amount were added to the balance, the transactions would leave a closing balance, of Ra. 89,33,679, or Ra. 11,41,954 in excess of that for 1088. If the ordinary expenditure of the State alone is taken into account, the transactions of the past three years have resulted in surpluses, the comparatively small surplus of Ra. 4,33,615 in 1093 being due to the fact that extraordinary expenditure to the extent of about eight lakhs had to be incurred during that year. The budget of 1094 provides for a revenue of Ra. 1,63,65,200 and an expenditure of Ra. 1,59,57,300. The estimate of capital expenditure not charged to revenue is only Ra. 77,400, as very little further outlay remains to be incurred on the extension of the railway from Quilon to Trivandrum.

Forests.—The total area of reserved forests at the end of 1093 was 2,363 square miles and 117 acres, and of reserved lands 77 square miles and 50 acres. In view to the expeditious disposal of the large volume of forest settlement work still remaining to be done, Government have appointed a Special Forest Settlement Peishkar for one year with effect from the 10th Chingam 1094. Including a simple working scheme for one of the circles, regular working plans have till now been sanctioned for an area of 673 square miles and

210 acres. An additional area of 388 acres was newly planted with teak and the existing plantations covering an area of 4,103 acres were properly maintained. The policy of restricting the exploitation of royal timber from the reserved forests was persisted in. The balance stock at the sale depots was brought to a minimum. The tentative measure originally sanctioned and subsequently extended for the abolition of export duty on timber, firewood and charcoal, was further extended for another period of five years. The gross revenue rose from Ra. 14,75,347 in 1092 to Ra. 15,15,293 in 1093 and the net revenue from Ra. 6,25,609 to Ra. 8,64,955. The net revenue of the Department in 1087 was only Ra. 2,83,383 and it is a matter for congratulation that it has more than trebled itself during the last six years. Government take this opportunity of recording their appreciation of the good work done by Mr. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Conservator of Forests.

Salt.—The area actually worked as salt pans rose from 301 to 355 acres. Prompt steps are being taken to bring the balance of the available area also under cultivation. The production of home salt fell, owing to untimely rains, from 4,83,843 maunds to 3,74,983 maunds. I note with pleasure that the consumption in 1093 increased by 44,928 maunds, the average consumption per head of population rising from 24'3 lbs. to 26'1 lbs.

Agriculture.—Copies of the report of the Director of Agriculture for 1093 will as usual, be placed in your hands from which you will obtain detailed information regarding the working of the Agricultural Department during the year. One of the most useful items of work in which the Department is engaged is the preparation and supply of manures to ryots at a cheap rate. With a view to meet the increasing demand on this account four branch manure depots were opened in South Travancore in 1093. The scheme has since been extended to other parts of South Travancore, and will, if successful, be further extended to the remaining parts of the State altogether. The question of cultivating better varieties of paddy has also been engaging the attention of the Department, and during 1093, four seed unions were formed for the distribution of improved paddy seeds. The possibility of making punja cultivation near Alleppey annual, instead of biennial as at present, is stated to have been successfully demonstrated. There are not less than 20,000 acres of punja lands which are now cultivated only in alternate years and it would be a great advantage if even a portion of this area could be made to yield an annual crop.

Industries.—The industrial problem is the problem of the hour. The war has provided the country with a great opportunity and it

would be to its advantage to seize this opportunity with alacrity. Government have deputed Dr. Barker in 1092 to conduct an industrial survey of the State, as a preliminary measure. Dr. Barker has now completed the survey and submitted the results of his investigations. Dr. Barker considers that the industries which may be immediately brought into existence in Travancore are shellac, tapioca, coir, palmyra, sugar, matches, soap, pencils, weaving and dyeing, brushes and mat and basket weaving, and suggests that three or four industries may be selected from among the above and attention concentrated on them for the time being. The whole question is engaging the attention of Government and orders will be passed in due course on the proposals of Dr. Barker. In the meantime, with a view to ensure continuance of work, Government have created a Department of Industries for Travancore and appointed Dr. Barker as Acting Director of Industries with effect from the 1st Makram 1094. The duties of the Director of Industries are to advise Government on all industrial and technical matters, to control the industries already started, to investigate the possibilities of new industries and organise them wherever practical, to start small industries for purposes of demonstration, to investigate the raw materials available in the forests of the State for industrial purposes, to receive suitable cottage industries, to enlighten the people in regard to industrial matters by lectures, bulletins, etc., and to generally help in the industrial progress of the State. The student deputed to undergo training in shellac manufacture returned and he was directed to conduct an investigation on the possibilities of this industry in Travancore. A scheme for the introduction of bee-culture as a cottage industry has been started at Nedumangad and a bee-expert appointed to popularise the industry among the people. At the instance of Dr. Barker, free training was secured for a Travancorean in pencil manufacture, for another in button manufacture and for two others in bees-wax manufacture. The present economic distress has brought into strong relief the need for the development of ship-building in Travancore and substantial concessions have been afforded to the intending ship-builders in respect of timber and land.

Co-operative Societies.—The total number of Co-operative Societies at the end of 1093 was 45, of which 33 were agricultural and the rest non-agricultural. Though there was demand for the formation of new Societies, it was not considered desirable to increase their number without due regard to the condition of their resources. Excluding the members of the Central Bank, the number of members in these Societies rose from 2,005 to 2,796. With a view to avoid the danger of allowing Credit Societies to assume unmanageable size, action was taken to prescribe a limit for membership in

some of the Primary Societies till they were able to establish good business reputation. The paid up capital of the Societies rose from Bh. Rs. 24,710 to Bh. Rs. 30,574 and the promoters of the Societies are reported to have been willing to supply funds out of the resources at their disposal. Unfortunately, the work turned out by the Trivandrum Central Co-operative Bank alone was far from satisfactory. The first co-operative conference was held at Mavelikara in Medam 1093.

Railway.—Since the close of February 1918 two trains have been running between Quilon and Trivandrum every day. The financial prospects of the new line are encouraging. The working of the Travancore Branch of the South Indian Railway from Tinnevely to Trivandrum for the first half of 1918-1919 ending with the 30th September 1918 has not only covered the entire interest charges on the original line up to Quilon, but has also left a balance of Bh. Rs. 96,726, to pay up the interest charges of the State on the extension to Trivandrum, which amount to Bh. Rs. 98,636 at 84 per cent. on the Capital. An estimate was sanctioned for providing third class passenger accommodation at all the intermediate stations between Quilon and Trivandrum. The extension of the line to the pier at Valiatura is under the consideration of Government.

Municipal Government.—Since the close of 1093 the rate-payers of the towns of Colachel, Attungal, Mavelikara, Changanachery and Vaikam have been granted the privilege of electing four out of the seven non-official members of the respective Committees, so that at present all the 19 Town Improvement Committees in the State have a majority of their non-official members elected by the people. Non-official Presidents have been newly appointed for the Committees of Nagercoil and Mavelikara and a non-official Vice-President for the Committee of Kuzhittura. The system of compulsory vaccination has been extended to the towns of Kuzhittura, Vaikam, Parur and Tiruvalla. The new Municipal Bill, conferring considerably charged powers on Municipal Councils has been considered in detail by the Legislative Council and is now awaiting final reading. The question of the formation of Local Boards for the benefit of rural area is also under the consideration of Government.

Medical Department.—Steps have been taken for the opening of new dispensaries at Taikattuzeri and Cape Comorin, and a weekly branch dispensary has been opened at Santanpara in the Iligh range. The Fort Dispensary at Trivandrum has been raised to a hospital.

Department of Ayurveda.—The Department of Ayurveda has been thoroughly reorganised. The main features of the reorganisation are the revision of the curricula of studies in the Ayurveda Patasala on an up to date and scientific basis to suit modern requirements, the opening of a botanical garden for the cultivation of medicinal plants, and the establishment of an Ayurvedic Pharmacy and an Ayurvedic Hospital and Dispensary at Trivandrum. The Dispensary has been doing very useful work from the day of its opening on the 18th Karkadakam 1093, the number of out-patients treated during the first five months of 1094 reaching the high figure of 10,474. Till recently the Pharmacy merely supplied medicines for free distribution at the Dispensary, but arrangements have now been made for the sale of medicines to those who are willing to purchase them, during Vrischikam and Dhanu 1094, the first two months when it was in operation, medicines to the value of Rs. 448 were purchased from the Pharmacy.

General Statistics.—The number of recognised institutions in the State rose from 2,508 in 1092 to 2,828 in 1093 and their strength from 3,48,986 to 3,75,448, showing an increase of 320 schools and 26,462 scholars. On an average, there was one recognised school for every 2'5 square miles and 1,212 inhabitants, against 3'05 and 1,367 respectively in 1092. Private aided schools rose in number and strength from 1,264 and 1,19,280 to 1,394 and 1,35,697, and private unaided schools from 169 and 13,980 to 346 and 24,424 respectively. The non-departmental institutions thus increased in number by 21'4 per cent. and in strength by 20 per cent. As compared with these, the increase in the number of departmental schools from 1,075 to 1,082 was little more than nominal, while their strength showed a slight decline from 2,15,716 to 2,15,327. The increase in the number of private institutions and the steady accession to their strength tend to prove that the policy of the Government towards private agencies work in the field of education is bearing fruit and that popular confidence is growing in respect of those institutions. Of the total population of the State, 10'95 per cent. were attending recognised schools, while if the strength of unrecognised schools were also taken into account, the corresponding percentage would be 11'9. The percentage of pupils in recognised schools to the population of school-going age, calculated at the usual rate of 15 per cent. of the total population, rose from 67'9 to 72'8 and including the pupils of unrecognised institutions, from 78'3 to 82'4. There was no taluk, except Devicollam with a large floating population, which did not return a ratio of more than 50 per cent., and the figures undoubtedly reflect the highest credit on the Department.

Female Education.—The number of recognized institutions for girls increased from 343 to 352 and the number of girls under instruction from 1,01,288 to 1,13,997. The number of girls attending Colleges rose from 58 to 86 and those attending English schools from 3,019 to 3,348. There were 18 women students in the B.A. classes of the local Arts College, against 8 in 1092. An examination in needle work qualifying for the appointment of sewing mistresses was instituted, as also a Music Board for the guidance of the study of music in girls' schools.

Class Education.—Strenuous efforts were made for bringing under instruction more pupils belonging to the educationally backward communities and especially Malayala Brahmins, Ezhavas, Pulayas, Parayas, Mahomedans, and Kuravas. Ample facilities were afforded by Government for the spread of literacy among these classes.

As many as 2,048 schools had children of the depressed classes attending them, of which more than 1,000 schools admitted Pulaya and Paraya pupils for the first time in 1093, without any appreciable opposition from caste Hindus. The appointment of a Mahomedan inspecting officer was sanctioned. A Mahomedan Girls school was opened at Pulankudiyirippu and women teachers were appointed in the Mahomedan Girls' schools at Kottar and Tiruvitamkode. Malayala Brahmin girls were also attending schools in larger numbers. Half-fee concessions under the Code have been extended to Maravas and Kaniyars.

Expenditure.—The gross expenditure on education rose from Rs. 20,65,254 to Rs. 22,21,674 as already stated, showing an increase of 7·5 per cent. The receipts amounted to Rs. 5,65,343 and the net expenditure to Rs. 16,56,331, giving an average of about annas seven half per head of population. The net expenditure on English school education was Rs. 60,996, while that on vernacular school education was Rs. 11,63,504. More than 70 per cent of the net expenditure was thus incurred on primary education.

Proceedings of the Assembly

The Assembly met every day from the 17th to the 25th February. After the Dewan's opening address on the first day, discussion of on various matters were taken up, revenue, forest, public-works, sanitation, agriculture, sanitation, etc all being discussed separately on different days allotted to them. Representations from the elected members suggesting improvements were sympathetically received by the Dewan. Some strong criticisms were also made on the work of the State Geologist, and on the corruption practised by some of the subordinate officers.

In the course of his reply the Dewan said that the trend of the policy of His Highness' Government was to take the people into the confidence of Government gradually as they would have seen from the series of measures adopted from time to time for the last two decades. The latest proof of such a policy was the proposed expansion of the Legislative Council. The suggestions made by the members will be duly considered when further action is taken in pursuance of the announcement made for expanding the Legislative Council already engaging the attention of the Government.

The Dewan then said he would not let go certain observations made by the last two speakers attacking what they described subordinate officers drawing Rs. One hundred or thereabouts. The impression a foreigner without an intimate knowledge of Travancore of its officers will carry, if he were to listen to those remarks, will be that corruption was rampant in the State service and that people were groaning under the weight of oppression from officials, that Government or Heads of Departments under whom such officers serve are indifferent or unaware of a serious canker eating the vitals of the public service to the great prejudice of the public morality and safety of the people. The people in Travancore know what value should be attached to such random remarks made openly at the assembly for the information of foreigners. Again, he would strongly repudiate those statements. He was not prepared to say that every one in the public service was above board or was of an ideal character. There may be some of doubtful character but the member's sweeping remarks were untrue and unjustifiable. Before he came to Travancore his impression from information received from local people was that the public service required improvement, but he had to revise that impression materially now. As a result of his experience and close contact with the officials here and elsewhere he was decidedly of opinion that in comparison, the Travancore service has nothing to be ashamed of and does not suffer in comparison in any way seeing what human nature is generally in the affairs of the world anywhere.

This defence of the subordinate officers' conduct was received with applause. The assembly then dissolved.

Travancore Assembly--Sept. Session

An important meeting of the Legislative Council was held on 12th September, 1919, with Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, the Dewan, in the Chair. All the members, excepting Mr. Muckey, the member for the European Planters, and Mr. N. Subramanya Iyer, M.A., the Senior Dewan Peishkar, were present.

Before the regular proceedings began, the Secretary of the Council announced that the Animal Diseases Bill and the Plant Pests Bill had received Royal Sanction on the 9th August last and that they have become Law (XI and XII of 1095 M. E.) Then the Secretary read two telegrams sent from Alleppy to the Government, praying for the entire rejection of the Public Canals and Public Ferries Regulation Amendment Bill.

The Law Member introduced the Public Canals and Public Ferries Regulation Amendment Bill. In introducing this he said that the objects and reasons of the Bill are as follows :

It has been found necessary to bring the regulation into conformity with the Madras Act. Under the regulation all vessels that ply for hire have to be registered irrespective of the size and capacity of the vessel, while vessels, however big, need, if they do not ply for hire, no registration. It is thought desirable that every vessel unless exempted by Government should be either licensed or registered irrespective of the fact whether it plies for hire or not. Section 4 of the Regulation has therefore been modified. The Government however will have the power to exempt any vessel or class of vessels from the operation of the Section. Chapter V deals with duties of carriers of goods and Chapter VI with the duties of the owner or master of a vessel when any passenger leaves inadvertently any property in the vessel. Steam and motor vessels form the chief means of conveyance in public canals. It has not been found possible to have an effective control over these vessels under the existing Regulation. Provisions specially applicable to steam and motor vessels have therefore been incorporated in the Bill on the lines of the Inland Steam Vessels Act I of 1917. Every steam vessel is required to possess a certificate of inspection as to its being in proper condition. Every master, sorang or engine-driver is required to possess certificates of competency or service for his respective duties. Mr. C. Raman Thampi, non official Member, opposed

certain portions of the Bill. The Bill, as proposed by the Legal Member, was then referred to a Select Committee composed of Messrs C. Raman Thampi, Raja Rama Rao, Kuriyan, Subba Iyer and A. G. Menon.

With the passing of the Registration of Ships Bill, the proceedings came to a close. Before the Council dispersed, the Dewan addressed the Council and delivered a long and very instructive speech giving a short history of the Local Legislative Council.

The following are extracts from the Dewan's speech.

Constitutional Reforms in Travancore.

"This meeting is the last to be held under the existing Legislative Council Regulation. This regulation will cease to be in force on the 18th October 1919, and a new and important chapter will then open in the history of constitutional reforms in Travancore. The enlargement of the Legislative Council on a representative basis and the extension of its functions on a deliberative plan will mark a definite epoch in the political progress of the country. There has been no more momentous occasion in the annals of this Council, and I shall not be justified in passing it by without offering a few remarks on the scope and objects of the new Regulation which will guide its destinies in the future.

[After tracing the history of the Council the Dewan said:]

"Ever since the institution of the Shri Mulam Popular Assembly in 1904, representations have been almost continuously made for the enlargement of the scope and usefulness of the Council. As early as 1905, one of the members of the Assembly urged the need for conferring on the Assembly the right to elect a fair proportion of non-official members to the Council and for empowering the latter to interpellate the Government on matters of public interest. At the eleventh Session of the Assembly at which I had the privilege of presiding for the first time, the prayer for the expansion of the Council was repeated with greater insistence, and since then, I have had ample opportunities of gauging the volume and intensity of popular opinion in this respect. The representations made at successive sessions of the Assembly were duly submitted by me for the consideration of His Highness the Maharaja, and His Highness has now been graciously pleased to grant the prayer of his subjects by the promulgation of Regulation I of 1905.

As you will observe, this Regulation has been passed by His Highness the Maharaja direct, instead of through the Council. The supreme legislative authority in every country vests in the Sovereign,

and the Native States of India, governed by Ruling Chiefs and Princes, form no exception to this rule. The characteristic features of prominent Indian States like Travancore, as has been authoritatively pointed out in the recent Joint Report of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India on Indian constitutional reforms, are "the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice." So far as His Highness the Maharaja's powers of internal sovereignty, including the prerogative of legislation, are concerned, they are practically absolute and have never undergone any constitutional modification. To those in this Council who are students of constitutional law, I need not explain at any length the fundamental difference between sovereign or superior and non-sovereign or subordinate law-making bodies. The British Indian Legislatures are, for example, subordinate law-making bodies. The general characteristics of such bodies are, according to Professor Dicey, the existence of laws affecting their constitution which they must obey and cannot change, the formation of a marked distinction between the ordinary laws which they promulgate and the fundamental or constitutional laws by which they are governed, and the presence of a person or body of persons, judicial or otherwise, having authority to pronounce upon the validity of the laws passed by them. The sovereign or superior law-making body in respect of British India is the Crown and the two Houses of Parliament put together. Similarly, in Travancore, His Highness the Maharaja is the sovereign or superior law-making authority and this council is only a non-sovereign or subordinate legislative body. It is a well-known rule of law that no subordinate legislature has the power to alter its own constitution. His Highness the Maharaja, as the sovereign legislative authority, can alone do this in this State. The fact that a different course of action was adopted on a former occasion does in no way affect this undoubted prerogative.

I shall now take up the provisions of the new Regulation for consideration. The maximum strength of the Council fixed by the new Regulation is twenty-five. This is a substantial advance on the existing maximum of fifteen and does not appear to me inadequate for a comparatively small State like Travancore, at any rate for some years to come. For the time being it is proposed to constitute the new Council with twenty-four members, of whom thirteen will be officials and eleven non-officials. An official majority has thus been provided for; but it is only a bare and in no sense an overwhelming majority. Eight out of the eleven non-official seats are thrown open for election, four by the general electorate, one for each of the four Revenue Divisions of the State, Devicoolam being tacked

on to Kottayam, one by the jenmies, one by the European planting community, one by the merchants, traders and factory owners, and one by the non-official members of Town Improvement Committees. This is the first time in the history of this Council when the people of Travancore will be allowed to have their voices heard here through their chosen and accredited representatives. This is also the first time, as far as I am aware, when Government in any part of India will, to quote the words of the late Marquis of Salisbury "give representation not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength and vital forces of the whole population." The system which required delegates to be elected, not by the people directly, but through intermediate bodies, is not free from defects, and it is His Highness the Maharaja's pleasure to confer upon his subjects the valuable privilege of direct representation in the Council. From the draft rules for the election of non-official members published in the Gazette you will see that the franchise fixed is sufficiently liberal to secure equitable representation of the different classes and interests. Under the qualifications now insisted on, it is the Government's hope that the Council will faithfully reflect the leading elements of the population. The Jenmies who form an important section of the land owning class have been given an independent member. This section, though numerically small, has considerable vested interest in the country and it is necessary to allot to it a share in the responsibilities of legislation. The European planting community has acquired considerable landed and other interests in the State and it is only fair to give that community an opportunity to safeguard those interest by the return of a duly constituted representative to the Council. One member has been allowed to represent industrial and commercial interests. The return of a representative on the recommendation of the majority of non-official members of Town Improvement Committees is a concession eminently deserved by those growing popular institutions. The category of elected members is thus exhausted. The remaining three non-official members have to be nominated by Government with due regard to the interests of unrepresented minorities. The two salient features of the Regulation are the rights of budget discussion and interpellation. Hitherto the people have only been associated with the work of occasional legislation; hereafter it will be their privilege to participate in the work of actual every day administration.

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge that the deliberations and discussions of this Council have so far been characterised by admirable dignity and adequate sense of responsibility on the

part of its members. The powers of moving resolutions and asking supplementary questions have not now been granted to the Council. The number of questions which the members may put at each session of the Council has also been, for the time being, limited to three. If, however, the powers now vested in the members for the first time are exercised by them in the same spirit of forbearance, moderation and practical good sense as hitherto, there is no reason why they will not further advance on the path of rational improvement in the existing system of popular Government. In this connection I would recall the memorable words of one of the greatest of living democratic statesmen, I mean Lord Morley, who says: "Government is no chronometer with delicate apparatus of springs, wheels, balances and escapements. It is a rough, heavy bulk of machinery that we must get to work as best as we can. It cannot be adjusted in an instant, or it may be in a generation, to spin and weave new material into a well-finished cloth."

Above all, believe me when I say that in their Sovereign, His Highness the Maharaja, the people of Travancore have a guardian angel on whose abounding love, generous sympathy and lofty statesmanship they may ever continue to place implicit reliance. This Legislative Council is his spontaneous gift. Replying to one of the addresses presented to him in 1888, His Highness said, referring to this very institution which he had just then created: "The world moves forward and we must move on with it or it will leave us behind. In this latter part of the nineteenth century, neither princes nor people can afford to ignore this progressive tendency," I have not the least doubt that, if the deliberations of the non-official members of this Council are marked by a clear perception of their responsibility and a true appreciation of the duty which they owe to their Sovereign, the same large-hearted generosity which prompted His Highness to institute this Council and enlarge its usefulness from time to time, will also induce him in due course to confer upon them further privileges. So far as I am concerned, I feel thankful for having, in however humble and indirect a manner, been the instrument of His Highness the Maharaja in the inauguration of this reform. I anticipate only the most beneficent results from the concessions now accorded to the people. I am sanguine that the loyal subjects of His Gracious Highness will be able to appreciate the true value of these priceless gifts and so cherish them that they may redound to the lasting benefit and glory of Travancore."

The Nawanagar State.

In July 1919 His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar instituted a Council for the better administration of his State. H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar was requested to lay the foundation stone of the new Council Hall. In the Durbar that was held for the purpose H. H. the Jamsahib Ranjit Singhji said in the course of his opening Speech that he had, according to the time-honoured culture of his Aryan ancestors instituted an advisory council composed of his subjects, whose advice and opinion he proposed to invite regularly on matters connected with social, industrial and economic progress of his subjects. In indicating the constitution of the advisory council His Highness said that their Highnesses did not belong to a school that idolized democracy for democracy's sake and left but a thin line between anarchy and all-men-rule (mobocracy). They were advocates of popular rule in the sense that weighty, stable and reasoned public opinion should be at the back of a strong, beneficent paternal Government. It was not difficult to work out a constitution that aims at securing the representation and advice of such interests as were stable, sound and trustworthy, intellectually and morally. His Highness then outlined the constitution of the council now inaugurated. It would consist of 57 members of whom 19 were to be officials, 19 pure agriculturists and 19 representing commercial and professional classes. Thus officials were in a minority of one to two. The council would meet twice a year generally and would deliberate on matters referred to it by the Durbar. The Jamsahib then expressed his thankfulness to the Maharaja of Alwar and his brother princes for the success of the Princes' conference last year, at Delhi for which he acted as the Hony. General Secretary in the absence of the Maharaja of Bikaner.

H.H. the Maharaja of Alwar.

After laying the foundation stone of the hall His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar said in the course of his speech :—"The world's mind is agitated both in the west as well as in the east and it is attempting to settle down to new conditions, but it cannot be satisfied until those conditions are far in advance of those that existed before the great world movement began. India in its turn is also involved in moulding its destiny and the air is surcharged with electric excite-

ment over reforms in British India, and reforms in Indian states. Some people maintain that we have no connection with British India; nevertheless I cannot conceive how as Indians we can remain interested spectators of what is going to happen outside our very doors. As Indians we cannot but rejoice at the prospects that are before our countrymen of making a substantial advance, as we hope it will be, towards the ultimate goal of political salvation which has been laid before us by the great people in whose hands lies at present the destiny of our country. As Indians we cannot but hope and pray that that advance may be rapid and on sound and progressive lines. What the exact path is going to be may not be our direct concern. As to the exact method some of us may agree with it; others may not. There must be details on which some must always disagree for that is only human nature. I certainly can claim to be no great student of democracy and so cannot presume to preach the precepts of a doctrine with which I myself am not thoroughly familiar, but what I can claim, however, for the sake of our order, is to pray that whatever line may be chalked out for India's destiny my mother country will rise at no distant date to that position which will enable her to be placed on a position of equality with the other great dominions within the British Empire.

The Bhavnagar State

The annual administration report of the Bhavnagar State for 1918—1919 was issued in July 1919. It is highly instructive in as much as it shows how rapidly progress may be made in the complicated machinery of Government when it is in the hands of the Indians themselves.

The State has its own line of administration. The Maharajah H. H. Raol Shri Bhavsinhji still reserves to himself a good deal of personal rule, though he has a Dewan and though decentralization of authority on the part of the heads of departments has been completely established; the supervision of them all being the responsibility of the Dewan—the system appears to have worked successfully. There is a complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions in this State. A feature of the administration is the absence of Europeans in every department of the State service, except in the department of the Bhavnagar State railway. But the management of the State railway and its branches is kept entirely separate from the other departments of the State. It is

carried on by expert officers appointed by the Durbar and is under the control of a committee of officers called the Bhavnagar State Railway Board, the president of which is the Dewan with two European members and an Indian Secretary. The controlling staff of Europeans do not number more than 4 or 5. Bhavnagar apparently is not a Native State of the type referred to by Lord Curzon, in which a host of Europeans settle and obtain nourishment to the detriment of the people of the State. Western Education, Engineering, Agriculture, Police, Sanitation, Medical matters, Manufactures and Industries—such as they are in such a small state and Criminal and Civil Justice are features of the administration carried on, and carried on successfully, without European interference or supervision. Among other noticeable events during the year was the loyal support given by Bhavnagar to the British Empire, in the War loan, in contributing to war and relief funds, and in placing the State's Imperial Service Lancers at the disposal of the military authorities. A detailed account of the services of this body of troops is incorporated in the report. The seasonal conditions were unfavourable as was general all over India, and measures had to be taken to relieve the distress. The export trade of the State amounted to Rs. 3,66,26,371 or about Rs. 32 lakhs less than the previous record year. The year under review attained a record in import trade of Rs. 2,07,07,457. It is necessary to mention one important departure in the administration—viz., the constitution of a representative Assembly and its first meeting in October. The Dewan expressed the hope that the real usefulness of the Assembly will manifest itself in time. Some of the questions asked to the President of the Assembly at the October meeting were admitted to have led to reform in the working of various departments.

Political Movement

**Political & Quasi --Political
Movements in India
1919**

The I. C. S. Revolt.

Scarcely had the reverberations of the National Congress subsided into distant echoes, political atmosphere in India resounded with news of the I. C. S. revolt against the proposed constitutional Reforms in India. The average Englishman, whether official or commercial, have been too long and too well known in India to be seriously mistaken for that rare type of people who while dominating India are capable of placing the interests of Indians before their own. The art of "breaking into the heart the promise uttered into the ear" has now become a traditional classic in Anglo-Indian life, and it is no wonder that with the march of times Indians are seeing more and more through the promises and protestations so lavishly made by the ruling class. The virulent opposition to the Reforms of non-official Anglo-Indians as a body was wellknown as it was conducted openly, frankly, in public, from the press and the platform. But the subterranean mine-laying of their confreres of the I. C. S. was not known to the Indian public so well, though a strong suspicion was always there. In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report we read: "we regard it as a libel on the Indian Civil Service as a body to say that they have resisted or will resist the policy announced last August. They have welcomed it, because no one knew better than they how badly a declaration of policy was needed; and they will carry it out with determination just as they have always carried out the policy laid down for them."—Another clever camouflage!

On the 20th December 1918 the *Searchlight* of Behar unearthed a secret circular issued by the secretary of the Behar Civil Service Association which purported to unite the I.C.S. men of the province into an organised body to deal with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform proposals. As the Lieutenant-Governor of the province was a member of the Civil Service, it was presumed that the underground political agitation of these government servants was begun under high auspices, or at least without the opposition of the local authorities. The Behar Circular (more widely known as the Milne Circular) carried a hint that similar associations with similar objects were being organised all over India. It was not long before another such Circular was discovered and published by the *New India* of Madras. This was the famous Memorandum of the Madras I.C.S. Madras, it would be remembered, had not yet escaped from the oppressive aegis of the highly reactionary Government of

Lord Pentland, and its I. C. S. still smarting from the snubbing received from the Sec. of State in the Besant episode spurted out its bitterness in secret. It raised an equally bitter storm of political controversy. Soon after the existence of a similar association in Bengal came to be known, and had not the storm already raised made the "mutineers" of other provinces wary, the mental pabulum of the much-lauded "Heaven-born Service" would have been brought into a glittering perspective. As the Madras memorandum clearly shows, the whole subterranean agitation of the 'honourable and loyal' I.C.S. men was to make a concerted attempt to overawe the British Cabinet and the Secretary of State into an acquiescence to their view as opposed to the famous Declaration of August '17.

This famous epistle is a landmark in the history of I.C.S. rule in British India and is reproduced in full from the New India (Madras) of 11th January 1919.

It may be remarked in passing that this document was "confidential" and when it was made public and opened to public criticism by the Adyar Journal, the Anglo-Indian papers lashed themselves into a fury but one of them, the Madras Mail, soon after took revenge by publishing in its turn another "confidential" document to serve as a counterblast (see p. 220).

Extract from Minutes of a Meeting Held at the Madras Club on 29th November, 1918.

PRESENT :—The Hon. Mr. Buckley (presiding), Mr. Justice Phillips, the Hon. Messrs. Couchman, Knapp, and Graham, Messrs. Moir, Molony, Mackay, Henderson, Watson, Nobes, Pate, Painter, Noyce, Gray, Stuart, Hilton Brown, Boag, E. Graham, P. L. Moor.

Proposed by Mr. Knapp that an I.C.S. Association be formed for the Presidency to promote the interests of the Service in the Presidency and that all members on the Madras list be invited to join it.

Seconded by Mr. Couchman. Carried unanimously.

The following Committee were elected, with power to add to their number : The Hon. Mr. Buckley (President). Mr. Justice Phillips, Mr. Moir, Mr. Hilton Brown, with Messrs. Pate and Boag as Joint Secretaries.

Rough Draft intended as the Basis of a Memorial

1. One of the most striking features of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report is the fundamental change which it contemplates in the prospects, functions and status of the Indian Civil Service. At no

stage in the evolution of the scheme was the Service consulted as to its readiness to accept conditions so entirely different from those which its members understood awaited them, when they signed their covenants; and, as it is to the service that the authors of the report look for the successful realisation of their proposals, we trust we may reasonably claim that before the scheme is put into effect our feelings in the matter may be fully considered.

2. We do not intend now to criticise the proposals regarded merely as a scheme for administering British India; but as a reference to the subject in the English Press suggest that the I.C.S., as a whole approves and even welcomes the scheme, we think it desirable to say that it is not so.

Prospects of Promotion

3. We would first refer to the diminution of our prospects of promotion which the scheme entails—

(i) One of the two posts of Members of Council now held by Members of the I.C.S., is to be abolished at once, and the course of evolution foreshadowed in paragraph 260 of the report points to the removal of the second post from our reach in a few years;

(ii) 33 per cent of the superior posts of the service are to be recruited for in India at once, and this proportion is to be increased by one half every year (paragraph 317). The public Service Commission had already recommended that 25 per cent. of the superior posts should be thrown open to Natives of India and that Commission specified the manner in which this number of posts should be filled. The joint report however is silent as to the manner in which the still further increased proportion of Indians is to be recruited, and we are necessarily somewhat in the dark in criticising the proposal.

So far as this recruitment of 33 per cent. is to be effected by the admission of men to the bottom of the list we can obviously make no complaint on personal grounds; it is the prospect of the appointment of members of the Provincial Civil Service and of the Bar to superior posts now reserved for the I.C.S., that we view with concern. The orders now in force limit the posts to which persons not members of the I.C.S. can be appointed to one-sixth of the whole. It is true that the authorities have statutory power to appoint any Indian to any post reserved for the I.C.S. but the existence of section 98 of the Government of India Act 1915, and the safeguards against improper use of this power embodied in Section 99, have led to the belief that the risk of serious prejudice to our prospects by the use of this power was small. The present scheme however renders impossible for us now to disregard this risk. This is

particularly the case with judicial officers. The Public Services Commission had already recommended that the number of judicial posts, out of a total of 22, which should no longer be reserved for the Civil Service should be raised from 4 to 9, and we apprehend that the proposals of the present report will still further reduce the number of superior judicial posts to which the I.C.S. can aspire. We are not certain whether the Judges recruited from the Bar and the Provincial Civil Service, are to be regarded as members of the I.C.S., and will thus be qualified for appointments to those seats on the High Court Bench which are by statute reserved for Civilian Judges. If this is so, the prospects of the Judicial Branch of the service will be further and most seriously prejudiced.

Threatened Loss of Superior posts

4. The loss of so many superior posts will be aggravated by the well-known fact that Indians rarely retire before they attain the age of superannuation and practically never take the furlough to which they are entitled, except on medical certificate. A comparison of the proportion of the I.C.S. in Madras on furlough in May 1914—before War restrictions were imposed—with the proportion of the Deputy Collectors on furlough at the same date is significant. In the I. C. S. 32 officers were on long leave out of a total strength of 178, while only 9 members of the Provincial Executive Service were on such leave out of a total of 151. As a result of this difference of habits the introduction of more Indians into superior posts will reduce the chances of acting appointments and postpone the period at which an I.C.S. Officer may expect to attain posts of real responsibility. The Royal Commissioners held that any member of the I.C.S. should be entitled to expect to attain such a post by the age of 30. So far from this ideal being realised in future, it seems likely, in the conditions stated, that many of us will have to retire without having held posts of responsibility at all.

5. In paragraph 15 Annexure X to their Report the Public Service Commission referred to the necessity of protecting the 'vested interests' of the junior members of the I.C.S. and when as the result of the Public Services Commission of 1886 the system of "listing" Civil Service posts as open to Indians was inaugurated, much care was taken to see that the interests of officers then in the service were not prejudiced. The present report speaks of preserving for the members of the Service any rights or privileges implied in the conditions of their appointment but is silent as to what it considers these rights and privileges to be and as to the manner in which the necessary safeguards are to be provided. The matter we presume will form the subject of further enquiry. We

feel justified by the procedure of 1886 in urging that in equity none of the existing superior appointments which are now reserved for members of the I.C.S., should be given to persons recruited from outside until all the present members of the Service have in their turn either attained such an appointment or have retired.

Protecting "Vested Interests"

6. We have not over looked the proposal of the authors of the Report that "something substantial should be done in order to improve the conditions of service and to secure the Europeans recruitment which we regard as essential," or the possibility that an improvement in pay may counteract the financial loss in which the scheme otherwise threatens to involve us. But it is not clear to us whether any improvements that may be contemplated are not intended rather for the future than for the present members of the service. In any case the changes foreshadowed in the report represent no advance on those which four years ago were held by the Public Services Commission after elaborate enquiry to be necessary to meet the great rise in the cost of living and but for the War would probably have been introduced irrespective of any loss of prospects before the present enquiry was started. They cannot therefore be looked upon as a compensation for any loss of appointments and consequent diminished chances of promotion; still less can they be regarded as a set-off against that further reduction of status, influence and dignity by which we are threatened and which we propose now to examine.

The I. C. S. as it is

7. The present position of the Civil Service is described in paragraph 126 in these words :

"The system has in the main depended for its effectiveness on the experience, wisdom and energy of the services themselves. It has for the most part been represented by the Indian Civil Service which though having little to do with the technical departments of Government, has for over one hundred years in practice had the administration entrusted to its hands, because with the exception of the offices of the Governor-General, Governors and some Members of the Executive Councils, it has held practically all the places involving superior control. It has been in effect much more of a Government Corporation than of a purely Civil Service in the English sense. It has been made a reproach to the Indian Civil Service that it regards itself as the Government; but a view which strikes the critic familiar with the Parliamentary Government as arrogant is little more than a condensed truth. It has long been a

tradition of the service that men in it are entitled not merely to administer but to advise. From the outset of their career they have been habituated to the exercise of responsibility; they have had to take important decisions of their own in emergencies; and they have acquired at first hand, not merely from precedent or prescription, stock of practical knowledge which they have often used and been encouraged to contribute to common purpose. Because they have looked forward to attaining positions where they could decide or help to decide policy, they have, within the restraints imposed by discipline and good order, been accustomed to express their ideas freely as to India's needs, and to criticise and advise a Government which has in essentials been one with themselves."

Irksome Indian Ideals

We accept this description as generally correct. That the changes will be considerable the authors of the report recognise, though, as they themselves admit (para. 317), they cannot foresee the reorganisation of the Civil Service that will have to take place. They recognise that the change will be "irksome" to some; an understatement which proves that they have failed to realise how completely the position of the Civilian will be changed under the new regime. In the sphere of Provincial Government, with which we are most familiar and most concerned, Civilians will no longer "look forward to attaining positions where they could decide or help to decide policy"; as already stated, one of the two seats in the Governor's Council to which they can now aspire is to be abolished and the disappearance of the other will follow. The Government will no longer "in essentials be one with themselves." The majority of the members of the composite structure which it is proposed to set up will be Indians—chiefly if not entirely Indian politicians—who, as the Report admits, will view the problems of administration from a different standpoint. Aiming, as they admittedly will, at ruling India in a manner consistent with Indian ideas (para. 147) they will be impatient of the criticisms or advice of the "foreign" bureaucrat whatever his experience or his claim to be heard. One important factor in the position and influence hitherto held by the Civilian will thus disappear and his role will be merely to execute a policy in the framing of which he and the service have no longer any effective voice. Even in that narrow field his position will be insecure. As the head of a department or as a District Officer he will find himself constrained to give effect to policies diametrically opposed to the British ideals in which he has been trained and the upholder of which, if we understand the Report aright, he is expected to be. He can hardly be expected to

responsibility to the public for the results of orders thus forced upon him. In the end he will become a mere machine for recording and carrying out a policy of which he will often disapprove, a process which will promote neither his own self-respect and interests nor the good of government. The difficulty of his position will be aggravated by the fact that the orders which he will be called upon to execute will not always be dictated by a genuine belief that they make for good government; they will as often be prompted by motives of a political or personal nature. A Minister's tenure of office will be dependent not on the support of a responsible governing chamber, but on the chances of his own re-election to that chamber. Electorates may be small and every vote will count, and an Indian Minister will not be in any way peculiar if he employs every possible means to secure the suffrages of individuals or of small classes of electors. To take some of the every day incidents of district administration: land is needed for the extension of a Hospital or a School but the owner is unwilling to see it acquired; the people of a village desire the disafforestation of a valuable forest; a public servant is dismissed for flagrant misconduct. In all these cases the pressure exercised on the Minister by persons who have votes to obtain a reversal of the local officer's decision will be severe, and the temptation to yield to it, rather than risk the loss of their votes, will be great.

The Inconvenient Minister.

8. It may be argued that ministers will be too much occupied with the larger questions of policy to be able or inclined to meddle in the details of District or Departmental administration and that the Civilian Officer, for the short time that he survives, will be left to carry on his work undisturbed. We hope it may be so but have no confidence that it will be so. The report itself (vide passage quoted with approval in para. 137 and also para. 146) lays stress on the power which the elector will have of compelling the attention of his representatives on pain of withdrawal of his vote, and contemplate this power being used for personal ends. Past experience shows that no subject has been too petty or too parochial to be ventilated in the Legislative Council, and when a new incentive is added, in the shape of a threatened loss of power or office, the tendency on the part of the Minister to meddle in the details of administration will, we fear, be aggravated rather than diminished.

Our "Less Worthy" Life.

9. In these circumstances we find it difficult to accept the view that our life will be not less worthy (para. 327). Our task, it is said, will be to train the men who are to relieve us of much of our burden.

There is to be 'more partnership' which means for the official extra work, explanations, consultations and attempts to carry with him those who one day will do the work themselves'. Who they are that we are thus to educate is not clear. The persons who are to succeed to our functions are on the one hand the Indian Ministers and on the other an increasing number of Indian Executive Officers. To educate the Ministers, who will be our masters, is clearly not practicable; the Executive Officers will be either independent of us or subordinate to us, and presumably it will be not expected that in dealing with subordinates we should persuade rather than command. If this role of educator means anything, it means the unlimited power of offering advice to a Government which will either ignore or resent it.

Power and Influence Gone!

10. What then will be the position of the Civilian Officer? His advice will no longer be regarded; his responsibility to the public will disappear; and even in the management of the daily affairs of his district his power and influence will have gone. The raiyat of the future is enjoined to take his troubles and make his request rather to his elected Councillor than to the official representative of the Government. The District Officer will never give a decision without feeling that it may be arbitrarily revoked from above. Add the fact, admitted in the report (para 177), that the policy of the Indian leaders with whom the power will rest will be naturally, and from their standpoint, justifiably, to weaken and discredit an alien Executive, and it is obvious that the position of the Civilian will soon become intolerable. The report promises him support and protection, but fails to indicate how these are to be provided. The process of harassment will be one of pin-pricks, and it may rarely be that a case will present features sufficiently striking to force the attention of an Indianised local Government, a Government of and in fully occupied with large matters of policy, or a distant House of Commons.

The Solitary Englishman and his Woes.

11. To the diminution of such material advantages as we now possess, we have already referred; we would turn for a moment to the increased domestic disabilities which await us. It is the avowed policy of the Report (para, 314) to admit to each grade of the various services at least as many Indians as Europeans, the result of which will necessarily be that in many mufassal stations there will be found a solitary English official who for months together will never enjoy the society of a fellow-countryman. To the Englishman the conditions will be depressing; for his wife they will be almost unbearable. The suggestion that the ordinary educated Indian will

supply the void is so far contrary to the plain facts of experience as to need no refutation ; nor will the insinuation (para. 347 of the Report), that the fault lies with the European, help in any way to improve the social relations of the two races. Another change which will bear hardly on the Englishman is in the matter of medical attendance. Members of the I. C. S. come to India with the idea that they and their families would have the benefit of medical attendance at the hands of a service composed mainly, at least, of Europeans. Already, we believe, it is found exceedingly difficult to recruit Englishmen to the I.M.S. and with the formation of the Civil Medical Service which the Public Services Commission recommended and with the increasing unattractiveness for Englishmen of service of any kind in India, it may safely be assumed that very few Englishmen will hereafter seek a medical career in India. While allowing that the Indian practitioner often possesses skill we deny that he can take the place of the English doctor, and it is a well-known fact that Englishwomen as a rule intensely dislike being treated by Indians. (11)

Domestic, Social and Public.

12. The conditions under which the Civilian will serve will thus differ fundamentally from those in force or in prospect when he entered the service. In his private life he will find himself deprived of such few domestic and social amenities as he had hitherto enjoyed ; in his public capacity he will be no longer the trusted servant and adviser of a British administration inspired by British principles, but will become the mere chattel of an Indian Government with aims and ideals not merely differing from but antagonistic to those which he has inherited and in which he has been trained. Instead of the British Government, the Indian people and their political representatives will be his immediate masters. His status and influence will have disappeared ; self-respect and *esprit de corps* also and with them the prospects which have been mainly instrumental hitherto in attracting men to a career which offers few material advantages and many physical, domestic and social disabilities.

Either no change or give "a chance of escape."

Equity therefore demands that the present Civilian should be given a chance of escape from an engagement the conditions of which, through no fault of his own, are to be so radically charged, and if the view is to be accepted that the experience and guidance of trained civilians cannot at present be dispensed, expediency requires that firm and definite steps should be taken to make tolerable the positions of those who remain. What we would ask is ;—

(1) that we may be told in explicit terms what is meant by the substantial improvements in the conditions of service (para 318) and the special measures of protection (para 325) to which the authors of the Report allude, and whether the improvements (para 318) are to benefit us or only our successors ;

(2) that such of us as are not prepared to make themselves (!!) pawns in what is termed in the Report 'one of the greatest political experiments ever undertaken in the world's history' should be given the option of retiring on pensions calculated with reference to their service and loss of prospect, or should be offered posts similar to those they now hold either at Home or in other parts of the British Empire ; and

(3) that the pensions of all members of the Service should be guaranteed to them by the British Parliament.

The Counterblast

Thus the document dispelled the last vestige of doubt as to the deliberate attitude of the majority of the Civil Servants towards the Reforms. High officials were in the movement ; the "Committee" was packed with "Hon'ble" members of government, including a High Court Judge. And what was most interesting, one of the Hon'ble gentlemen who was soon to work as a co-opted member on one of the Reform Committees, was one of the prime mutineers ! So much for the service honesty and so for much ministerial protestations.

The publication of the memorandum by all the Indian News papers carried the blessed news of the revolt of the all too-loyal I. C. S. men to every Indian home. Indians had not till then heard of the preposterous argument that public servants, or the I. C. S men are, had to be "consulted" as to their "readiness" to accept a policy laid down by King and Parliament !! And the picture of the solitary English wife of the I. C. S. rotting in a dreary Mofussil station without a white doctor to give unto her white pitions evoked the merriest pity and commiseration ! The whole controversy was gradually becoming a nuisance when a Madras Anglo-Indian paper published the following counterblast.

Mr. Galletti's Reply to the Madras Circular

DEAR PATE,—I am willing to join an Association to further the interests of the I. C. S., but it must not mix our interests up with politics. I am for a joint representation about how far the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals will affect our interests and what steps should be taken to safeguard them ; but you will never get agreement on any representation that does not leave politics alone.

I do not agree that a representation should be sent on the lines of the rough draft you enclose. I think you are on the wrong track altogether. Your draft is just one long, dismal whine. It is full of political innuendo : it is pævish, not to say mutinous in tone.

You really must not send a memorial prophesying that the Mon'agu-Chelmsford scheme can't possibly work and would make our position intolerable. You don't know till it is tried and. I for one do not believe it. The French Prefects have to deal with ministers and deputies, just as we should under the scheme. But their position is not worse than that of Madras Collectors. It is much better. They have no paltry Board of Revenue over them. They are not a bit afraid of the ministers and deputies. The boot is on the other leg. What I should propose, in the interests of the service, is that the collectors should be put in the position of the French Prefect. The first step is to abolish the Board, which will not be wanted when there are a lot of ministers. The next step is to increase the state in which Collectors live and to reduce their routine work (routine work is undignified and we must have time to educate the Indian politician by our illuminating conversation.) France Prefects live free of course, in fully furnished palatial residences provided by Government ; they are given motor-cars at Government expense ; they are given a large entertaining allowance. The routine work is done by a Prefect's council of officials. I should want a council of this kind to consist of three Deputy Collectors at headquarters or two Deputy Collectors and an Assistant. I had one going at interval when I was at Tinnevely in 1917 and it worked very well. Masterman ran the council and routine orders went out in the name of the Assistant Collector-in-charge when I was doing Jamabandi or otherwise fully occupied with important work.

The French Prefect's entertaining allowance is very handsome. It is usually, I believe, about cent for cent of his salary. The Prefect of the Seine gets, I believe, an allowance of several times his salary. He is the biggest man in Paris next to the President of the Republic. The Prefect of Rome gets an entertaining allowance of three times his salary. He also lives in a palace in far more state than the ministers of the Italian Kingdom at Rome.

I should say we might point out that, in order to hold our own with ministers and preserve the dignity of our position, we must, when the scheme comes into force, be surrounded by much more pomp and state than we are at present. I would ask for much better residences, free furniture and conveyances, and entertaining allowances more or less on the French scale. You might see at once if you could get hold of the exact figures from the French Consulate or from Pondicherry. I shall be in favour of an entertaining allowance

equal to full salary at Madras and Ootacamund. This the State must pay if we are in future to dispense oriental hospitality and frequently entertain the Indian public; which will be one of our new duties under the scheme.

I should say a memorial with concrete proposals of this sort and leaving out politics altogether is what is wanted. How can you expect me, for instance, to subscribe to a remark:—"Such of us as are not prepared to make themselves (sic) pawns" etc., when I don't believe we would be making ourselves (or themselves?) pawns, etc? I suppose the grammar is due to your being beside yourselves with indignation when you composed this exquisite phrase.

I shall print this as a counterblast to your manifesto. The Moderate men will all agree with me. *We missal moderates are not going to be rushed into a White Mutiny by a bique of head-quarter extremists.*

The memorial must not be drafted by an extremist, but by a moderate; and not by a junior member of the service, but by a man in whom we all have confidence. I suggest Ayling in whose moderation and judgment (and also grammar) I for one have confidence. He could be given two assessors, one pessimist and anti-Report, the other optimist and pro-Report. It is quite possible that an out-and-out supporter of the Report Scheme does not exist in the Madras Commission. If so, I may be ready to represent the pro-report view, though as a matter of fact I am not for that scheme, but for my own, which I thought out as long ago as 1902, when I started the Andhra movement, and have been working for it quietly ever since, notably in 1908 when the Madras Government did me the honour to entrust me with the drafting of their Reforms despatch and adopted a part of my scheme. But I am for a move forward and I am optimistic about the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme's effect on our position. Therefore, I should not mind serving as pro-Report assessor. Also, being the son of an Italian Deputy I can give firsthand information about the relations between prefects and deputies and ministers and their relative importance.

Lastly, as to the demand for one rupee, I am not going to subscribe until a committee and office-bearers have been elected by all members of the service. I do not admit for a moment that the present committee represent me or anyone else except the few persons who chose them. I can only admit that it is a provisional committee and you as a provisional secretary. Before I subscribe, I must have a hand in appointing the committee and office-bearers and what the subscription shall be.

Yours sincerely,
A. GALLETT.

This letter seemed to have been circulated to all I. C. S. men, and its publication placated the moderate section of Indian opinion and gradually had a quietening effect on public agitation.

It showed at least that all I. C. S. men were not like "Dear Mr. Pate", and that there really existed a body of I. C. S. "head-quarter extremists" who were far different from the angels the I. C. S. are declared to be, and much too mindful of sordid self like all mortals.

A Canadian Parallel.

In this connection, the following note from the pen of Mr. Bernard Houghton, another I. C. S. man (retired), contributed to *INDIA*, the Congress-organ in England, will be read with interest.

"Far away from India, and eighty years ago, two peoples in the same land stood face to face, with hatred in their hearts and on their lips the language of bitter vituperation. Differences of language, race, custom, and religion were poisoned by social cleavage and a deep political feud. The one race politically supreme, held in its hands not only the Government but also the banks and greater trading concerns. The other, far more numerous, but debarred in their own country from all power and real political rights, nursed their grievances in sullenness and rancour, whilst thwarting, so far as in them lay, every activity of the dominant race. Here was indeed a house divided against itself. In place of enterprise there reigned stagnation; class hatred usurped the place of patriotism; trade, public works, education all languished.

"Such was the dolorous picture presented in 1835 by the English and French in Canada. It was Lord Durham who in his statesman-like Report of 1835 struck to the earth the evil system of privilege on the one hand and of tutelage on the other. It was Lord Elgin who so courageously carried the new policy into action. Owing to that Report the system of tutelage in the interests of the English ascendancy party was replaced by one of Self-Government. For all there was equality of political rights. Responsible Government by the parliamentary majority became the keynote of a new and happier regime. The changed order was not acquiesced in with a good grace by the ascendancy party; in these cases it never is. Because of his loyalty to its spirit, Lord Elgin became the butt of scurrilous attack crowned by personal outrage from his own countrymen whom self-interest or supposed self-interest blinded to the high statesmanship of his ideals. But his courage failed not, and he lived to see the triumph of his policy and the dawn of a brighter era.

"In India, too, there is an English ascendancy party grasping all power, handling to its own profit the greater portion of the trade ; there is the same difference in race, religion, custom, and language ; there, also, the Indians, a thousand to one in numbers, find themselves bolted and barred out from the government of their own fatherland. If many of them are uneducated, so also were the French Canadians ; if they lack political experience, so also did the simple inhabitants of the backwoods. As in Canada, the arrogance of the ascendancy party is combined with mistrust of the people in whose land they live, or rather sojourn. Two differences there are but they are differences entirely in favour of Indian aspirations. Loyalty to England burns with a strong flame in most Indian hearts ; in the hearts of the French Canadians of the thirties its very ashes were non-existent. Amongst leaders of Indian thought there is a hundredfold more enlightenment and real statesmanship than were to be found with the French of those days. We have all heard Lord Morley's metaphor of wearing a Canadian fur coat in India. But even Lord Morley has his limitations. As his policy on the Bengal partition and more than one of his speeches show, in Indian affairs he has suffered the nobility of his ideals to be warped by the instilled poison of Anglo-Indian sophisms. Love of country can work the same magic in the tropics as beneath a frozen sky ; the Indian no less than the Canadian demands self-respect and all that self-respect implies. Freedom and high ideals know no national boundaries. Under all skins, white or brown, they can kindle alike the hearts of men.

"What the debasing system of tutelage denies to its victims has been very aptly expressed by Lord Elgin in one of his letters. "One thing is, however, indispensable," he wrote, "to the success of this or of any other system of Colonial Government. You must renounce the habit of telling the Colonies that the Colonial is a provisional existence. You must allow them to believe that, without severing the bonds which unite them to Great Britain, they may attain the degree of protection and of social and political development to which organised communities of free men have a right to aspire." Change "Colonial" for "Indian" and you have the policy which India demands. It is the deprivation of this right which gives birth to the ferment in India, a ferment which will never quiet or slacken until India sees her way clear to the open ground of political freedom. This right to Self-Government is bound up in the minds of all thinking men with the spirit of nationality, as the living body with its beating heart. Events in Europe tell us that it is that spirit which to-day dominates the world and that it will surely break the fettering forces which oppose it."

I. C. S. Versus other Services.

As to the estimate of the I. C. S. men as made by their own countrymen belonging to other British Services in India, Sir Leonard Rogers in his Presidential Address at the Science Congress has the following not very complimentary things to say about the I.C.S. as a class. Sir Leonard observed :

Unfortunately the shortsightedness, to put it as mildly as possible, of the controlling service in India (meaning the I.C.S.), the senior members of which, admitted before the age of entry was raised to the present standard, were recruited from schools, often with the aid of cramming and almost invariably without any scientific knowledge, and whose education ceased before they became of age, has for long used its almost uncontrolled power in India to prevent the more highly educated members of the scientific services, including the medical, from receiving pay adequate to their training, much less the princely salaries which the Indian Civil Service obtain for themselves.

Sir Leonard does not believe in the wisdom of the authorities at Simla. He says : "The Simla authorities are quite unaware of the value of scientific training and experience." The I.C.S. rules in Simla, and as scientific training and experience do not form part of the equipment of an I.C.S., it is no wonder that Simla is still unaware of the utility of these essential factors in human development. The treatment accorded to such *scintillas* as Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray and other eminent Indian scientists by the Government has long demonstrated the degree of cerebral vacuity from which the administration suffers. But Indians were not aware that another set of European servants also held similar views about the "efficiency" of the I.C.S.

The Viceregal Stunt.

The threatening attitude of the I.C.S. against the Reforms had the desired effect. It cowed the authors of the Report—the Viceroy was overawed into an abject surrender. On February 6th in opening the Delhi sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council, His Excellency the Viceroy hastened to appease the disgruntled civil servants, disclaimed any intention to offend the "born administrators," and assured them special guarantees (see p. 107). The Viceregal surrender astonished the public. People recalled how in the days of "Fullerism" in Bengal, a similar bluff of resignation was made by Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the L.-G. of East Bengal, on a petty and puerile issue of "prestige," and Lord Minto with the concurrence of Lord Morley at once accepted his resignation. The latter told Sir Bamfylde :—

"My firm principle is that if any official resigns because he can not have his way, I will definitely accept his resignation. You talk of the injury to prestige caused by the acceptance of your resignation. You should have thought of that before you resigned. The responsibility is yours. I don't believe it is for the good of prestige to back up every official whatever he does, right or wrong."

Madras Protest Meeting

The Viceroy's speech greatly alarmed the Indian public and the suspicion of "whittling down" the Reforms now became a conviction. Protest meetings were held at many places. That held at Madras, the stronghold of the "mutineers", was naturally very keen. It was held on 14th February at the Gokhale Hall. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao C. I. E. presided and a vast gathering including all public men attended.

Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyenger in proposing Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao to the chair said that Mr. Madhava Rao was not a professional politician in any sense of that much abused term. Although born and bred up in British India, he had a long, varied and honourable career in Indian States. As an administrator of varied experience and high capacity and as having held the high office of Minister in three Indian States, Travancore, Mysore and Baroda, he had a unique distinction, a distinction second only to that of his great namesake, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao. He was admirably fitted to preside over that meeting. Another ground on which he was exceptionally fitted to take the chair was that he had forestalled and anticipated the present agitation by means of a resolution which he moved at the Subjects Committee of the last session of the National Congress in Delhi. He showed rare political sagacity and foresight when he urged that resolution although it did not commend itself to the majority of that body.

The Chairman in the course of his speech said :—

"The notice convening this meeting says that its object is to protest against the I. C. S. Memorandum and the Viceroy's Speech on the subject in the Imperial Legislative Council.

"These raise most important issues bearing on the future Government of India so much so that our protest meeting may fitly be described as our last struggle to emancipate ourselves from the domination of the Bureaucracy. When I say this the Anglo-Indian will at once jump up and say, "Here is a revolutionary, a Bolshevik, who wants to cut India adrift from the British connection and set up an independent Republic." All I can say is this is a libel on the intellectuals of India. Their loyalty to the Crown is of a more profound and intimate character than westerners brought up in materialistic philosophy and with their lower type of culture are capable of understanding. We do not want to sever our connection with England. We realise what England stands for, and have never

thought of separation from her. What we want is that India should be governed solely in the interests of India and Indians and not for the benefit of the British exploiter and monopolist.

"Where was the hurry for the Viceroy to give the services the assurances that he did when the question of their composition and functions and their place in the scheme of reforms was itself still under consideration and had to be settled by Parliament? Again was he in order in doing so? It has been said that His Excellency the Viceroy's speech against which we protest to-day is calculated to throw oil on troubled waters, these troubled waters being apparently the agitation started by the Indian Civil Service. I am prepared to take the assurance of the "Madras Mail" that His Excellency has succeeded in this task. But this very process cannot but have a different effect on the people of India who have already grave misgivings as to any good coming out of the labours of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State of giving Self-Government to India. When the Viceroy says that the Government of India "will always regard the fair treatment of the services as one of the cardinal tests by which our great experiment will be judged," he no doubt, succeeds in stilling the troubled waters, but he shatters our faith in the value of the "great experiment" and compels us to doubt if the "great experiment" is worth making at all. The Viceroy's action in not only not rebuking the Civil Service but surrendering to them will have a disastrous effect on the tone of the services generally, and his action in persistently proceeding with legislation in regard to the Rowlatt Bills has already alienated public opinion from Government. No Government can last long which has no moral force to sustain it or public opinion at its back. You may say, well, we have heard criticisms of this sort before, what are your suggestions in regard to the future of the services? My firm conviction is that the character of the services should be changed entirely if responsible Government is to be started with any chance of success. When Japan found that she would lose her individuality and her independence and disappear as a nation if she did not put her house in order and dispense with a system which militated against national unity, the Samurai, her ruling classes, who had a privileged position and held the rest of the population in thralldom and subjection, surrendered their privileges and gave equality of opportunity to the other classes and extended to them the benefits of education and gave them a voice in the Government. In its relations to Indians of all classes, whether they be Rajas, Nawabs, Raikes or Ryots, Mirasdars or agricultural labourers, Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis or Indian Christians, the Civil Service stands in a position of racial superiority enjoying special privileges whether in the monopoly of positions of

trust and honor or special laws for their trial in criminal cases. If the civil service, occupying as it does the position of the Samurai, will not act in a similar spirit, no successful attempt at better Government will be possible, as it will perpetuate the retention of political power in their hands. I would say that if Europeans wish to enter the public service in India, they should do so as statutory Indians and a declaration should be made that from a certain date all the services would be recruited in India,—the special pay allowances and pensions, and leave and other privileges of the existing men being guaranteed to them by the Government. It is only by such a decisive step that the public mind in India will be reassured. Otherwise scope will be given for intrigues and for direct and indirect attempts to defeat the object of the announcement of the 20th August, pledging His Majesty's Government to giving Responsible Government to India."

Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer then moved the following resolution :

"That the citizens of Madras in public meeting assembled condemn the movement set on foot by the members of the Indian Civil Service regarding the report on Constitutional Reforms by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy, and are emphatically of opinion that the views and action of those responsible for the movement are altogether subversive of discipline and detrimental to the best interests of the Empire, and that their efforts are calculated to most prejudicially affect the introduction of Responsible Government in India, and this meeting earnestly urges that steps should be promptly taken to ensure that the success of the measures to be introduced in consequence of the report is in no way jeopardised by the agitation and the obstructive attitude of the members of the Indian Civil Service which forms the most important and responsible class of public servants in British India."

Mr. B. P. Wadia then moved the following resolution :

"This meeting views with surprise and keen disappointment the speech of H. E. the Viceroy on the above subject, as the proposed reforms if they proceed on the lines of the speech will be deprived of much of their value even as a step towards Responsible Government."

In moving the resolution, he said in the course of his speech : "I am one of those few people who do not believe, who have never believed in the *bona-fides* of the Government of India. (Hear, hear). Their record of broken promises and broken pledges is a unique one. From the very inception of these reforms I have

believed that the Government of India has been in this matter not quite an honest Government (hear, hear).

"Gentlemen, we may rightly ask the Viceroy at this stage : what about your report in the light of your speech, and what has happened in the shape of the expression of the Civilians' views? Shall I use a strong word, Sir, and ask—" Was it a deliberate falsehood on the part of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State when they mentioned in the report that the Civilians were with them, that they welcomed the pronouncement of responsible Government, that they were going to co-operate with the new policy to be inaugurated in this country? Was it a falsehood or did the Viceroy and the Secretary of State make a statement which they had no reason to make, which was not authenticated? When this draft memorandum is published, the Viceroy thinks it necessary to make an explanation! Some believed that the Viceroy was strong enough to condemn the action of the Civil Servants and tell them that they were entirely in the wrong, and that he would take up the attitude that Lord Morley took up in a particular instance and would ask them to clear out of the country, bag and baggage.

"We are told of the efficiency of the Service and that it is honest. So was the efficiency of the Prussian Militarists spoken of. They have proved their efficiency, though they have been defeated in the war. While our efficient service showed of what it was capable in the Mesopotamian muddle. We want to see efficiency of a Service, not that of a soulless machine; we want efficiency which is displayed by human beings with keen intelligence, sympathetic hearts, and honest conscience. We do not want that iron-efficiency of that soulless machinery. We had enough of it. The result of that has been emasculation of millions of people, and impoverishment of millions of people. We do not want such efficiency, rather let us have a less efficient but more honest human Service. Do not be afraid to criticise a high functionary of the Crown. I know it is a tradition among Indian politicians not to speak of high officials lightly or derogatorily. Let us put aside all that kind of sham. This is not the time for it. Time has come to talk straight and employ the language of truth. The truth is, that in reading this ambiguous report, we were duped. We were shown a thing that is not true, and we now know the truth. Unless we are thoroughly satisfied I would appeal to you to immediately begin an agitation which will tell and bring you victory.

The Godavary District Association, Coconada, also addressed the following letter to the Government of India.

The Madras dailies have published a few days ago what purports to be the rough draft of a memorial which the recently formed I.C.S. Association at Madras proposes to submit criticising and protesting against the assertion of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State contained in para 327 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms to the effect that

"we regard it as a libel on the Indian Civil Service as a body that they have resisted or will resist the policy announced last August. They have welcomed it because no one knew better than they, how badly a declaration of policy was needed, and they will carry it out with determination just as they have always carried out the policy laid down for them."

A categorical denial is decided to be given to this generous hope by the above association, of which the Senior member of the Board of Revenue is the President.

(2) The publication of the proposed memorial has created a profound sensation among all loyal Indians striving hard to co-operate with the Government to the possible extent to make the reforms a success in practical application. The language, tone and temper of the Memorial betray a disrespectful and disobedient attitude of the Indian Civil Service which is entrusted with the administration of this great Presidency. This new Association conveniently overlooks the fact that the Indian Civil Service element both in the Imperial Executive Council and in the Council of the Secretary of State gave its unqualified approval to the general policy which the Report embodied, and it seems opposed to the policy of the grant of responsible Government to the people of this country to any degree either now or hereinafter.

(3) In the opinion of the District Association the proposed memorial is calculated to do immense mischief in the future relations between official Europeans and non-official Indians. It transgresses all limits of discipline in service and sets at defiance the relations which should exist between the employer and the employee, the master and the servant. It belies the sincere declaration made on behalf of the service by Sir William Vincent from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council on 6th September 1918 about the attitude of the Indian Civil Service towards the Reform Scheme.

(4) Such a Memorial should not be allowed at all in the interest of good Government of this country. The District Association therefore begs to request that the Government of India may be pleased to issue such orders as may be deemed proper on the subject before the evil effects of such a frame of mind of the Madras section of the Indian Civil Service spread far and wide.

Government Communique

Heckled on all sides at last the Government of Madras was compelled to do something in the matter and early in March 1919 issued the following correspondence :—

Official memorandum of the Public Department to Mr. H. R. Pate, I.C.S.—

The attention of the Government has been drawn by a question proposed to be asked in the Legislative Council to a publication in the NEW INDIA of 11th January 1919 of minutes of the meeting said to have been held at the Madras Club on 29th November 1918 at which it was proposed to form an Indian Civil Service Association and a committee with two Joint Secretaries elected for the purpose. Annexed to these proceedings was a rough draft said to be intended as the basis of a memorial. The Secretaries of the Indian Civil Service Association are requested to state

(1) whether the papers published in the NEW INDIA of 11th January 1919 are complete and accurate.

(2) Whether those papers were published or issued by the Indian Civil Service Association and if not how they came to appear in the public press, and

(3) Whether the draft intended as the basis of a memorial has been submitted by the Indian Civil Service Association as such or by any number of it to the Government of India or the Secretary of State or other authority.

Secretaries' Reply.

We are directed by the committee of the Indian Civil Service Association, Madras, to reply to the three questions put to us ;—Memorandum of Government No. 801—I., dated 1st. 1919,

(1) Papers published in the NEW INDIA of 11th January, 1919 are not complete in that they do not contain a letter from one of the Association's Secretaries with which the draft memorial was circulated. That the letter of which a copy is attached is of importance as showing that the document published by NEW INDIA was merely a rough draft intended to evoke criticism and suggestions from persons to whom it was addressed. The published copy of minutes of the meeting of the 29th November is correct. The copy of the draft memorial is also correct. In regard to eleven sub-headings which have been inserted in the newspaper copy they found no place in the original draft.

(2) The papers which appeared in the NEW INDIA were not published or issued by the Indian Civil Service Association. They were confidential and the letter with which they were circulated was so marked. The Association does not know how the papers came to be published.

(3) The draft has not been submitted by the Association as such or by any member of it to the Government of Madras or the Secretary of State or other authority.

Anglo-Indian Politics

The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the European Association was held at Calcutta, on 7th March 1919. Mr. P. L. Buckland, President of the Association, occupied the Chair.

In the course of his speech Mr. Buckland referred to the position of European in Indian politics. After alluding to the termination of the war, he said: Victory had established the British position in India more firmly than ever and they should to the best of their ability support their rulers in maintaining the forces of law and order. On the question of the coming Reforms, he said that the attitude of this Association should be one of co-operation and sympathy subject to the important proviso that the interests of the European community were protected by sufficient safeguards. "Let them pause to consider what political life in the future would be like. In England there was the leisured class, who went in for politics and took them up as hobby, while a certain number took up politics as a means of advancement. Out here politics could not advance anybody, while Europeans did not come to India for leisure. The result was that up to now politics here had been in the hands of only a few of them. When the new era of things came in what would be the position? The Councils were going to be enlarged and there would also be Indian Ministers. There would be prolonged sittings. It would be extremely difficult to find men who could give so much of their time to the enlarged Councils. The result would be that Indians would have a very much larger field to choose from, while the European field, if the European community continued in the old way, would be extremely limited unless they had representatives capable of meeting Indians on every point. The European representatives would have to be skilled in debate, able to thrust and parry, and capable of holding their own in all matters.

"What was to be done? A certain number of representatives would have to be put forward whose sole work would be to represent their constituents. The European community had no leisured class and he saw no alternative but to have paid representatives, a certain number having the remaining seats to be filled as heretofore by those who could combine political life with the routine of their profession or business. This suggestion might come as a shock to some who viewed with abhorrence the paid politician but it was not uncommon at Home and had been adopted by Trades Unions whose representatives would not otherwise be in a position to devote their time to their political work."

Bengal Chamber of Commerce

Calcutta, 28th February, 1919.

At the annual general meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce held at Calcutta on the 28th February, 1919 Mr. Ironside, the President of the Chamber, delivered a long address from which the following extract bearing on the most vital current problems of India is taken.

European Trade Policy in India.

"The subject of the future trade policy of this country is a matter which has perforce had to be left somewhat alone during the past years. The thoughts and energy of Government and indeed of every one concerned have had to be and rightly, I think you will admit, devoted to meeting and overcoming day to day difficulties, a situation which became as time went on more intense, intricate and perplexing, until I am prepared to admit the pressure on the fatigued brain and sapped physical vigour due to the absence of rest and tranquility and change began to make itself apparent in all directions in various forms during the last year of war, and I would pay a tribute to the men at the head of affairs both in India and at Home in that they unfalteringly stuck to their posts to the finish. But the time has now come for us to take a survey of the future and take counsel on the problems of re-organization and reconstruction.

"I trust your new Committee will at an early date grapple with these problems. The brains, work and time of our very best men will be necessary and they will I hope be given freely and generously. We have closed a volume in the history of the commercial and trading community of India, and speaking for the community from a British standpoint I hold that we have in spite of all our faults, all our defects and idiosyncracies, deserved well of the country and its people.

"I refuse to accept the charges sometimes levelled at us that we are mere exploiters and profiteers. My reply to those who would traduce us is "Come, enquire, and see and afterwards judge the results." Our jute and other trades have been profitable but had they not been so what would have been the result? Would the millions of wealth from countries beyond the seas have come to India for distribution year by year in return for honest labour and profit, by far the least proportion of which falls to the lot of the British commercial community in proportionate return of services

rendered ? And this community is represented by our old Chamber which is unchanged in character in its handsome new setting but there is every reason now I think to make it yet stronger and greater.

"I know that our traducers are few and personally and collectively unimportant, but poison and untruth once sown obtain a start which can never be entirely eradicated. Gentlemen, the problems after the past war for the reconstruction of India are vast and complex, mainly because I feel that we have yet scarce begun to build, here and there foundations have grown to fancied maturity—some on rock, some I fear on sand. It must be our part therefore to see that in the reconstruction of the world, India shall take her share and place on principles founded on British character and institutions."

Referring to reconstruction Mr. Ironside said :—

"The problems, as I have already said, are vast and complex, the co-operation and goodwill of every thinking man will be necessary and it is hoped that early steps can be devised to formulate the headings and principles of the enquiry and call in the aid and co-operation of the members of all the sister Indian Chambers. The problems must of necessity be diverse and must therefore be treated as far as possible by men specially experienced and gifted with knowledge of each respective subject. These men will not be found in any special province or any special Chamber. I personally hope that our Indian commercial men will co-operate in this subject. I pray that this question will not be viewed as a fit and proper subject for the odd times available during the Calcutta X'mas holidays ; the issues and possibilities are too urgent and vast. Government cannot be expected to think of everything ; we must place our case before them, remembering always that we have to play our part and play the game, and God help those that help themselves.

Some of the problems.

"Whilst I am about it, I will refer shortly to but a few of the problems which it strikes me might reasonably form the first portion of the basis of discussion and settlement at such a conference, first :—I think may be placed :

The transport problem of India including Railways, broad, and narrow and feeder lines, Aerial Ropeways, posts, including Coastal Posts, Rivers, inland Navigation and last but not least, Roads. Then comes the Financial problem to find the necessities to meet War liabilities as well as the problems of reorganisation and reconstruction as have been outlined by the Public services and Industrial Commissions, the future cost of military service, not forgetting the new Reform Scheme.

The Fiscal Policy, Labour conditions, and many other subjects which need not be gone into in detail here by me but which affect India materially north, south, east and west; and it is our duty to face them together and try to come to collective reasoning and decisions.

"The system of Government in India was in its inception and in its methods based on the welfare of the people, particularly the poorest of them, and no more humane Government in my mind with all its faults ever existed and I am sure that independent future history will provide ample proof of this. The one idea has been to lighten the load and to interfere as little as possible with the ideas, religious and social, of the people, but the abstract idea and system has now been maintained far too long. Knowledge with the slow spread of education has brought about natural aspirations. In words the benefits of citizenship however limited in scope have been fostered but almost without any guidance or control. No opportunity has been given to learn, assimilate and appreciate the corresponding responsibilities, and now we are all, Indian and European alike, up against a problem which for its very complexity grows in volume the more closely and particularly the more unselfishly it is considered. But this need not necessitate my drawing back any continuance of present methods or undue fear for the future, provided everyone realizes the errors and strives honestly to alter them systematically and gradually.

The Problem in India.

"The problem of India to-day is, and in the future will, to my thinking, be in the main an economic one and few, if any, of those who have studied the subject until the last few years at any rate have seemingly, from the records I have seen, ever given sufficient thought to the eventual beach upon which the ship of State must eventually find itself stranded, and with a force behind, as at present, propelling it further up the shoal.

"The abstract idea of Government, undoubtedly honest and good in its intention, held good too long. Progressive ideas in politics or business mean generous expenditure of capital if any result is to be expected, but taxes have been reduced or effaced, the incidence of taxation has been reduced, indeed until less than enough is left for the bare provision of executive Government and the maintenance of moderate order. Everything else has been starved but we cannot forget that we the commercial community have never raised an effective protest, as far as I can find, against the past financial policy.

"The educated people of India from experience gained here and elsewhere now demand more and more of the benefits of citizenship and rightly I think within their vision blame the Government for failing to provide a sufficiency of these benefits to meet their aspirations. But unfortunately few have knowledge or appreciation of its accompanying responsibilities and cost. The people ask for more education, sanitation, medical relief, transport, hygiene, and progressive results, and a thousand, I fear often theoretical, advantages. The complaint against Government, as proved from opportunities I recently have had, all hinge upon this. Government is blamed broadly and often irresponsibly for its failure. Members of Government and of the various services under Government control and supervision strive and struggle to meet obviously just demands but the system of finance has choked and crippled the whole framework of the machinery of State, the views and wishes of zealous, broad-minded, able public servants are often ignored, good men gradually have become disgruntled and heartbroken. Year after year they have been asked to make bricks without straw and the people are ever clamouring for more bricks, and in proof of the failure private charity is called upon at every opportunity, and by means which often do no one credit.

"I am convinced that a different financial and economic policy together with a broader and saner educative policy during the past 20 years would have done something to lessen recent turmoil and provided a foundation on which to build responsible Government. The leaders of the Indian people have accepted the past financial system and indeed have insisted upon its continuance and extension and thereby have largely assisted to bring about the present situation—indeed, they have by their insistence governed the policy against the often better judgment of its framers.

"Since last year we have seen the issue of the Report on the suggested Reform scheme by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, later followed by the visit of the Parliamentary Committees to take evidence. Before those Committees, during their visit to Calcutta, the opinion of the Chamber was efficiently and effectively voiced by the Hon. Mr. Crum and Mr. Langford James, and your thanks are due to them for their work. I know it was thoroughly well done. I see that the Report of the Committee has been completed and the final issue of the bill before Parliament in London has now to be awaited. Criticism of the measure from every possible standpoint have been recorded *ad nauseum* and it seems to me unnecessary further to discuss the matter.

"One thing however is certain, the business community must take a different view of politics and I should like to see it made

worth a man's while to make the representation of this Chamber the whole time work of a trained mercantile politician, possessing equal rights with Indian members to occupy the suggested ministerial seats dealing with transferred subjects.

Capital and Industry.

"The voluminous report of the Indian Industrial Commission has been before us for the past three or four months and I must confess that at first I was inclined to scoff and treat somewhat lightly the production, but I have recently had time to give it much closer study and although I do not agree with all the recommendations which have been made, there are many which must prove valuable to the industries of the country and I sincerely hope that some of the recommendations at least will be acted on by Government without delay so that full value may be taken of them before people lose interest in the subject, or worse still, time destroys their value altogether. I think, however, that the report itself and many of the comments made upon it give one the impression that the public, both Indian and European, have got a somewhat erroneous view of the whole subject of Industrial expansion and development. I would suggest a little care and a little thought before doing so in any light-hearted manner, as there are distinct signs that we are beginning to run before we have learned to walk.

"In my opinion the provision of capital for sound commercial propositions is the least exacting, but I think that any one who has studied this subject closely and over a fairly wide field will agree with me that the expansion of Industries on any large or successful scale is largely a matter of man-power efficiency. Often I have heard people, most of them with very little knowledge of the subject, refer to cheap Indian labour; rarely have I found this to be the case. The cost of supervision and the unreliability of supervision over a hopelessly, on the whole inefficient, and in the main bone-tired people, cripples the problem of industrial expansion. It is one possessing difficulties and pitfalls that have not yet become seriously apparent (we have not gone far enough), but I assure you they are coming and labour is one of them.

"It is a favourite line with Government, first to induce a firm to do the spade work, to be the pioneers and after success has been attained to use the information to induce others to follow in the same line. This to my mind is unsound industrial expansion. There have been several cases of this sort of thing already in the country and as all industries are so to speak in their infancy without adequate financial reserves, we shall soon find, if this policy continues and with but little practical experience to guide us, that Indian industrial

expansion taking a devious and dangerous course, indigenous industries, as in the case of the Cotton Ginning Industry and I think I can say of the coal trade, cutting each other's throats, leaving the consumer and the foreigner to pick up the bones.

"My mind refuses to absorb pretty academic discussions whilst practical affairs affecting the future welfare of the people and the whole fabric of Government are being left to all appearance to take care of themselves. Gentlemen, without being pessimistic I fear there is bound to be trouble before everything has been righted and the wits of every right minded man will be necessary.

Mercantile Trusts

"The report does not refer to one matter which has occupied the attention of your Committee of late. A few months ago a very well-known member of the Chamber suggested to me that we should try to create a large Trust fund for the benefit of our European British members and their employees. The idea was that the trust should follow more or less the lines of the funds of the great Livery Companies of the City London. That is to say, that it should consist of sums of money given by the wealthier members of the Chamber, and that these should be invested and held in trust, and that the income should be devoted to the relief of cases of distress among members, and their employees, and dependants. The Committee supported the proposal most heartily, and they have taken steps to have it carried into effect. The member who made the suggestion was our old and respected friend Mr. Shirley Tremearne, who, I think, I can with no disrespect refer to as the Father of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. With characteristic generosity which will I am sure appeal most strongly to all of us present here to-day, he has made over to the Chamber a lakh of rupees with which to start the Trust (Applause). Our solicitors are now engaged on the Trust deed and we had hoped to have this completed by to-day. But the legal formalities in constituting a Trust seem to be many, and we have had to ask the new Committee to complete the matter. This duty they will, I am sure, undertake with very great satisfaction, and for myself I most sincerely hope that Mr. Tremearne's public spirited example will be widely followed, and that many more lakhs of rupees will be promptly added to the Trust which he has so worthily inaugurated, in order that it may be fully worthy of the Chamber, and may be of real and lasting benefit to those of our members who may hereafter fall upon evil days.

The European Association

Calcutta, 26th March 1919.

A special meeting of the Calcutta branch of the European Association was held on 26th March 1919 at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. T. R. Welby, Secretary of the Association.

In opening the meeting Mr. Morgan, the President, said that he was glad to see so many ladies present. The reason for inviting the ladies particularly was that they had just made a rule whereby women were eligible for election as members exactly on the same terms as the men. He hoped that they had read the speeches of Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha, the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Aga Khan in the papers. It would be noticed that Mr. Montagu had sketched out a brilliant future for the British resident in India who was going to be a missionary to educate the Indians to take charge of their country, and when this was done he was to go away.. Mercantile firms would, he said sarcastically, have to insert a new clause to the agreements with their assistants to the effect that they would have to help the Indians to run the country both industrially and politically.

1) Mr. Welby then addressed the meeting. In the course of his long speech he said :—

"The change in the attitude of Anglo-India on Indian Politics began with the conference of 1917 convened by Sir Archy Birkmyre who was then President and there had been further progress since the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme.

"The Indo-British Association of England, of which Lord Sydenham is the guiding star, had asked for the assistance of this Association in the matter of their propaganda work. At the same time they had received enquiries from their Indian friends as to what they were going to do to put their case before the public. What answer should they give to the Indo-British Association and what should they return to their friends, the loyal moderate Indians who wished to co-operate with the Europeans in propaganda at home? Some of those present would be in a better position to judge what reply they should give after he had sketched the present political situation (which he proceeded briefly to do). It was very difficult at the present moment to say who were permanent extremists and who were permanent Moderates. They are changing sides frequently. The efforts of the Government of India to rally

the Moderates had not been without result. For instance Mr. Sarma had been induced to recall his resignation in the Imperial Council. The speaker did not know whether Mr. Gandhi had been persuaded to give up his soul force movement. The main results of all this had been that whereas there was formerly only one party in opposition to the Government, there were now two. The political situation in England might be judged from the report of a recent banquet at which Mr. Montagu, Lord Sinha, the Maharaja Bikaner, the Aga Khan and other Indians were assembled, not to pay Lord Sinha complements upon his recent elevation to the peerage, but for the purpose of permitting some of them to deliver violent political orations. He left it to those present to judge whether it was in the fitness of things that an Indian Ruling Prince should be allowed to intervene in Indian affairs by violating the well-established doctrine of non-interference in British-Indian affairs, or whether an Indian Prince would agree to do this at an entertainment where the Secretary of State was present, if he had not good reason for supposing that his envenomed words would be welcomed. Referring to the Maharaja of Bikaner's remarks about the notorious Indo-British Association, he said that when they remembered that it was composed of men like Lord Sydenham, Sir John Hewett, Sir Harold Stewart and many other equally great men (!) with such record as theirs, was it likely that they would have stooped to mere falsehood in a case which is strong enough when based on facts? The Indo-British Association had this further duty imposed upon it by the Government of India that it had to face a certain number of Indian agitators who were leaving this country with A 2 priority certificates. He asked all those present to aid him in arranging a suitable welcome for these agitators when they reached British soil. He then discussed what sort of action they should individually take and explained why ladies were now to be called up in this unequal fight between them and the agitator. The advent of the lady would be a great benefit. They went Home often, remained longer and were better qualified to work for the Association and approach the organisation of women voters at Home. They possessed vast personal influence and could use it if they chose. He did not believe that one tenth of the members of the Association ever made the slightest attempt to interest their friends at home in Indian affairs. It was necessary that they should make a serious effort to combat the misrepresentations which might be expected as the result of the agitators going Home from India. In conclusion he pointed out that they were after all the inheritors of a great and incomplete work and it was incumbent upon them as co-trustees for the welfare of India to see that this work was properly carried out.

Moslem Politics

The Memorial

A memorial regarding the future of Turkey was submitted on January 1st, 1919 by the Moslem subjects of His Majesty resident in Europe to the Foreign Secretary, and a copy was forwarded to the Prime Minister.

Mr. M. H. Ispahani, 21, Mincing-lane, E. C. received a letter of acknowledgment from the Prime Minister's Secretary stating that "the matter is receiving attention." The Foreign Office replied as follows :—

Sir—I am directed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, transmitting a memorial relative to the future status of regions whose population is predominantly Turkish, and to state that the questions therein raised can only be decided by the Peace Conference, where the rights and aspirations of all races will receive full consideration.—I am, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant

(Signed) J. A. C. TILLEY.

In forwarding the memorial for publication, Mr. Ispahani says : "The question of Turkey is one in which His Majesty's Moslem subjects are very interested, and they contemplate with great consternation the indirect efforts made by the various South-Eastern nationalities to prejudice the decision of the British public and of the Allies at the Peace Conference in favour of the disintegration of Turkey." The memorial is in the following terms :—

41, Sloane Street, London, Jan. 1.

To the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

1. Sir—We, the undersigned Muhammadan subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor, beg respectfully to represent to His Majesty's Government that we have read with great concern the suggestions recently put forward in the Press from various responsible quarters regarding the future of Constantinople to the effect that it should be taken from its present possessors, in spite of the Ottomans being the most populous single nationality in Constantinople, and be made over to some Christian people or State, or be placed under international control. We therefore, feel it our duty to point out at the earliest opportunity, that such a course, if adopted would be in direct conflict with the vital principle of nationality

placed in the forefront of the War-aims of the Allies, and would cause not only among the Moslems of India but also among Mussalmans throughout the world grave dissatisfaction.

2. In the course of four centuries Constantinople has undergone complete transformation and is now in all essentials a Moslem city. It is honeycombed with Moslem institutions, and is covered on all sides with memorials of their faith. Its population is predominantly Turkish by race and Moslem by faith as was recently admitted in the clearest terms in the House of Commons.

Premier's statement.

3. The solemn declaration of the Prime Minister made only a short time ago that the Turkish nation will retain their sovereignty unimpaired in their home-land, with Constantinople as the capital of their territories, had a reassuring effect on the Mussalman population of India and elsewhere, and we feel certain that any departure from that memorable pronouncement would create the gravest disappointment. The Mussalmans who have shed their blood or helped with their resources in the defence of the Empire are entitled to expect that the principle of national unity and freedom will be maintained in the case of Turkey as in the case of the European peoples. Any other course would give rise to a most painful impression that the high principles and lofty ideals which secured for the Allied cause the adhesion and loyal co-operation of the larger part of the Moslem world were abandoned in the case of Turkey because she is a Moslem State. We feel confident, however, that no racial or religious prejudices will be allowed to impair the trust of the Moslem nations in the good faith of the Allies, and that the settlement of this momentous world-problem will be based on the principles of justice and equity, and of national unity and national rule, laid down by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Self-Determin

4. In Asia from the northern borders of Syria proper upto the Aegean and the Black Sea, along its southern littoral as far as the frontiers of Azerbaijan, the population, numbering roughly 19,000,000 to 20,000,000 is in some districts exclusively and in others preponderantly Turkish in race and Moslem in faith. In Thrace also the conditions are the same; the population is predominantly Turkish. We respectfully submit that the whole of this territory with Constantinople as its capital should be left in the hands of the Turkish nation in accordance with the declaration of the Prime Minister. The right of nations, based on nationality, to remain under their own Governments and to possess the power of Self-Determination,

proclaimed and insisted upon by the Allies, applies equally to Christians and Moslems. We do not ask for a new status for the Turkish nation; we urge that the Turkish nation should have the same rights as Christian nationalities to hold the territories which they inhabit exclusively, or where they form the preponderant portion of the population, as they have done heretofore.

5. With regard to the other provinces of Turkey we desire at present to express no opinion. But we beg respectfully to urge that whatever may be the ultimate settlement of the Armenian question, the rights and interests of the large Musalman population inhabiting that province should be safeguarded, and that they should be protected from persecution. In racial conflicts among the less advanced communities, as is proved by what is happening at the present moment in Eastern Europe, barbarities are committed on both sides, of which advantage is taken by the more vociferous to allege that they are the innocent victims of unprovoked persecution. We trust that in dealing with the question of Armenia the large Musalman population will at least be placed on an equal footing with the non-Moslem population.—We have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient and humble servants,

Aga Khan.

Abbas Ali Baig.

Ameer Ali.

A. Y. Yusuf Ali.

Shaik Mushir Hosain Kidwai

Dudley Wright.

A. S. M. Anik.

M. H. Ispahani.

Abdul Aziz.

Khawaja Kamal-ud-din.

of Gadia.

(25 other signatures.)

Madras Moslem Meeting

17th January 1919

A mass meeting of the Musalman public of Madras was held on January 17th, 1919 at the Victoria Public Hall to discuss the present situation of Turkey and to appeal to His Imperial Majesty on this behalf. The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hussan Sahab was in the chair and delivered his address in Urdu, after which resolutions were passed.

The following are extracts from an English translation of his speech:

"The War ought to have been confined to Europe. There was no need to bring it into Asia. Great Britain, however, thought that Germany might march through Turkey and Persia to the

Indian borders. To meet Germany halfway Great Britain invaded Mesopotamia with Indian troops. That was a precautionary measure taken with a view to protect India. No love is lost between Turks and Arabs and people are more often actuated by selfish ends than by lofty motives of patriotism. Shareef Hussain raised the banner of revolt. Lastly Palestine and Syria were occupied by the British with the help of Arabs and Indians.

Why Dissolve Turkey ?

"Now the War is over, the Central European powers are laid by the heel, militarism is crushed and plans are seriously discussed for the abolition of the War for ever. The League of Nations is to stand sentinel to prevent international jealousies getting the better of the political discretion. British Colonies in Africa are no longer to be on the tenter-hooks of fear of attack from German Colonies. There is no fear of Germany getting at India through Turkey. Unless Russia regains her vitality with the help of the British, India need have no fear even from her next-door neighbour. Why then should Great Britain desire the desolation of Turkey? Has Great Britain thwarted the world-dominating designs of Germany only to extend her own dominance over a larger sphere of the world? As it is, the sun never sets on His Imperial Majesty's dominions. Should she not rest content with this, but like Germany should she desire to have a place in the sun itself? If Great Britain ever had any fear of Pan-Islamism, surely that bogey has been laid to rest by this war. Islam as a power has reached its lowest ebb. Morocco, Tunis and Algeria have become potter's clay in the hands of France. Tripoli is no longer an Islamic country. Egypt is mortgaged body and soul to Great Britain. Turkey in Europe has shrunk into a mere Province. Persia has decayed passed recovery. Bokhara, Khiva and Turkistan are held by Russian bayonets. Mogul Empire in India has been replaced by British. If the Turkish Empire in Asia, the relic of once the mighty Empire of Islam over the then known world, is suffered to remain intact, what harm can it possibly do to the British Empire? On the other hand as a powerful Ally, Turkey can be a tower of strength to the British.

[Examples of Egypt and India.

I will perhaps be told that Great Britain does not propose to occupy any of the Turkish territories herself. All that she wants is that each community should become independent under a king of its own and that Great Britain will be the friend and protector of all. The sacred places of Islam will remain in the hands of Muslim Rulers only. The administration under her guidance will be methodical. Education, trade, art and industry will flourish. The material

and moral condition of the people will improve and all the modern comforts and conveniences and blessings of European civilisation will be available to rich and poor alike. Egypt and not India is cited an apt example of the product of beneficent British rule. Let us for a moment analyse the state of both these countries. Egypt was administered nominally by Egyptians but virtually by the British. The head of each department was a Pasha, who was only a figure-head kept in nominal power as long as he did not incur the displeasure of his subordinate British officials who carried on the administration in the name of and over the signature of the Pasha. These virtual rulers and nominally subordinates kept up outwardly the form and appearance of the Turkish Rule. They wore Turkish Fes as a Turkish subject and kept their place in Durbars as became subordinate officials. The Europeans were only advisors to the Khedive—not his ministers. The Khedive used to feel his position very irksome and was often conspicuous by his absence at his rightful master's place. As soon as Turkey joined Germany, Egypt was declared independent and a Sultan was installed in the place of the Khedive. A great bonfire was made of the Turkish caps that the Europeans used to wear in office and on public occasions, and the shining top hats were brought out of the cupboard to adorn the wise heads. It is a travesty of truth and mockery to call Egypt and its Ruler independent when the British forces and British guns overlook the capital and palace from the brow of Makatam Hill. You can picture to yourself how independent and self-relying His Highness the Aga Khan would be if made the Ruler of Mesopotamia.

As for the material prosperity, is it not notorious that India starves in the midst of plenty ; the tillers of soil and producers of gram do not get one full meal a day. The average annual income of Indian people is Rs. 30 and the peasantry is heavily in debt. India is rich in minerals and precious metal : let us go to Kolar Gold Field and see there that every month a heavy load of gold bricks is carried away to London. The only residue left in the country is the wages paid to the coolies and the royalty to the Mysore State. There will be as much prosperity in Mesopotamia as there is in India when its resources that are now partially developed are fully exploited by foreigners under the grateful patronage of rulers put and kept on the throne by foreign Powers.

The Turkish countries are now to attain under British auspices happiness and prosperity of the kind we enjoy in India. Was the world made safe at such enormous cost for democracy or super-imposed autocracy ? Why should not the Turkish countries be helped to establish a popular form of Government free and autonomous in their own internal affairs and united in their federation

for their mutual safety and protection? Instead of establishing her protectorate piecemeal over each country why should not England become the friend and protector of the whole Turkish Empire. She will gain better terms for her tradesmen and exploiters than will be the case otherwise. The railway concessions instead of ending with the western borders of Mesopotamia will extend right into the Turkish dominions up to Constantinople and link India with England through the shortest route. England can then play her new role of the friend of humanity with advantage to herself as well as to others. Turkey has extended her hand of friendship. Let Great Britain grasp it with equal alacrity. In doing so England will please the millions of Muslim subjects. We want all the holy places in Arabia, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia to remain under one Muslim Sovereign and that Sovereign will be our Khalifa.

A Serious Objection.

Next to Mecca, Jerusalem, Baitul Mukhadus is sacred to Islam. It was towards Jerusalem that the Prophet of Islam and his followers turned their faces for 14 years before Mecca became the Khibla of Musalmans. The Aksa mosque of Jerusalem ranks next to the Kaaba of Mecca. In Najaf-shrif and Karbala-i-Kuallah are buried the sacred remains of Ali and his beloved son, the Great Martyr Hossain and Bagdad contains the mausoleum of Shaik Abdul Khader Jeelani whose votaries number millions of Musalmans all over the world. These three are the places of pilgrimage, just as Mecca and Medina are in Arabia and Jerusalem in Palestine. All these sacred places were under the suzerainty of one Amir-ul Momoneen Khalifat-ul Muslameen Sultanul Islam—Prince of Muhammadans, Khalifa of Musalmans and Sultan of Islam. No religious significance was attached to the office of the Shareef of Mecca, nor any temporal position was enjoyed by the custodian of the Bagdad Mausoleum. If there are to be Rulers in Mecca, Jerusalem and Bagdad independent of the Sultan of Turkey, every one of them will usurp the spiritual headship of Islam in their own kingdom and outside Musalmans will be asked to pay their homage to three spiritual temporal heads instead of one.

The Aga Khan and Mesopotamia.

Apart from the serious objection to the creation of three independent kingdoms, difficulty will arise in the choosing of the Rulers. Great Britain, in spite of her intimate connection with millions of Musalmans in all climes, understands Muslim sentiments and ourselves the least. Her ignorance of Muslim religion, traditions, and history is simply colossal. We have been having a very good illustration of this in the news that it is contemplated to make His

Highness the Aga Khan the Ruler of Mesopotamia. I have told you that the Rulers of Mecca and Bagdad cannot remain mere temporal sovereigns. They are bound to assume the religious headship of Islam as well. Our Government is labouring under the impression that as a lineal descendant of a remote priest and of a pretender to the throne of Persia, in Aga Khan can be combined the spiritual and temporal leadership with advantage. They are either not aware of or they are shutting their eyes deliberately to the fact that Aga Khan is the religious head of a people who were for generations taught to believe that their salvation did not lie in praying to God five times a day, fasting in the month of Ramzan or performing pilgrimage to Mecca, but they can buy salvation and redemption from all sins by paying a religious tax to His Highness the Aga Khan. Both the Sunnies whose sentiments are of prime importance in this connection and Shias detest the creed enforced by the ancestors of the Aga Khan and mockly acquired in by him. Government has probably forgotten that when a section of the Khoja community wanted to build a mosque to follow the true behests of Islam three of the leading Khojas involved in this movement were murdered one day by the Fidaees of Aga Khan. Since then a number of Khojas have become Sunnies or Asna Asharies and have seceded from the Aga Khan. There will be a strong protest throughout the length and breadth of India if the Aga Khan was appointed the Ruler of Mesopotamia.

It is an admitted fact that the immense contributions of India in men, materials and money were utilised almost wholly for the subjugation of Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, and those countries were invaded not for the expansion of the territories or sphere of influence of the British Empire but only to protect India from the attack of Germany. India therefore has right to be heard in the matter of the disposal of the countries temporarily subjugated by means of the forces and resources of India. We, Muslims of India, have therefore the double right of offering our counsel to Great Britain concerning the fates of Islamic countries. Firstly on account of our religious interests in those countries and secondly on account of the utilisation of Indian forces—materials and money—in the subjugation of those territories.

The following resolutions were then carried unanimously :—

“That in the event of it being decided to grant an autonomous Government to Mesopotamia in accordance with a common principle affecting belligerent territories, this meeting appeals that the autonomous Government so formed should be under the immediate suzerainty of the Turkish Empire.

"That this meeting has seen with horror the rumour given currency to by some of the local papers that it is contemplated to place Mesopotamia under the guardianship of H. H. the Aga Khan and respectfully hopes that there is no truth in this rumour as the appointment will be viewed with the utmost disfavour by the Muslim world at large. That this meeting sincerely trusts that the Peace Conference will be guided by the righteous spirit of meeting out equal justice to all belligerent nations, regardless of their nationality, race or religion, and that its decisions would not be such as to lend impression to the world that Turkey has suffered on account of its not being a Christian Power.

Lucknow Anjuman Meeting

Under the auspices of the *Anjuman Madaib Islam*, Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, a meeting was held under the presidency of Maulana Abdul Bari on the 26th January 1919 to consider the question of *Khalifate* and the safety and integrity of the holy places of Islam under the occupation of the British and Allied troops. The President discussed the various aspects of the question of *Khalifate* and impressed upon his audience the necessity of frank and bold exposition of the views of the Muslim community. The first resolution was moved by Maulvi Inayatulla Sahab :—

"That this meeting of the Ulama of Firangi Mahal while expressing its firm and sincere devotion to Sultan Mohammed VI, emphatically declares that according to the true doctrines of Islam, none but the present Sultan of Turkey is the rightful Calipha and that Islam never allows the interference of non-Muslims in deciding the question of Caliphate. This meeting of the Ulama fully supports the views expressed by other Muslim meetings on this question."

The second resolution was moved by Maulana Qutub-ud-din :—

"That this meeting of the ULAMAS, while declaring that the religious tolerance and liberty are the basis of their loyalty and devotion to the King-Emperor and re-affirming their faith in the justice of Government, desires to impress upon the attention of the Imperial Government the commandments of the SHARIAL ISLAM which emphatically declares that the holy places including Constantinople should remain under the rule of the CALIPHA. This meeting, therefore, urges upon the British Government to use its influence with the Peace Conference in order that the occupied territory of the Sultan of Turkey should be restored to him. A peace without that can never satisfy the Muslims."

The third resolution was moved from the chair :—

"This meeting supports the proposal that a FATWA about the CALIPHATE and along with it a sketch of the boundary lines of Arabia and other occupied Islamic territories should be prepared and signed by all the ULAMAS in India, and after consulting legal authorities, copies of the same be sent to the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy, so that the British Government should have no misapprehension on this important question.

The fourth resolution was moved by Maulvi Nasir-ud-din Sahab and supported by Maulvi Sakhawat-ul-lah,

That this meeting while sincerely desiring to see Arabia thrive and prosper under purely Muslim rule and re-affirming the views expressed by the Muslims about past conduct of Sharif Husain Isha, highly appreciates the wise action of the Sharif in disavowing his title and claim to the CALIPHATE to which he has no right under the commandment of Islam.

On the proposal of Maulana Mohamed Idris and Maulvi Iradat-ul-lah copies of the resolutions were wired to the Premier and His Excellency the Viceroy.

A very largely attended meeting of the Mahomedans of Bombay was held at Bombay on September 18, 1919, to consider the question of khaliphate, and preservation of the holy places of Islam. Mr. M. K. Gandhi was present. Mr. Miya Ma'omed Faji Jaimad Chhotani presided. The proceedings were conducted in the vernacular.

The President in the course of his speech said that it was a pity that they were still denied the opportunity of realising their expectations. Indian Mahomedans had from the beginning proclaimed far and wide their sentiments regarding the holy places of Islam. They appealed by various means to the Peace Conference not to commit any such blunder in the settlement regarding the Turkish Empire as might lead to wounding the religious susceptibilities of British Mussalmans.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy then moved the following resolution:—

"That this public meeting has heard with indignation and dismay of the contemplated dismemberment of the Turkish Empire by internationalization of Constantinople and cessation of Thrace to Greece and the giving of mandates of Hijaz, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia etc, to different European powers, and enters its most emphatic protest against this intended act of spoliation."

Moulvi Rafiudin Ahmed seconded the resolution. He hoped that the Peace Conference and the British Government would give their best consideration to this question.

In response to the feelings of the assembly Mr. Gandhi addressed the meeting and whole heartedly joined in the sentiments expressed.

Other resolutions stated (1) that no differential treatment should be accorded to Christian and Muslim peoples and the principle of self-determination should be made applicable to Moslem peoples also under the suzerainty of the Khaliphate, (2) that Turkey proper with Constantinople as its capital and the lands of Asia Minor and Thrace should be left intact and uninterfered with under the suzerainty of the Sultan whose temporal power over Turkish state should not in any manner be reduced or diminished by any sort of mandate, (3) that this public meeting respectfully approach the re-

sponsible Ministers of the Crown with the request that having regard to the intense anxiety felt by the entire Mussalman population of India with regard to the Turkish Empire—an Empire with the stability and permanence of which the future of the Kaliphate is intertwined—to satisfactorily settle at an early date the Turkish question and publish the conditions of peace which are intended to be imposed upon Turkey. Another resolution passed drew the attention of the Government to the reports published in the press of the outrages in Asia Minor and urged the institution of an enquiry, punishment of the guilty, and the taking of necessary steps to prevent their recurrence.

All-India Moslem Conference.

Lucknow, September 22nd. 1919.

About five thousand Moslems from all parts of India attended the All-India Moslem Conference at Rifahi-Am, Lucknow, on September 22nd. 1919. Nearly 400 came from outside the province and about 600 from outstations in the province. The meeting was presided over in its two sittings respectively by Maulana Abdul Bari of Ferangi Mahal and the Hon'ble Seth Ibrahim Haroon Jafar of Poona. Eight resolutions were passed. The first resolution referred to the Khalifate stating that the temporal power of the Khalif is indispensable for maintaining his spiritual dignity. The second resolution asked for the integrity of the holy places which must remain free from non-Moslem influence. The third resolution demanded that in accordance with the promise made in the Prime Minister's speech of the 5th January, 1918, the rich and renowned lands of Thrace and Asia Minor with Constantinople as their capital, having a predominant Moslem population, must remain under the Turkish sovereignty. The fourth resolution demanded the evacuation of Smyrna and Hinterland by Greeks and expressed indignation at the atrocious deeds which are reported to have been committed by Greeks on the Moslem inhabitants. The fifth resolution proposed that copies of the above resolutions be sent to the Viceroy with a request that he should submit them to His Majesty's Government with his recommendations and representation of Moslem sentiments on the Turkish question. The sixth resolution fixed 17th October as an universal day of prayer in Islamic India for the preservation of the Khalif's full dignity and for holding a meeting of protest. The seventh resolution adopted the Khaliphate committee of Bombay as a permanent institution and resolved to establish branches thereof in all provinces. The eighth resolution was to the effect that the proceedings should be published in the press.

A letter from Moslem members of the Viceroy's Council was read out by the president expressing full sympathy of the signatories with the objects of the conference. They say that there is hardly a single Mahomedan in India, to whatever sect he may belong, whose heart is not filled with deepest anxiety on account of the threatened dismemberment of the Turkish Empire.

On November 3 the following cable was sent by the All India Moslem League, Lucknow, to the Premier, Secretary of State for India and the Islamia Bureau, London:—"The Council of the All-India Moslem League views with alarm and indignation the attitude of the Premier towards the Turkish question as disclosed by his Sheffield speech which foreshadows anti-Turkish and anti-Moslem nature of settlement he seems inclined to favour at the Peace Conference ignorant of universal Moslem protests made in this behalf and even violating the pledge given by himself on behalf of the British Government, Empire and nation to the Moslem world during the war. The Council deploras that the Prime Minister of England which has the largest number of Mussalmans amongst its subjects should show such deliberate disregard of universal Moslem opinion regarding what is to Mussalmans a religious question. Such an attitude if persisted in would drive the Moslem subjects of His Majesty to a resolve to abstain from participating in the peace-celebrations of the empire. The Council further deems it its duty to His Imperial Majesty to warn British Cabinet that the action such as appear to be contemplated would result in the absolute loss of all Moslem faith in British fairness and justice and consequent inauguration of a widespread agitation which cannot fail to disturb and retard peaceful development and progress of our empire.

The Khilafat Conference

The All-India Khilafat Conference met at Delhi on November 23rd 1919. There a very influential gathering which met to come to a final decision as to the attitude to be taken towards the British in view of its breach of faith regarding Turkey.

The following resolutions were passed:—

(1) That this meeting of the representatives of all the Mussalmans of India places on record its profound gratitude to Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu compatriots who have evinced deep interest in the Khilafat question.

(2) That in view of the heart-rending events relative to Turkey, Khilafat the sacred places and Persia which have been occasioned by the conclusion of peace, this meeting solemnly

enjoin upon Indian Muslims scrupulously to refrain from participating in the forthcoming victory-celebration and further request all the Khilafat committees and Indian Muslims to render all possible help to the all India Anti-Peace Celebration Committee of Delhi with Dr. Ansari as its president whose aims and objects are to widely disseminate the reasons for abstention from the victory carnival.

(3) That (a) in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not taking place, the Muslims of India shall progressively withhold all co-operation from the British Government; (1) this Conference appoints the following committee to make considered suggestion with a view to give practical effect to the above resolution in the event contemplated and lay the same for final decision before the next session of this Conference. Committee:—The Hon'ble Fazlul Huq, Hazi-qul-Mulk Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abdul Majid Sharar, Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali, Seth Abdulla Hazrat, Maulana Fazul Hasan, Mr. Kamaluddin Jafri and Mr. Mumtaz Hussain.

(4) That in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not taking place the Muslims of India are definitely of opinion that to give practical expression to their sense of dissatisfaction a progressive boycott of British goods should be instituted, and in order to give effect to this decision on the event contemplated this Conference, appoints the following committee to make necessary suggestions which shall be placed before the next session of this Conference, Committee:—Syed Zahur Ahmad, Seth Abdullah Harmi, Haji Ahmad Khatri, Maulana Sanaulah, Maulana Hasrat Agham Saifur, Mafarul Mulk, Maulana Arif Hasvi, Moulvi Akramkhan Munirazzaman Tajuddin, Moulvi Sayid Bihari.

(5) That as early as possible a deputation on behalf of the Muslims of India be sent to England with the consent of H. E. the Viceroy with the object of laying before responsible British Ministers and others the true sentiments of the Mussalmans with regard to the Turkish and Khalifat questions and further that the deputation if necessary should proceed to United States of America to further the objects of the deputation.

(6) This Conference appoints the following gentlemen to form the deputation:—Raja of Mahmudahad, Sir Abbas Ali Beig, Hon'ble Fazlul Huq, Dr. Ansari, Hon'ble Raza Ali, Syed Hussain, Hon'ble Fazli Hussain, Seth Mian Mahomed Chhotani, Abbas Yezji, Hassan Imam, Sir Fazulbhoy Carimbhoy, Haji Abdullah Karim, Hon'ble Abdul Qasim, Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, Moulvi Abdul Majid Sharar, Moulvi Ibrahim Sialkoti Muniruzzaman, Maulana Abdul Bari, Hon'ble Sharif Beyji, with power to co-operate with other members from among leading Moslems now in England.

Labour Movement

Madras Labour Union

2nd Annual Session

The members of the Labour Union, Madras, held the inaugural meeting of the second year of their existence at the Union premises on April 26th, 1919, with Mr. B. P. Wadia in the chair.

Mr. B. P. Wadia's Presidential Address.

My Brothers.—We are beginning our weekly meetings from to-day. I propose to put before you next Saturday some very important points for consideration. We shall then be able to tell you definitely what work we propose to do in the future for the labour movement in India and also in England. Several of our Indian friends are going to England and I wish the Madras Labour Union to send a message through those friends to the Labour Unions in England. During the week I want you to think very carefully over this particular proposition. If you are going to send a message to Labour Unions in Great Britain, what is the message that you are going to send to them? It is a very important point. We have a few days before us. Some of our friends are going on the 10th and 17th May and I would like our Labour Union to send a definite message to English Labour Unions through them. I would like you to consider this and speak about it to those who are members of your managing committee which meets every Tuesday so that we will draw up certain definite resolutions and programme which we can hand over to the representatives of India who go to Great Britain.

Mr. John Scurr, a great labour leader from England, is coming out to Madras in the course of a few days. He will be staying with us at Adyar and I hope to bring him out here next Saturday for the meeting. He will be of great use and value to us and he will surely fight on behalf of the Labour Union of Madras and the labourers of India when he returns to England. One of his principal objects of visiting Madras is to come to our Labour Union and to see what kind of work we have been doing. You must see that next Saturday's meeting will be a very representative one. We will be able to prepare our programme for our Indian representatives and giving a copy of that programme to our friend Mr. John Scurr. He will help our Indian friends when they arrive in England. You may also consider if there is any one particular individual whom you

would like to go to England on your behalf and fight out your battles. We will have to get the Factory Act properly changed so that the hours of work are reduced. These are the important points that I want you to consider during the week and help me with your suggestions so that we will be able to do something for the poor labourers of India with the help of our Madras Labour Union".

The speech was translated sentence by sentence into vernacular by Mr. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar one of the premier organisers of the Labour Union Movement in India.

Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiar.

next addressed the meeting in Tamil at some length. He said that when he was thinking over that morning what he ought to say to the members of the Labour Union, he was reminded of a poster issued by the Workers' Union of England in which there were printed four questions in large characters, viz., (1) who holds you back? (2) who keeps you down? (3) why are you poor? and (4) who is to blame? Those were questions which every one of them would do well to ponder over and try to answer. In the answer to those four questions would be comprised the solution of all the troubles which labour had to tackle with. He would not attempt that evening to deal with those mighty issues. He would content himself merely with saying a few words as to the relations that should be between employer and employed and also about the attitude of the general public towards both. He proposed also to deal briefly with the question of wages and to conclude with a short history of the Labour Union organization in England. Taking the last topic first, viz.,

The History of Trade Unions

in England, the lecturer said that in 1914, the last normal year before the War, there were in the United Kingdom 1135 Unions with a membership of forty lakhs. The income of some of those Unions would stagger their imagination. The Unions were of various kinds, such as for textile workers, Engineers, Carpenters, etc. The income by subscriptions of the Engineers' Union alone in 1914 was £535 lakhs. The official year-book attributed that enormous increase in membership to the industrial revival from 1910 onwards of which the marked features were the prevalence of disputes, the occurrence of great National strikes and the steady growth of the amalgamation movement. It was due also to the growing feeling among the workers that only by industrial organisation could organised capital be combated. That feeling had expressed itself in increased propagandist activity and also in the refusal of trade Unionists to work alongside of non-Unionists. When they were told of the

success of the Labour Organisation in Europe they were not to run away with the idea that from the first labour had an easy victory. The history of the movement could be traced back to the 14th century, when various regulations were passed by the then powerful Capitalist Governments to compel labour to serve them at fixed terms which were not over liberal from the workmen's point of view. Then combinations of workmen were made illegal. That law was repealed only so late as 1824. Even the amendment of 1856 left such combinations as criminal, as being in restraint of trade. It was only in 1859 that those combinations were declared by the Courts to be not in restraint of trade, and persuasion not to be criminal. In 1875 the Criminal Law of England received certain modifications and especially as regards what was known as "criminal conspiracy," and an act which was not criminal if done by one man was not to be regarded as criminal simply because it was done by more than one. But intimidation was still penalised. It was only after the enactment of the Trade Disputes Act of 1909 that peaceful picketing was allowed. If such was the hard fight that labour had to put up in Europe, was it any wonder that

The Indian Bureaucracy

with its open interest in the British trading classes in India looked on with disfavour the combinations of workmen in this country? However, the days when one could prevent the formation of such unions was now long past, and now whether they liked it or not they were obliged to recognise their Unions and deal with them. Still there was much to be done before their organisations could be considered efficient or before they could say they had derived ever a tithe of the benefit that should accrue to them from concerted action. Their funds were very insignificant. There were many industries which had not their labourers organised. Even those who had been members for some time had not, he was afraid, fully realised their privileges and responsibilities. There was as yet no organisation which could link together the various labour organisation of the country. Above all, there was no organ to voice forth the opinion of labour in India. The Labour Congress of England was a world known organisation counting its delegates by the thousand and tens of thousands with an efficient organisation to carry on the work from year's end to year's end. There were societies for the study of economics of labour, such as questions of rise in rents, in prices of foodstuffs, clothing, etc. The *Daily Herald*, the labour organ of England, was a power in the land and it was fortunate that the labour people of England had interested themselves in the affairs of India. There were unfortunately many who were under

the impression that the chief benefit to be derived from the formation of a Labour Union was either to facilitate going on strike or to get an increase of wages. There could not be greater folly than that. Their success would and must depend upon the measure of public sympathy that they were able to enlist, and that would be possible only in case their cause was just. Trade unionism, it should be remembered, was not only to raise wages but to put down tyranny in the factory, for if democracy was good in the State, it was good in industry as well. During the last few years the National Guild Idea had caught on in England and Mr. Orage, the Editor of *New Age*, the chief organ of that party, was a great friend of India. Guildsmen, in the words of an exponent—Mr. G. D. H. Cole—advocated state ownership and guild management of industry, abolition of the wage system and the establishment of self-government in industry through a system of National Guilds working in conjunction with the State. The future of labour must depend upon organisation and its perfection and not upon strikes. An English writer speaking about the recent increase of wages characterised the same as obtained at the point of the bayonet. It was calculated that as a result of strikes 44 lakhs of workmen obtained increase of wages amounting to £763 lacks weekly. So strikes might be the western way but they were certainly not the Indian or the Satyagrahic way, which was based upon Ahimsa and convincing the public by sweet reasonableness. The constant endeavour of the Labour Unions in this country should be not only to educate themselves into the necessary self-discipline but also to educate the public as regards their attitude to labourers and labour movement. The Indian leaders had so far neglected the interests of labourers and what the labourers wanted was not charity but justice. They were often told that if labour were given increased wages they would drink away the increase. It was a fallacious theory put forward only in the case of poor workmen. It was complained that the workmen were ignorant and illiterate, but the question was who made them so. Even elementary education was persistently denied to them. A merciless and senseless system of castes had stood in the way of ambitious young men rising to the heights to which their abilities and ambitions entitled them. It was the duty of the members of the Union to convince their employers that an accumulation of wealth was of little use to the owner unless together with it he had commercial power over labour, and further that power he could not have unless he sought to purchase their willing obedience which would be possible only by the offer of adequate wages and proper treatment. The real value of wealth depended on the moral attached to it. Some treasures were heavy with human tears.

Mr. T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar then moved the following resolution :

"That the Madras Labour Union request their President Mr. B. P. Wadia to plead the cause of labourers in India before the British labour party in England and the British democracy."

He said that the salvation of India lies with decisions of the Parliament of Great Britain, and British Parliament consisted of representatives of the British public including the influential section of labourers. The Indian National Congress, the Home Rule League and other political parties were sending deputations to England but it would not be appropriate to delegate the cause of labour in India to any of those deputations. Indian leaders had so far neglected the interests of Labourers. It was the undaunted, fearless and firm attitude of their Union President, Mr. Wadia, that stood the members in good stead through all their troubles arising out of strikes and lock-outs in the very first year of their existence. It was now a matter of history how Lord Pentland once persuaded Mr. Wadia to disband the Labour Union and how despite fear of serious consequences Mr. Wadia stood firm by the cause of the labour movement. If their President had been some one other than Mr. Wadia, Lord Pentland might have succeeded in his efforts. Mr. Wadia was their trusted leader and he was the fittest person who could represent the cause of Indian labourers in England.

Mr. A. P. Parthasarathy Naicker, Head Jobber in the Carnatic Mill, seconded the resolution and pointed out some of the inconveniences felt by the workmen owing to long hours of work in the Mills.

Mr. M. Varadarajulu Naicker, Head Jobber, Buckingham Mill and Mr. S. Nagaiah Naidu, Time-Keeper in Carnatic Mill, supported the resolution.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously amidst great acclamation.

On May 3rd 1919 the Madras Labour Union presented an address to its President and some 6 to 7 thousand persons attended. Mrs. Besant, Mr. John Scurr, and other prominent labour leaders were present. After Mrs. Besant and Mr. Scurr had addressed the meeting Mr. T. V. Kalyanasundaram Mudaliar presented the following address to Mr. Wadia :—

Address to Mr. Wadia.

"BELOVED SIR,—We, the members of the Madras Labour Union, beg to express our gratitude to you for having consented to proceed to England to place our grievances before the British Nation. We request you to represent us before the labour Party Conference, the Trade Union Congress, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Secretary to the Labour Party ; and enlist their sympathies to our cause. You are thoroughly acquainted with

our various grievances and we have also given to you a memorandum explaining them, which we request you to publish widely for the information of the British people. We pray God that He may afford you a safe and happy journey to England, a successful stay there, and an early return to our midst."

Similar addresses were presented to Mr. Wadia on May 7th by the Madras Tramway men's Union, Printers Union and other smaller bodies which Mr. Wadia had helped to build up.

A Labour Protest

Under the joint auspices of all the Labour Unions of India a mass meeting was held in Madras on 29th September 1919 to protest against the nomination of Mr. Joshi by the Government of India to the International Labour Conference, Washington, United States of America. As Dr. Subramaniam could not come owing to bad health Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar took the chair in his place. The objection to Mr. Joshi was that he was in no sense an elected representative of Labour and did not really know anything about the life and working of Labour in India. He himself had said that the Government of India had appointed him for reasons best known to themselves and did not claim to represent Indian Labour in the proper sense of the term. The action of the Government in this respect was at par with their whole policy, wherever Indians were concerned, of flouting public opinion.

Thousands upon thousands of Labourers in Madras, Bombay, and elsewhere had elected Mr. Wadia as their representative and he had gone to America at enormous personal sacrifice to plead the cause of Indian Labour but still Government did not heed them.

The following resolution was put from the chair and carried :

"That this general meeting of the members of all the labour unions in Madras strongly condemns the action of the Government of India in ignoring the representation of the Indian work-people. That this meeting respectfully requests the Imperial Cabinet to direct the Government of India to comply with the provisions of article 3 of the Draft Labour Convention by consulting such labour organisations in the country as are in existence."

Subsequently the Government of India appointed Mr. Wadia as an adviser to the so called "Labour Representatives", viz. Mr. A. C. Chatterji, I.C.S. and Mr. N. Joshi, to the International Labour Conference (See Part II p. 240).

Bengal Provincial Conference

Mymensingh 19th April, '20

(Presidential address)

"Two problems which overshadow all others are before the country at the present moment, viz., (1) Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, and (2) the Act based on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Sedition Committee which has been lately placed on the Statute-book.

"The Congress, in two consecutive sessions (i.e. at the special session in Bombay and at the annual session in Delhi last year), has expressed the countries considered views with regard to the Scheme and some of you may think that it would be waste of time to plunge once more into a detailed discussion of its provisions. While fully agreeing with this view I cannot let this occasion pass without referring to certain matters.

"Some of us are of opinion that the Scheme does not provide for any real expansion of responsible Government, while others think that the Scheme is sufficient as a first step towards it and are afraid that unless it is accepted as such there is every possibility of the British Parliament rejecting the Scheme altogether, on the ground that since the Scheme does not satisfy anybody it should not be given effect to at all. I am afraid I can not accept this latter view. On the face of the strong desire of the educated people of all classes and creeds of India expressed in clear terms for a Reform of the Indian Constitution in the direction of responsible Government, and in view of the pronouncement of the 29th of August 1917 made by the Secretary of State for India and accepted by the Prime Minister, and by the other members of the British Cabinet, any apprehension that the question of the Indian Constitutional Reforms may be shelved by the British Parliament is to say the least, groundless. The British Government knows very well or ought to know that any whittling down of the Reform embodied in the Scheme, leave alone the total rejection of the Scheme itself, would not be tolerated by the people of India. That this is not the view of mere agitators is evidenced by what His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner recently said at a banquet given to Lord Sinha. He said that speaking under a strong sense of duty to the King-Emperor and the Empire he wished to sound a solemn warning that if the counsels of opponents of the Reforms were

followed feelings of bitter disappointment and grievous wrong would be dominant throughout India. Nobody could gauge the full force of that disaffection but obviously in comparison with it the recent unrest would seem small. But if the British Government would only seize the occasion to shape the Reform on bold and generous lines at the earliest possible opportunity they would confirm the solidarity of the Empire by strengthening the most enduring ties between England and India—those of mutual trust and helpfulness.

"I cannot leave this subject without referring to certain recent development in connection therewith. You have all heard of the formation of the Civil Service Association in different parts of the country. The position taken up by the Association briefly stated is that the rights and privileges of the members of the Indian Civil Service should not be interfered with or even jeopardised by any scheme of reforms which may be proposed for the better administration of this country. We, who know the Civil Service bureaucracy, the spirit which animates its members, and its methods and traditions are not surprised at it. The bureaucracy, whatever its pretensions may be as we all know, rules the country not primarily for the good of the country but primarily for its own self-preservation and self-advancement. That is the principle of bureaucratic rule all over the world and the Indian Civil Service is no exception to it.

"From a draft memorial of the Indian Civil Service Association of Madras published in the press we have an inkling into the inner working of the Civilian mind :—

(1) They object to 33 per cent of the superior posts being recruited from India at once,

(a) They object to the superior posts going to the members of the Bar or the Provincial Civil Service.

(3) They complain that members of the Indian Civil Service will no longer look forward to attaining positions where they could decide or help to decide policy.

(4) They complain that a Civilian District Officer may have to give effect to policies diametrically opposed to his British ideas.

(5) They complain that a Civilian will be a mere machine, his advice will no longer be regarded, his responsibility to the public will disappear, his power and influence will have gone.

(6) They complain that an English Civilian will not have sufficient number of his countrymen to keep him company.

(7) Finally they complain that their wives hate to be treated by Indian doctors.

"The above summary clearly indicates that what the Civilians want is to maintain their so-called prestige, and to make their domination over the Indians a permanent affair. When has a bureaucracy willingly divested itself of power? When has an autocracy welcome the coming of popular liberty? History records no such event. We must therefore continue to agitate till our object is attained. It is true that agitation, which is not based "on a good statement is a folly;" but it is equally if not more true that "a good statement" as we have in the present instance, "not supported by agitation is futile."

"Threatened Civilian Strike."

"Then again the Civilians urge :—"The present Civilian should be given a chance of escape from an engagement the conditions of which, through no fault of his own, are to be so radically changed, and if the view is to be accepted that the experience and guidance of trained Civilians cannot at present be dispensed with, expediency requires that firm and definite steps should be taken to make tolerable the position of those who remain. What we would ask is :—

(1) That we may be told in explicit terms what is meant by the substantial improvements in the conditions of service (para. 318) and the special measures of protection (para. 325) to which the authors of the Report allude and whether the improvements (para. 318) are to benefit us or only our successors :

(2) That such of us as are not prepared to make themselves pawns in what is termed in the Report one of the greatest political experiments ever undertaken in the world's history should be given the option of retiring on pensions calculated with reference to their service and loss of prospects, or should be offered posts similar to those they now hold either at Home or in other parts of the British Empire ; and,

(3) That the pensions of all members of the Service should be guaranteed to them by the British Parliament."

Gentlemen, recent events in England and in other parts of Europe have made us familiar with strikes and lockouts, threatened or actual. But to speak the truth this vision of a threatened strike, engineered by Government servants, and connived at, if not encouraged, by their superiors, is an unprecedented phenomenon in the whole history of strikes. This attitude of the Indian Civil Service would have been a matter of no concern to us, had it not been for the fact that His Excellency the Viceroy in a recent speech has openly supported it. In opening the last

sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi, on the 6th of February last, His Excellency observed as follows :—

"Now with the introduction of responsible Government in India, however limited at first, a change must begin. If we set up ministers, ministers must administer; and the permanent services must execute. That is so well accepted a maxim of our British policy that no one will dispute it. This then is my first proposition."

"But to suppose as has been alleged that we propose to place the services as a whole in helpless subordination to inexperienced and possibly hostile ministers; that we intend not merely to deprive them of power but to require them blindly to execute policies which they cannot reconcile with their self-respect is very seriously to misconceive our purpose. Let me explain at once why that is impossible."

"It is recognised at the present moment that the time is not ripe for Indians to take over the entire management of the country. Every moderate and thoughtful Indian admits that truth himself. And Government, believe me, is not the simple thing it may sometimes seem. The help of the service, trained, efficient, impartial with their high standards of duty, of character, of the public interest is, absolutely essential if this vast experiment is to succeed. We cannot afford and we do not mean to lose them until India acquires, what she has not got at present, something approximately as good to put in their place. That is my second proposition."

"Secondly, we do not intend to leave the handing of the services wholly to the minister. We propose to instruct the Governor, in a published instrument, that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the services. He will disallow proposals that aim or tend towards their disintegration. The head of every department under ministers will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent difficulties to him before they become acute; and it will be for the Governor, to deal with them by influence and persuasion, and finally by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments or pension by a minister's order."

"Time would not permit me to place before you the many objections and criticisms which may be made against the policy which has been outlined in the portion of the speech I have just quoted. I say, to begin with, that it is humiliating to feel that such

is the present ascendancy of the Civil Service that Lord Chelmsford, the head of the Government and the representative of His Majesty the King Emperor should be under the necessity of giving an undertaking to it however great may be its worth or however indispensable it may be to this country.

"After all is said and done, these gentlemen come out here not out of any love for this country, but to earn a living. In saying this I do not mean any disrespect to them, as we are all entitled to and ought to earn our own living. But what I do mean is to say that these gentlemen should realise what their position is in this country. We are grateful to them for the work which they have done for us, but our gratefulness will not prevent us from seeing that they are well paid for and that their interests are not to be placed above all other interests. I regret that His Excellency the Viceroy did not take the opportunity of making this quite clear to the members of the Civil Service. On the contrary he went out of his way to appease their supposed injured feeling by holding out hopes and inducements which, if materialised, would be prejudicial to the welfare of the country and to the efficient working of the system of Government proposed to be set up by the Scheme. We have not the remotest intention of depriving the present members of the services of any pay or pension to which they are entitled under the existing rules. No assurance from the Viceroy was needed on this point. But as regard their future position under the ministers which His Excellency the Viceroy has indicated, we say that such a position, if secured to them, would be not only inconsistent with the self-respect of the ministers under whom they will serve, but will render the working of the Scheme almost impossible.

"It is obvious from the observations which I have placed before you that in order to maintain the self-respect of the Services as well as their present power and position, the Governor will appoint only such men as ministers as will have the wisdom and tact to put up with them. In other words, not the best men of the country will be secured for serving the country but the men who will be considered the best from the point of view of the welfare and the self-respect of the Service. Again, His Excellency the Viceroy has told us that the head of every department will have access to the Governor. I ask you, is there any man who will accept the position of a minister when he knows that his subordinate can directly approach the Governor and represent his supposed grievances behind his back? And suppose such a minister could be found, would you call him responsible to the

Council or to the people? Rather would he not be responsible to the Civil Service?"

"Before I leave His Excellency the Viceroy's speech let me refer to another matter viz, the assurance given by His Excellency to those who have set themselves up as representatives of British trade in this country. Well, gentlemen, these are his words:

"The Secretary of State and I have pledged ourselves in paragraph 344 to reserve to Government power to protect any industry from prejudice, attack or privileged competition. To speak for myself, I believe this can be secured by embodying this undertaking in the instrument of instructions given to the Governor on appointment wherein he will be informed that His Majesty's Government lay on him a responsibility for seeing that the pledge is made good. With such a public document in his hands the Government with the Governor of India and Secretary of State behind him, would be in a very strong position to resist all proposals of his ministers which appeared to him to be acts of hostility of British commerce. There will moreover be representatives of that interest sitting in the provincial chamber; and I cannot do them the injustice of supposing that they will fail to bring any just grievance effectively to the Governor's notice or if need be to remind him of his responsibility.

"We have been given all along to understand that the object of the Scheme is to place India on the road to responsible Government. But it is difficult to imagine how India would ever attain responsible Government, if the Governor will be in a position to override any measure which a minister may be advised to adopt in the interest of Indian commerce and industry. To make matters quite clear, His Excellency's words leave no doubt in our minds that the representatives of British interests will be in position to kill all Indian industrial activities on the merest pretence that they are acts of hostilities to the British commerce. More of this when I come to deal with the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission.

"Gentlemen, this is the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme revised and brought up to date. Its first appearance in July 1918 did not evoke much enthusiasm. But as it appears to-day modified as aforesaid by His Excellency the Viceroy, I am afraid it will kill the little enthusiasm which some of us felt for it. The situation is not so bright and hopeful. We must be on our guard. We must clearly define what we want. And here I believe I voice the opinion of any countrymen when I say that nothing short of complete provincial autonomy will satisfy us.

"I now pass on to what is known as the Rowlatt Act officially styled the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act.

Two questions have got to be considered :

- (1) Was this piece of legislation necessary ?
- (2) What are the changes it has introduced into our criminal law and with what likely effect ?

Sr William Vincent in introducing this Bill remarked as follows :—

"We had been unable effectively to cope with this movement under the normal Law. We had been foiled in all our efforts. We then took restrictive measures, and we have been or really the Local Government has been, singularly successful in dealing with it. I think if you read the Report the vital propositions are that under pre-war conditions the machinery of law and order was unfitted to cope with lawlessness of a particular type ; that the coming of the war with its emergency legislation really saved the peace of India by providing machinery which could deal with this lawlessness ; and that it is unsafe for us now to revert to the previous condition of affairs, in which these anarchical forces were allowed unrestricted license to prosecute their designs. It is on the basis of this Report that we have undertaken this legislation.

From these words it is clear that the Government of India undertook this legislation in the belief that nothing short of measures calculated to seriously jeopardise and interfere with the personal safety and liberty of His Majesty's subjects would enable them to preserve law and order in this country. If this belief is seriously entertained by the Government then all we can say is that it furnishes a sad commentary on British Rule in this country. How is it one naturally asked that India whose people are proverbially noted for their sense of abhorrence of all violent acts, particularly violent acts directed against the established Government, how is it, one is tempted to ask, a people with such a temperament should have produced anarchists and revolutionaries ? The authors of the report of the Sedition Committee from which the Government have drawn their inspiration have entered into a historical survey of the revolutionary conspiracy in this country beginning with the public Ganapati Festival held in 1894 in Poona and ending with the dastardly murder of Basanto Kumar Chatterjee in one of the public thoroughfares of Calcutta.

"In tracing this history they have furnished us with the activities and enterprises of the Chapeker brothers and Sabarker of

Poona, the doings of Barindra and his gang in the suburbs of Calcutta and the speeches and writings of Tilak and Samaj and various other persons. It is curious to observe that in their lengthy survey, they have not ventured to examine critically the acts and measures of the Government during the period in question with a view to discover to what extent if at all the latter contributed to the growth and development of anarchical and revolutionary spirit in this country. One would have expected that a Commission presided over by one of the judges of the King's Bench Division of the High Court of England would try to penetrate beyond the police reports submitted to them and carefully and fearlessly diagnose the causes and agencies which we believe are responsible for this revolutionary disease. If they had done so, we venture to assert that their recommendations would have been directed not only to the restriction of individual liberty and safety but also, if not more so, towards the restriction of Government high handedness and repression. The authors of the Report have gone so far back as 1894 in their history of revolutionary conspiracy, but so far as Bengal is concerned it can be said without fear of contradiction that there was no revolutionary crime and anarchy in this country till after the partition of Bengal. Who is morally responsible for this? In answering this question I cannot do better than quote the following lines from the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohon Malaviya's speech in the imperial Council on the 6th of February last.

"And this prepares us for answering the first question: Was this piece of legislation necessary? The officials tell us that it is necessary in the interest of peace and order but we are convinced it is not necessary. Having regard to the fact that our rulers themselves give us the assurance most of the causes to which we have alluded as responsible for the growth of anarchism in this country will before long disappear. Mr. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy have promised us substantial reforms in the direction of responsible Government. The Public Services Commission have given us hopes of more extensive and lucrative careers for our young men in the public services. And lastly the recommendation, of the Indian Industrial Commission have opened out for us a vista of commercial prosperity and industrial revival. If these things are going to happen in the near future and there is no reason to believe that it is not likely, revolution and anarchy would die natural death. What then is the necessity at this moment to pass this coercive law which, beside being subversive of all the principles which we associate with the name of Britain is unworthy of a civilized government?

But then it will be said, whatever may be the future of anarchism in this country, how are the Government to deal with anarchism and its protagonists at the present moment? The answer to that is, to quote the words of The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee,"

"The Defence of India Act will be operative six months after the conclusion of peace. That will take us down to the end of the year. Therefore, at least up to the 31st of December 1919, no such law as the one that you are now proposing to enact is needed. Then my Lord, there is the power of Ordinances which you have used so freely and so frequently and to such good purpose. You can revive the Defence of India Act by an Ordinance which will continue till June, 1920. Therefore my Lord, having regard to the powers which the Government of India at present possess, and which can be easily continued, it seems to me that no case has been made out for enacting a law of this kind, at any rate at this stage."

"Nor is this all. You have got in your armoury Regulation III of 1818. It is a part of the permanent law of the land, and you can set it in motion at any time you like. As a matter of fact, I think my Hon'ble Member will bear me out when I say that the most dangerous characters have all been interned under Regulation III of 1818."

"Having these extensive powers in hand, one is curious to enquire what are the motives which have actuated the Government in passing this Act, in the teeth of unanimous opposition, on the strength of their official block? I may tell the Government that we are not satisfied with the explanations which have been given for the course that they have pursued. Armed with the powers they have got under the Act, they can restrain the overt acts of the people but they can not stop their thinking and guessing.

"We pass now to the second question :—What are the changes it has introduced into our criminal law and with what likely effect?

"The Act, speaking broadly, has introduced two revolutionary changes into the law of crimes in this country. The first is it has created a new Tribunal for the trial of certain offences mentioned in the schedule, of the Act. On turning to the schedule, one finds that it includes offences which are offences against the state as well as other offences e. g., mischief, trespass, grievous hurt, extortion, rioting, dacoity, culpable homicide, murder and so on. There may be some just

fication for a tribunal to try offences directed against the state such as waging war against the King, sedition and so on. But there is not even a shadow of justification for removing the trial of offences like mischief and house trespass from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of the land to a tribunal specially established for that purpose. I know, it will be said that these offences will come within the jurisdiction of the new tribunal only when any of these offences are connected with any movement endangering the safety of the state. But the question is, who is to decide in a particular case whether the offence in question is so connected? Section 2 of the schedule makes it quite clear that the executive is the sole and the final judge in this matter, and who is this executive? In ultimate analysis it is found to be no other person than an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department.

"The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Junnah has pointed out in another connection—

"Well now, who will give the information to the local Government that a person is concerned with a movement of the kind defined? Who will furnish the local Government with materials upon which the local Government will make its order? I venture to say, my Lord, it will be some Police officer. Who else can it be, except somebody in the Criminal Investigation Department or the Police? It is the Police who will furnish the local Government with information, ex-parte information and upon that information furnished by the police, the local Government will say, 'well, here we have got this information, we will make the order and the order is made and it is final.'"

"In this connection, I must bring to your notice the very important fact that an amendment was moved in the Select Committee to the effect "that provided when the Committee convicts a person whether of the offence with which he was charged or of another, it shall record a finding that such offence is connected with an anarchical or revolutionary movement. Needless to say this amendment was not allowed. To us of course it causes no surprise; for notwithstanding the fact that a judiciary has been set up to try certain offences, the object of the Act is to make the judiciary a servant of the executive.

"The executive can set the judiciary in motion by a mere declaration by the Local Government that in its opinion the trial of any person accused of a schedule offence should be held in accordance with the provisions of this part, i.e., part I of the Act. What guarantee is there that you and I may not be sent up for trial under the provision of part I of this Act, if the executive on

materials placed before it and considered *ex parte* should be pleased to express the opinion that the trial should be so held? But then you may say what harm? You will be tried by a tribunal consisting of three High Court Judges nominated by the Chief-justice. The procedure will be the procedure for the trial of warrant cases by Magistrates. You will be entitled to ask for an adjournment of 14 days and the Court shall comply with your request. A complete record of the evidence of each witness will be kept in the manner directed by the Court. And lastly if you are innocent you have simply to step into the witness box and demonstrate the falsity of the charge against you. But, gentlemen, inspite of its many attractions I am not in love with the new tribunal and its provisions.

The President then fully analysed the provisions of the Act and pointed out step by step the great danger to personal liberty which it threatens. He then touched upon the satyagraha and swadeshi, cooperative movement, Primary Education, Sanitation and other imperative needs of the country and then concluded.

Conclusion.

"I desire to impress upon you two things before I resume my seat.

"First you must learn to depend upon yourselves in matters of mass education, sanitation, trade and industry. We can not look to the Government to render the people any substantial help or encouragement in these direction. Up till now they had pleaded financial reasons for their inability to do much and whatever money was found was spent in the employment of highly paid European officers without any real and substantial improvement being introduced.

"I do not know whether the Government's plea of want of funds is a sound one, but I am almost sure even if the Government had the necessary funds, the vested interests in this country as well as in England will stand in their way of adopting any measure calculated to advance the health and the material prosperity of the people of this country.

"Secondly I say that one object we should have steadily in view would be to make the Government of the country national. Make the Government your own and you will have the things you want. Money will be found, vested interests will be swept away, and the people will come into their own.

"I know there are some, both Englishmen and Indians, who urge upon us to refrain from all political agitation and to concentrate for the present our efforts on such problems as socia

reconstruction, mass education, sanitation and industrial revival. Though I yield to none in my appreciation of the importance of these problems, I take this opportunity of frankly expressing my opinion that none of these problems will ever be solved to our satisfaction till we acquire complete control over the Government of our country. This is no doubt a bold assertion, but history has made it abundantly clear that a good Government is no substitute for Government by the people, and that a Government not based upon the will of the people, however noble its intentions may be can never enter into that spiritual sympathy with the needs and aspirations of the people which is the sine-qua-non of all successful administration. *Bande Mataram*.

Bengal Provincial Conference.

Mymensingh—19th April 1919.

The Conference opened its session on the 19th April 1919 and sat for 3 days. On the first day it was announced to meet at 1 P. M. but long before the appointed time the huge pandal specially erected for the purpose was packed to its utmost capacity. There were about 700 delegates from all over Bengal and the total attendance was some 5000 visitors. Quite a large number of ladies attended and took greater interest in the proceedings heretofore. At the appointed time the president Babu Jatra Mohon Sen, headed by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rai Bahadur Shama Charan Roy, and ex-presidents Messrs. C. R. Das, Akhil Ch. Dutt, B. Chackerverty, and Rai Jatindranath Choudhury, entered the pandal in procession and was accorded a warm reception. Shouts of "*Bande Mataram*" and "*Alla-ho-Akbar*" rang throughout the vast gathering.

Mr. B. Chackervarti proposed and the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlal Huq seconded that Babu Jatra Mohon Sen do take the chair. The proposal was received with loud applause. The President then read his address. The following resolutions were passed :—

Babu B. C. Pal moved :—

2. "That in view of the unfulfilled pledges given of the rights and liberties of the Indian citizens in the Charter Act of 1833, the Queen's Proclamation of 1857, the King's Proclamation of 1910 and 1911 and the Government of India Act of 1915, this Conference demands a clear Declaration of Rights of the people of India by a Statute of Parliament enacting—

(a) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the Law, and there shall be no penal nor administrative law in force in this country, whether substantive or procedural, of a discriminative nature ;

(b) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or in respect of free speech or writing, or of the right of association, except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice, and as a result of lawful and open trial ;

(c) that every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, subject to the purchase of a licence, as in Great Britain, and that right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice ;

(d) That the Press shall be free, and that no licence nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a Press or a newspaper ;

(e) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

Mr. C. R. Das moved :—

3. "That this Conference affirms the resolutions on the Indian constitutional reforms passed by the Indian National Congress at Delhi in December 1918 and urges His Majesty's Government in England to apply the principle of self-determination to India in the solution of the Indian constitutional problem."

He said that this resolution on constitutional reform was passed in the Bombay Congress and reaffirmed in Delhi. If the Congress which had been urging for the last thirty-three years for self-government, after mature consideration adopted this resolution, they must not say that the Congress was wrong. Absolute provincial autonomy was of urgent necessity. He would say that unless provincial autonomy was given any reform would be of no avail. They might get control of education or sanitation, but if the life of the nation was crushed what was the good of education and sanitation? Unless they had power to protect themselves from the police there was no necessity of reforms.

4. "That this Conference appreciates the opportunities afforded to the Bengalee people to enlist in the Bengalee Battalion, the Indian Defence Force and the Bengal Light Horse, and demands that the Government should be pleased to recognise and give effect to the rights of qualified Bengalees to enlist in all branches of His Majesty's Army and of the Navy and Air service and urges that in respect of pay, promotion and status, they be placed on a footing of equality with His Majesty's European subjects.

That this Conference further urges that at least one Battalion or the Bengalee people be permanently established and maintained as a branch of His Majesty's army and that qualified Bengalees be admitted to His Majesty's commission in the army and for their training a well-equipped College be established in Bengal on the lines of institutions for the purpose in England.

Mr. B Chakravarty moved the next resolution :—

5. "(a) That this Conference solemnly declares that the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919 is a gross violation of the fundamental rights of a citizen to a regular and open trial, safeguarded by a wholesome body of rules of evidence, and with free access to all particulars of facts to be taken into consideration against him before he can be deprived of his personal liberty as a criminal offender, and that the passing of the Act against the united opposition of the whole country through Indian political organisations, numerous public meetings, unprecedented in their vastness, and non-official Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council without a single exception, was subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of citizenship guaranteed by Royal Proclamations and this Conference therefore most humbly beseeches His Most Gracious Majesty and King Emperor to be pleased to signify through His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council His disallowance of the said Act,

(b) That this Conference urges on the Government to remove from the Statute Book the Defence of India Act, Bengal Regulation III of 1818, the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Act of 1913 and other similar repressive measures curtailing the liberty of the subject, and to enter on a policy of trust in the administration of the country.

(c) This Conference further urges upon the Government that all persons interned or externed under the Defence of India Act or all persons dealt with under the above mentioned regulations, and all political prisoners should at once be set at liberty with a view to ensure the success of conditional reforms

Madras Liberal League

At an urgent general meeting of the Madras Liberal League held on September 2nd with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

I. The Madras Liberal League has learnt with feelings of surprise and of regret that the Government of India intend to introduce during next session of the Viceregal Legislative Council an Indemnity Bill for legalising the actions of the officers concerned in the introduction and administration of Martial Law in the Punjab. In view of the fact that Commission of Enquiry promised by the Secretary of State has not yet been appointed, and that the findings of the Commission will have a most important bearing on the question of the necessity for the introduction of Martial Law and the promulgation of the various orders passed thereunder and the reasonableness or otherwise of the conduct of those concerned in their administration, the League is of opinion that the introduction of an indemnity Bill at this stage is highly premature and impolitic, is bound to impede the work of the Commission and discount its conclusions beforehand in the eyes of the public, and will tend to undermine the faith of the people in the impartiality and justice of the British Government and affect its prestige.

II. The Madras Liberal League is of opinion that the Committee which has been appointed to enquire into the administration and organisation of the Army in India is unsatisfactory in composition in that it includes Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose methods of administration and pronounced hostility to Indian aspirations have caused wide dissatisfaction and no provision is made for the due representation of Indian interests. The League urges that the Committee should be enlarged by the addition of representative Indians and ruling chiefs and that it should be instructed to enquire into and report upon the extent to which the higher ranks of the Army in all branches should be thrown open to Indians.

III. The Madras Liberal League prays that the Secretary of State will be pleased to insist that in the Commission to be appointed to enquire into the grievances of Indians in South Africa, the Indian representatives should be equal in number to the representatives of South African Union and that the operation of the Asiatic Trading and Land-owning Act passed by the Union Parliament should be suspended pending the Report of the Commission.

IV. The Madras Liberal League prays that before handing German South-West Africa to the South African Union, His Majesty's Government will be pleased to insist on the recognition of the civil and political equality of the Indian subjects of His Majesty and their right to settle in the country.

V. The Madras Liberal League considers it necessary that the terms of mandates of types *B* and *C* to be issued in respect of the German Colonies, should be modified so as to clearly and expressly provide for the recognition of the rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects to free immigration and complete equality of civil and political status with British born subjects.

VI. The Madras Liberal League prays that German East Africa may be reserved for Indian colonisation and handed over to the Government of India under the appropriate mandate.

VII The Madras Liberal League urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take prompt measures for the expeditious release of the Indian Labourers in Fiji from their indentures.

VIII. The Madras Liberal League appeals to His Majesty's Government to use all their influence to prevent the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and the transfer of the homelands of the Turkish nation to other nationalities.

IX. That in response to the appeal of Swami Sradhananda, for relief to the sufferers in the Punjab, the Madras Liberal League do open a subscription list, and the amounts collected be remitted to Mr. Tiwari of the servants of India Society who is in charge of the distribution of the funds.

Madras Provincial Conference

Trichinopoly—August 22nd, 1919

The 25th. Madras Provincial Conference met at Trichinopoly on August 22nd and continued for the next two days. The Hon. Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar, chairman of the reception committee welcomed the delegates in a short address. The Hon. Dewan Bahadur Desikachariar proposed the Hon. Raja of Ramnad to the chair. The proposal was seconded by Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar and other speakers. The Hon. the Raja of Ramnad then took the chair and read his long Presidential Address, dealing very thoroughly with the burning topics of the day, specially those regarding the affairs of the Punjab.

On the second day the proceedings began at noon. The president moved the loyal resolution and also one expressing sorrow at the death of Nawab Syed Muhammad and Dr. Nair.

Fundamental Rights

Dr. Subbarayan, Z-mindar of Kumaramangalam, next moved the following resolution :

"This Conference reiterates the resolutions of the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League and expresses its emphatic opinion that no statute amending the Government of India Act will be satisfactory unless there is in it a guarantee of the following fundamental rights :

(a) that all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal nor administrative law in force in this country whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature :

(b) that no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property or in respect of free speech or writing or of association, except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice and as a result of lawful and open trial.

(c) that every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, subject to the purchase of a license as in Great Britain and that right shall not be taken away except by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice.

(d) that the Press shall be free and that no licence or security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or a newspaper ;

(e) that corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty, save under conditions applying equally to all other British Subjects.

Punjab Affairs

Mr. S. Kasturanga Iyengar moved :

"This Conference expresses its deep sympathy with our country-men in the Punjab in their unhappy and distressed condition consequent on the Proclamation of Martial Law, at once uncalled for and unconstitutional, and the manifold sufferings caused by its administration.

"That this Conference deplores the delay in announcing the formation of the promised Commission of enquiry by the Secretary of State for India and in view of the substitution of the ordinary Courts of Justice by Martial Law Commissions and of the convictions made and sentences passed by the said tribunals which have shocked the public mind and aroused widespread

indignation throughout the country, urges that such a Commission should be appointed without any further delay by His Majesty's Government and should consist of persons wholly unconnected with the Indian Administration and commanding public confidence, of whom not less than one-half should be Indians, that it should hold an open public inquiry, and that it should have power to annul and revise sentences passed by the Martial Law Commissions and other officers specially empowered in this behalf.

"This Conference places on record its appreciation of Sir Sankaran Nair's services to the country and in particular, his resignation of the office of Membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council as a protest against the policy pursued by the Government of the Punjab in promulgating and maintaining Martial Law, and its reverential admiration of the action taken by our great national Poet, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, in resigning his Knighthood as a protest against the policy of the Government in this behalf.

A Sensation

When the President stood up and was about to put the resolution to vote, Mr. T. C. Vydhinatha Aiyar asked the President if he could move an amendment.

The President said that he did not receive any amendment. Thereupon the mover said that he had given the amendment to the Secretary.

Dr. Rajan, Secretary, who was sitting near the President's table said that he had lost it.

The mover of the amendment expressed his surprise that such an important paper should be so lightly let off.

Dr. Rajan apologised and said that he had lost it somewhere and it was not intentional on his part.

Thereupon the President asked what the amendment was.

Mr. T. C. Vydhinatha Aiyar said that he had a copy and got upon the dais. He was about to read it when the President wanted to see the copy. The President read it and consulted some of his friends on the dais. After some consultation the President asked the mover if he could not move it as a separate proposition.

Mr. Vydhinatha Aiyar replied that a resolution could not be brought before the Conference without being first considered in the Subjects Committee. He said that he was not a member of the Subjects Committee. He said that the amendment was in order and he had every right to move it. He saw near his seat a placard hanging wherein the words "We demand justice" was found.

If that placard had not been placed by the Reception Committee on the platform he would not have seen it and would not have moved the resolution. That was an amendment which should be moved by leaders. But as nobody was forthcoming he ventured to move the amendment.

The Amendment

Mr. T. C. Vydhinatha Aiyar then moved the following amendment :—

After the last sentence in the resolution clause (a) add the following: This Conference is of opinion that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, should immediately be recalled for having lost the confidence of the Indian public by his indifference and incompetency to control the illegal action of the late Lieut. Governor of the Punjab, thereby endangering the safety of the British Empire and causing irremediable suffering and anxieties to the people of the Punjab.

In doing so he made a spirited speech in Tamil in the course of which he said that the action of the Viceroy had been strongly condemned by the President in his important address, as well as by Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu. If the people thought that what the Viceroy did were all right let them move a resolution congratulating him. If they did not, he was not particular about that. But if the people thought that what the Viceroy did was wrong let them unmistakably express it.

The speech was punctuated by enthusiastic cheers.

A gentleman from the platform seconded the resolution and another delegate supported the resolution. Meanwhile the audience was continuously cheering, for no question of public importance so much agitated public mind as the heartless in action of the Viceroy during the late Reign of Terror in the Punjab.

The President then rose and said that as there was some doubt as to the necessity of that amendment in that resolution he would consider it with his friends. He then adjourned the Conference for half an hour for consultation.

When the Conference reassembled the President said that opinion was divided as to whether it would be advantageous to have the amendment to that resolution. If the mover would very kindly agree to submit his motion to the consideration of the Subject Committee he promised that every consideration would be given to the subject matter of the proposition and if necessary it would be brought before them in the shape of a separate proposition the next day. He would himself place the matter before the Subject Committee.

Mr. Arunachala Sastri said that the gathering was prepared to leave the matter to the Subjects Committee in case it was left to them to decide the wording of the amendment. They wanted the recall of the Viceroy. If that was the question left to the determination of the Subject Committee they would all in a body oppose it.

The President said that he gathered that the popular opinion was for bringing the matter as a separate resolution. A delegate stood up and said that they were not particular about the opinion of any but the President. They wanted a definite ruling from the chair. The President in exercise of the power conferred on him, moved each clause as independent resolution and took votes.

When the first clause was passed as a separate resolution, Mr. Vydhanatha Aiyar said that it was there that he had to move his amendment.

The President ruled it out of order.

Mr. N. S. Ramaswami Iyengar asked what they were to do if the Subjects Committee refused to move it as a separate resolution.

The President asked them to very kindly give him indulgence and to wait till the next morning. If the Subjects Committee was opposed to it it was for them to consider whether they should press it. Therefore, he requested them to very kindly postpone the consideration of the matter till the next day.

The other clauses were then passed.

Rowlatt Laws

The Hon. Mr. B. V. Narasimha Aiyar moved :

“ This Conference places on record :—

(a) Its emphatic protest and strong condemnation of the Criminal Emergency Powers Act 1 of 1919 and the Bill to provide for amendment of the Indian Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure, the former of which has been rushed through the the Supreme Legislative Council and passed into law in defiance of unanimous Indian opinion.

(b) its strong feeling that these measures of legislation are unparalleled in the legislative history of any civilised country, cast an undeserved slur on the loyalty of three-hundred millions of people, amount to an indictment against the whole nation, substitute in effect the rule of the executive for that of the law, destroying thereby the very foundations of personal freedom and civil liberty, are subversive of the order of things recognised and acted upon in all free and civilised countries, and will retard all ordered political progress ;

(c) its firm resolve that a persistent agitation should be carried on throughout the country for the repeal of Act I of 1919 and for the abandonment of the other Rowlatt Bill ;

(d) its complete and unbounded confidence in Mahatma Gandhi and its full and hearty support of the action taken by him to make the Government give effect to public opinion in regard to these laws.

Mr. S. S. Bharathi seconded, and Messrs. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, T. V. Gopalaswamy Mudaliar, Lakhmivarah Iyengar and Mr. K. M. Acharya spoke on the resolution strongly supporting it.

(Then follow a long list of Nationalist demand of Reforms in the India Council, Government of India, Provincial Governments etc, on lines of the Congress-League proposals).

Reforms

Mr. K. R. Guruswami Aiyar moved the following resolution.

" This Conference is of opinion that the Reform Bill introduced in the Parliament is unsatisfactory and disappointing and that the same should be modified so as to embody the demands of the Indian National Congress and the All India Moslem League held at Delhi in December last and urged in the memorandum submitted by the Congress Deputation.

The President before proceeding with the work said that before he resumed the debate on Reforms he wished to make a statement. According to the promise given to them the previous day the resolution brought forward by Mr. Vydhinatha Aiyer was duly considered in the Subjects Committee and Mr. Vydhinatha Aiyer himself was heard. The views of some of the experienced and senior members were heard and for very good reasons Mr. Vydhinatha Iyer himself had very kindly withdrawn the motion. That was all what he had to say on the matter. He had received after coming to the Conference a communication signed by a very large number of people with the request that the Conference should go into the Subjects Committee. He did not know what was meant by Subjects Committee. He had heard of a Conference going into a Committee.

Mr. N. S. Ramaswami Iyengar said that if the President permitted those who had signed the communication they would explain it

The President said it would be absolutely *ultra vires* to consider any proposal of that kind at that stage.

Mr. N. S. Ramaswami Iyengar submitted that it was only a matter of right on behalf of the delegates. It would be explained that it was not *ultra vires*.

Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar then went up the dais and said that it was a matter of procedure based upon the constitutional rules which were all printed in English. It said that no resolution could be brought before the Conference without its being placed before the Subjects Committee. The President objected to his making a speech and asked Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar to explain the matter to him first. Then they privately discussed the matter.

The President after hearing the explanation said that it might be right to propose that the whole Conference should go into a committee. But when the subject was one which was not found in the agenda he did not think they could go into a Committee. As Mr. Vydhinatha Iyer had withdrawn it, it would look more expedient that such a motion should not be brought forward. He would only appeal to them to take his advice kindly in the spirit in which it was offered. He had very good reasons to believe after hearing Messrs. Kasturiranga Iyengar and C. Vijayaraghavachariar that it was unnecessary, imprudent and immature at that moment. Under those circumstances it would be absolutely *ultra vires* to ask the Conference to go into a Committee. If Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar pressed it he was obliged to rule it out of order.

Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar:—You can rule it out of order.

President:—I do not think the house could go into the Subjects Committee in as much as the resolution was not in the agenda.

Cable to England

Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar moved:—

"This conference authorises the President to send a cable to Lord Selbourne, President of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the Right Hon. the Prime Minister, Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India, Hon. Mr. Patel, Secretary, Congress Deputation in England, Hon. Yakub Hasan and the Editor of *India*."

This message was a summary of the important resolutions passed in the Conference. It was proposed by Mr. Vijayaraghava Chariar, seconded by Mr. Joseph, supported by Mr. Mirtuzi Sahab and passed.

The following resolutions were put from the Chair:—

"This Conference requests the Government to devise measures for giving immediate effect to the much-needed reform for the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions."

"This Conference reiterates that the amendments in the Religious Endowments Act long contemplated, cannot any longer be delayed and urges on the Government the necessity for taking

early steps in the matter as necessary permission has since been obtained from the Secretary of State.

"This Conference requests the Government to take immediate steps to avoid overcrowding of third class compartments in view of the comfort and convenience of third class passengers, to run sufficient number of trains to prevent this overcrowding and to discontinue the system of reserving third class accommodation for Eurasians and East Indians so long as there is no difference of fares between an ordinary third class passenger and an Eurasian third class passenger fare to justify this special privilege.

(a) This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the orders under the Defence of India Act passed against Mr. Gandhi are absolutely unwarranted and undesirable and should be immediately rescinded.

(b) that there should be a general amnesty and full pardon for all political prisoners and release of all internees.

(c) that Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali should be released immediately, the circumstances alleged by the Government for their internment having ceased to exist.

and (d) that the orders of externment and internment against Messrs. Horniman, Lajpat Rai, Chenchiah, Seth Sen, and others should be revoked and cancelled.

"That this Conference enters its emphatic protest against the enactment of the Asiatic (Land and Trading) Amendment Act by the Union Parliament of South Africa which is a flagrant violation of the fundamental rights of British Indians in South Africa and would certainly result in a few years in reducing the South African Indians to a state of helotry without status, rights of property or profession, not to speak of the rights and privileges of British citizens, and drive them away from the country of their birth and domicile to seek in India new homes and suffer great hardships.

(b) This Conference is further of opinion that the Act is based upon a gross misreading of the agreement arrived at by the Settlement of 1914.

(c) This Conference urges on the Imperial Government to interfere and veto this law which was rushed through when this country was pre-occupied with grave domestic question of supreme importance, and which is sure to produce the greatest indignation throughout the land.

"This Conference enters its protest against the action of the Ceylon and Madras Governments in conducting secret negotiations with each other with a view to the enactment of a labour law for

Ceylon with the object of facilitating the supply of regulated Indian labour to Ceylon and urges the Madras Government to convene a Conference of the representatives of the people and of the Government to examine the terms of the proposed ordinance and report as to the extent to which they are calculated to ameliorate the admittedly deplorable and humiliating conditions, economic and civil, to which they are now subjected in the planting area in Ceylon.

"This Conference urges that unless and until the conditions of decent existence, adequate wages and normal civic freedom are established by the Ceylon Government, the Government of Madras should take power by necessary legislation to continue the prohibition of emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon and to lay down the conditions under which labour recruitment to Ceylon from this Province should be permitted.

"This Conference further insists that the services of Mr. C. F. Andrews should be availed of and that a report from him regarding the conditions of Indian labour in Ceylon should be made the basis of the settlement of this vexed question.

"This Conference views with considerable regret and apprehension the intimation received that the Fiji Government has postponed the cancellation of the Indian indentures and records its most emphatic protest against any weakness on the part of the authorities in dealing with this question of self-respect to the Indian nation.

"That this Conference strongly condemns the procedure adopted in the Katarpur Riots Case of applying the provisions of the Defence of India Act for trying the accused by a special tribunal and appeals to the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces and the Viceroy to revise the convictions and sentences.

Bengal Presidency Moslem League

The annual session of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League was held at Mymensingh on 22 April, 1919.

Maulvy Abdul Khaleque, the chairman of the Reception Committee, in a short speech welcomed the delegates. The President, Mr. Mir Mahommed Massih, Bar-at-law, a brother of the Hon'ble Nawab Shamsul Huda, delivered a vigorous speech, demanding the rights of the Mahomedans emphatically, taking the members of his community to task for their present attitude of apathy, which was in a way responsible for retarding the normal rate of progress of the country; he condemned in severe terms the Press Act and the Rowlat Act. He warned his co-religionists that if they behaved as they were doing the time would come when future generations of Mahomedans will hang down their head in shame and will set apart a black chapter to their perpetual and eternal discredit.

Most of the resolutions passed by the League and the Provincial Conference were practically on the same lines. But the resolution round which centred the most intense interest was the one protesting against the contemplated dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The honour of the Khalifa is dearest to the heart of Mahomedans and naturally they regard the attempt to take away some of his possessions from him as tending to lower him in honour and prestige. The resolution was moved by Maulavi Najmuddin Ahmed, who in a Urdu speech explained the subject to his audience. He was seconded by Maulavi Mahommed Akram Khan, editor of the "Muhammadi" who delivered a powerful speech in Bengali, which was listened to with rapt attention not only by the Mussalmans but by the Hindus also and at times his speech drew tears from people belonging to both creeds.

The following are some of the most important resolutions passed:

1. That the report of the Secretary be adopted.
2. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League, being strongly of opinion that the continuance of the Sovereignty of the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalifa of Islam, over the Jaziratul Arab as defined by Muslim authorities and divines is essential to the maintenance of the Khalifat, hereby places on record

its emphatic protest against any attempt to weaken the authority of the Sultan over the said territories inasmuch as any such attempt would affect the religious beliefs of the Mussalman in the teachings of the Shariat and thereby produce an adverse effect on the devotion of the community to the British Throne.

3. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League records its most emphatic protest against the passing of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act commonly called the Rowlatt Act and the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council in utter disregard of public opinion as being subversive of all the principle of liberty and justice and as constituting an unjust interference with the rights and privileges of the Indian subjects of his Majesty and urges upon the Government the repeal of the Act and the abandonment of the Bill.

4. That in view of the most bitter feelings in the country against the Rowlatt Act and the Bill, the Bengal Presidency Muslim League strongly condemns the conduct of the Mohemadan representatives of Bengal in the Imperial Legislative Council in not opposing the said measures, inasmuch as their failure to offer such opposition as was due amounts to a culpable neglect of their duties as members of the said council.

5. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League affirms and endorses the resolutions on the Scheme of Reforms adopted by the All-India Muslim League at its annual session held at Delhi in December 1918 and records its deliberate opinion once more that nothing short of full autonomy in the Provinces would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people.

6. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League expresses its deep disappointment at the persistent refusal of the Government of Bengal to hold a public enquiry into the Calcutta disturbances of September last in spite of the repeated prayers of the Mussalman community for such enquiry.

The League further places on record its grateful thanks to Messrs. L. P. E. Pugh and H. D. Bose of the Calcutta Bar, Mr. Abbas Taiyebji of Baroda, Mr. Vijayaraghobachariar of Madras and Mr. Pandit Ajit Prasad of Lucknow who at great personal sacrifice held an enquiry into the said disturbances and urges upon the Government to take action in accordance with the recommendation of the said commission.

7. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League emphatically protests against the attitude of the Government regarding the

continued internment of Moslem leaders in spite of universal protest from the country, and in the name of justice, humanity and liberty urges upon the Government their immediate release.

13. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League expresses its deep disappointment at the continued neglect of the Government to take steps to develop the natural resources of the country and hopes that immediate action will be taken on the recommendations of the Industrial Commission in the light of the criticisms made by representative public bodies and the leaders of the Indian people.

14. That the Bengal Presidency Muslim League records its emphatic protest against the manner in which the various circulars regarding the appointments of Mussalmans to posts in the public services are being constantly disregarded and urges upon the Government the necessity of giving the fullest effect to all such circulars.

15. That in view of the extremely cordial relation that exists between the Hindus and the Mohamedans of Bengal, the Bengal Presidency Muslim League appoints a Hindu-Mussalman Board consisting of Mr. B. Chakrabarty as President and 4 representatives elected by the Council of the Bengal Moslem League and 4 representatives by the Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to act in all matter of possible difference between the Hindus and the Musalmans arising from time to time and to promote concerted action by the two communities in all matter of public importance until the next session of the League.

Behar Provincial Conference

Laheriasarai—15 August, 1919.

The Behar Provincial Conference met at Laheriasarai on 15th August, 1919 under the presidency of the Hon Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath. About 70 delegates from different places, besides 60 delegates representing peasants of Motihari and Darbhanga, were present. The hall was packed to the utmost capacity with spectators.

Babu Prionath Mittra, Secretary, Reception Committee having declared the meeting open, Pandit Bhubaneswar Misra, pleader, President, Reception Committee delivered his address in Hindi dealing mainly with the present deplorable condition of the country and criticising the Rowlatt Act. He also criticised vigorously the measures adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to put down the Punjab unrest. He exhorted his brother delegates not to lose their head whenever they get a bit of self-government but to do real good to the motherland. He then referred to the Compulsory Primary Education Bill that had been recently passed by the Behar and Orissa Council.

Babu Brajakishore Prosad proposed the Hon Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath to the presidential chair and the proposal was duly seconded and supported. The President then stood up amidst cheers and delivered his address in English. At the outset he expressed sorrow and anguish at the death of Babu Nand Kishore Lal of Gaya and Mr. Parmeshwari Lal of Patna. He next spoke of the war and the part played by India. Concerning the reform proposals the President said :— "We are all agreed that we cannot and should not reject them ; that unqualified rejection of the proposals will be suicidal." He then referred to the Moderates Conference and the special session of the Congress at Bombay and the points of disagreement.

Concerning the recent disturbances in the Punjab the president said : "We won't hesitate to express our disapproval of the promulgation of martial law in the Punjab, the bombing of people by aeroplanes and the use of machine guns. We believe that a tactful, sympathetic and statesmen-like handling of the situation by the authorities on the spot would have nipped the evil in the bud."

He next dealt with primary, secondary and higher education in the province. He said the people failed to see any

reason why colleges should not be established in places like Chapra, Gaya, Arrah and Darbhanga. They must combine all their strength and put forth all their energy to have a college on the lines of the Fergusson College at Poona. According to him the establishment of engineering and medical colleges and mining school would provide their young men with new careers.

He also desired that the system of trial by jury should be extended to other important districts and that Beharis should be given proportionate shares in appointments.

Concerning the Champaran affair the President said that he strongly believed that the best solution of the agrarian troubles lay in peaceful arbitration rather than in litigation and legislative enactment. He urged the formation of an association to send some of their brilliant youngmen to England to be trained as journalist. In conclusion he said: "We want brave hearts, men of undaunted courage and lofty patriotism to join our ranks, and to from themselves into a band of self-sacrificing men who will live for God, Crown and country, single-handed, unaided, with heart within and God overhead."

Resolutions on Punjab Affairs.

The following resolutions re the Punjab matters were passed:—

"That this conference respectfully but indigantly protests against the action of the authorities in having ordered the shooting of unarmed mobs and bombing from aeroplanes and thus causing destruction of many innocent lives and damages to property in the Punjab, and while holding that Law and order should be maintained at all cost this conference is of opinion that the methods adopted for it by the bureaucracy were inhuman and entirely uncalled for.

"That this conference emphatically protests against the actions of the authorities in having introduced Martial Law in different areas in the Punjab and in not allowing the accused in the Martial Law Tribunals to engage counsel of their own choice to defend themselves and in prohibiting eminent public men from the other provinces from entering the Punjab.

"That this conference is of opinion that the conduct of the bureaucracy in enacting the Punjab tragedy has given a rude shock to the Indian people and has materially shaken their confidence in British Justice.

"That in the opinion of the conference it is urgently necessary that the commission of enquiry promised by the Secretary of

State should be constituted at once and asked to make a searching and public enquiry into the situation in the Punjab.

"That this conference is further of opinion that the said commission should be so constituted as to exclude all persons in any way connected with the Government of India, particularly the Punjab administration, and that the said commission should be further authorized to revise findings and sentences passed by the Martial Law Commission.

"That this conference is of opinion that any proposal on the part of Government to introduce and pass an indemnity Bill for the protection of officers and authorities concerned with the happenings in the Punjab will evoke the greatest opposition from the people as being a serious and uncalled for encroachment upon rights of the subject and as an unworthy attempt of their acts which may not be justifiable on their merits.

"That this conference places on record its deliberate conviction that His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford has lost the confidence of the people of India on account of his policy with regard to the events in the Punjab and beseeches His Majesty the King Emperor to recall him.

"That this conference places on record its sense of deepest sympathy with the people of the Punjab in the treatment meted out to them and their leaders and spokesman by the bureaucracy.

"That this conference places on record its sincere and grateful appreciation of the wise and bold action taken by Sir Sankaran Nair in resigning his office as a member of the Executive Council of the Governor General of India as a protest against the action of the Government of India in dealing with the situation in the Punjab.

Madras Informal Conference

An Informal Conference of leading men of Madras was held on Sunday, September 7th 1919 at the residence of Dr. Subramaniam. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., was in the chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed, it being understood that in the case of some of the members of the Conference they represent but a minimum of demand beyond which they may individually consider it desirable to go.

I. That this Informal Conference is of opinion that the rights of British Indian subjects of His Majesty to the status of citizens of the British Empire should be recognised in the following among other ways.

(a) In the sphere of internal legislation by the removal of racial distinctions and restrictions.

(b) In the sphere of fiscal policy by the Government of India being allowed liberty to regulate its policy in the same manner and to the same extent as the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

(c) In the case of Indians already settled and resident in the Self-Governing Dominions by the acknowledgment of complete equality of civil and political status with the British born subjects of his Majesty settled in such Dominions.

(d) In the case of Indians wishing to emigrate to the Dominions in future by being accorded the same rights as British born subjects of the Empire.

(e) In regard to the Indians desirous of visiting the Dominions for purposes of travel, education, business, or pleasure, and not with the object of settlement, by the removal of all restrictions.

(f) In regard to the recruitment of Indian labour for the Dominions and Crown Colonies, by the abolition of the system of Indentures, of imprisonment for labour offences and by the treatment of Indian labour on a basis of equality with all other labour.

(g) By the recognition of the rights of the Government of India to adopt retaliatory measures against such of the Dominions as impose any restrictions upon Indians.

(II) That this Informal Conference strongly protests against the introduction during the present session of the Imperial Legislative Council of an Indemnity Bill to cover the actions of those concerned in dealing with the recent occurrences in the Punjab. This Informal Conference considers that the introduction of such a Bill at this stage is premature and nullifies the value of the Commission of Enquiry and must inevitably discredit the Government of India in the eyes of the Indian people as well as destroy their faith in British justice and impartiality.

(III) That this Informal Conference is of opinion that a Royal Commission is the proper machinery for conducting the promised enquiry into the occurrences in the Punjab which must necessarily involve an examination into the acts of the Government of India and that the appointment of committee by the Government of India to report unto themselves is therefore not calculated by the very necessities of the case to inspire public confidence or to achieve the ends of justice.

IV. That this Informal Conference strongly disapproves the composition of the Committee appointed to enquire into the administration and organisation of the Army in India, inasmuch as it includes the name of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in whom the people of India have no confidence, and does not provide for the proper representation of Indian interests.

V. That the terms of reference to the Esher Committee should be widened so as to require them to consider and make their recommendations upon the limitations which now exist with regard to the employment of Indians in all instances of His Majesty's Army and especially with reference to the commissioned ranks.

VI That this Informal Conference desires to urge upon His Majesty's Government the importance of throwing open the Naval and the Air Services to Indians and of detailing a certain number of ships of war and airships, aeroplanes and seaplanes to India for the purpose of giving the necessary training.

The above resolutions were approved by the following members of the Conference.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, Dr. Subramaniam, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, the Hon. the Raja of Ramnad, Rao Bahadur T. Rangachari, Khan Bahadur M. A. Kuddus Badsha Sahab, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, Mr. V. G. Seshachari, Mr. T. V. Venkatarama Iyer, Mr. K. A. Viraraghavachari and Mr. G. S. Arundale.

Bombay Provincial Conference

Ahmednagar—24 April, 1919

The 19th Bombay Provincial Conference was held at Ahmednagar on the 24th April 1919. Mr. Joseph Baptista, Bar-at-Law, the ardent Home Ruler who had for the last one year carried on a vigorous campaign in England for Home Rule for India, was the President. In the course of his Presidential address he eulogised the services of the late Lokmanya Tilak. "that peerless Tribune of the People who crossed the Kala Pani in safety and appeared in London in the garb of an England-returned youngman. The first day he woke up at 5 A.M., and went for a constitutional walk in the middle of the road as they do in Bhudwar Peth. The next day he fell from his bed as a sign of his infancy in England. But he soon made himself at home. All who came in contact with him were charmed with him—especially the ladies. They all fell in love with his puggree. It was a nice new puggree with lots of pins in it. The politicians, however, were rather disappointed with him. They expected to cross swords with a gigantic pugnacious demagogue, stiletto in hand. They found him a fragile philosopher appealing to reason and history. Forthwith the walls of prejudice erected by Anglo-Indian masons crumbled to pieces. Reflecting men realised that the great movement of Home Rule for India was not founded upon hate of British Rule, but love of British self-rule. His pleasant experiences were, however, marred by the rude shock he received from the Law and the Bench of England resulting in a serious miscarriage of justice (the Tilak-Chitrol Case, decided against Lokmanya). But the shock saddened him for a day only. The next morning he was full of life and vivacity and declared in grave tone:—"British Justice is cheap. The verdict of the jury costs three lakhs only. But British politics is dear. The verdict of the country costs three crores at least." In his labour for India he was energetic like Radium. He found the British Committee of the Congress in a comatose condition. He infused some of the elixir of life in it. He found that the Press of England declined to insert even in the advertisement columns some hard facts from Blue Books. So he inundated the country with leaflets. Never before was India so much in evidence in the Party programmes and orations at a General Election. The country was roused with the valuable help of Mr. Lansbury and others of the Home Rule League at London. After mature reflection Mr. Tilak

bids me convey this message to you. "Home Rule is within reach. Ask and it shall be given. Only ask with a united and a resolute voice."

Self-determination

"Remember that England is herself on the trial at the Peace Conference. The world is in no mood for lip-service to the eternal principles of liberty and democracy. It abhors slaves, be they men or nations. This is manifest from Mr. Montagu's own pronouncement. "The whole spirit of our deliberations across the Channel," said he, "is that Empire can only be justified by the freedom and liberty of guarantees, and the motive of the world's statesmanship at this moment is a hatred and detestation of ascendancy and domination." This was a post-prandial oration, but Bikanir presided, not Bacchus. Indeed this wicked war would have been waged in vain if it did not end in detestation of domination. And shall we be denounced as disloyalists and potential rebels for sharing this detestation with the world's statesmen? It is no more pious opinion. It is embodied in the Draft Covenant of the League of Nations. Act 19 recognises the provisional independence even of those nations in the enemy territory and the Turkish Empire who are not sufficiently capable of self-government. They will be placed under a mandatory of their own choice, but the functions of the mandatory will be only advisory. Why should not the Bureaucracy in India similarly cease to govern and be confined to assist and advise us in the art of self-government? Is Jugo-Slavia and Serbia fit for such-government and not India? The idea is absurd. Is the League going to be more generous to enemies than to faithful friends? Certainly not. Of course the League will not intervene in the internal affairs of the Allies with mandates as they do in the affairs of the fallen foes. But behind the purdah several are dropping gentle hint to those who live in glass houses. And here I am tempted to announce, though without permission, that Mr. Tilak has received assurance in writing from one of the most powerful personalities at the Peace Conference that the Parliament of England will in due time apply the principle of self-determination to India. Therefore India will obtain what she desires, decides and demands even from the present Parliament. Therefore if the Congress scheme is wrecked or reduced, it will be wrecked by the seceders. The Press of England are utilising their attitude to deceive and delude the world by pretending that the whole of India, bar a few irreconcilables, assents and accepts the projected reforms. This is not true. I think our Moderate friends owe a duty to the country to expose this deception. Personally I can see no difference in principles or fundamentals between the Seceders and the Faithful, having

regard to the amendments suggested by both. Under the circumstances I would take the liberty of exhorting them as good patriots and true sons of India to present a united front at this, the most momentous crisis in the tragic history of India.

The infamous Rowlett Act

Coming from England to India I fondly hoped to pass from the theatre of unrest to the home of inertia, but I found the country in commotion over Rowlattism. This Act is justified by the Rowlett report, but that report is a mere summary of secret police reports. Such a document is a rotten foundation for a law which libels a whole nation whose fidelity during war has not been surpassed in any part of the British Empire. But this Act is no law. It is license. It bears on it the impress of Ivan the Terrible, not the Majesty of Law. Sir Basil Scott (C.J.) has damned it, so has his ex-brother, the faithful Sir Narayan Chandravarkar. No wonder the Act is known as Kala Kaida. But the best place for Kala Kaida is Kala Pani, and we must not rest content till we send Kala Kaida to Kala Pani.

I am sure the Act was not intended to interfere with religious and social matters, but I am not sure it was not intended to restrict political activity. There are passages in the Reforms Report which foreshadowed this piece of legislation and its probable use for restraining political propaganda. But the question now is what is Government going to do in the face of the volcano it has provoked? It is not right for Government to trifle with the anger of the people—what the people will endure depends upon their temper at a given time, as Burke declared on the eve of the American revolution. True statesmanship consists in pacifying the people, not terrifying them with the engines of repression. Government should rise above the nauseating solicitude for prestige. Prestige is never tarnished by the splendour of a just and courageous act. What is wanted is some genuine high-minded act of statesmanship; and not an exasperating exhibition of unbridled absolutism as if the bureaucracy were impregnated beyond redemption with the microbe of Prussianism. It is the height of injustice and tyranny for one community to impose its will upon another in the sacred name of law and order. Lord Chelmsford might well recognise the wisdom and value of paying some deference to the "solid rock of opposition" that obstructed the passage of the Black Bill. The least he can do is to announce at once that he will not enforce the Act without the concurrence of the elective element in the Council. There is no reason to distrust those whom the people trust. But should statesmanship fail, what is going to be the message of this Conference

to the people of this Province! I think we must realise that we are entering upon an era of a resolute struggle between the rulers and the ruled. So must it be. But let us make it a noble struggle between Right and Might worthy of our people and our venerable civilisation—Liberty's battle once begun, never ends till it is won. We are of course pledged to constitutional methods. Let no one forswear those pledges as scraps of paper. But within the constitution we are justified in resorting to Satyagraha, Swadeshi and Boycott.

Satyagraha, Swadeshi and Boycott

I will not conceal from you my natural reluctance to special measures, but the alternative is abject acquiescence repugnant to one's manhood.

Satyagraha has sanctified the Christian by the crucifixion of Christ on Calvary. But Christ said:—"Render unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar and unto God what belongs to God." I believe this sanctions passive resistance but no more. But let us not confuse and confound passive resistance with active resistance. To do an act which the law forbids is active resistance, e. g., to sell proscribed books or to commit suicide. Not to do an act which the law enjoins is passive resistance, e. g., not to pay taxes, or not to bear arms in conscript countries. There is no scope for passive resistance in the Black Act, but there is in other laws. These should be enumerated and not left to the conscience of any Committee before inviting any one to take the vow of Satyagraha. These laws may be excellent but non-compliance is advocated for repealing the Black Act. Non-payment of taxes is the most efficient form of passive resistance if well-organised and backed by public opinion.

Acts which the law neither forbids nor commands have nothing to do with passive resistance, e. g. Hartal, Processions, Demonstrations and Strikes. There was a time when organised strikes were prohibited, and even to-day in some services sudden strikes are punishable. The function of a strike is to redress grievances by the passive pressure of public opinion and not by violence. The most interesting of recent strikes in London was the strike of domestic servants in hotels. I am inclined to believe it has great potentialities in India.

I should have thought Satyagraha could embrace Swadeshi and Boycott. Both involve some self-sacrifice for self discipline. But Swadeshi is laudable for promoting home industries. In free trade Swadeshi alone could do so. I do not believe it is a sin to buy foreign goods. Every man is our brother. It can be so in a buy from a British brother. But Swadeshi is not boycott.

Boycott may not promote home industries. It is a political weapon forged for use against a particular people only for special reasons and specific objects. Having been adopted in the past in period of passion it is associated with violence and ill-will, but these are not necessary ingredients. It has been adopted by the League of Nations as an instrument of Peace. But to eliminate any idea of racial hostility and to demonstrate to the British people that we have been driven to it by the stubbornness of the bureaucracy it is desirable to limit boycott to a few important articles carefully specified. We shall be told these are threats. They are not. They are business propositions. I was told in England to try to touch not only her heart but also her pocket by filling or emptying it. This Boycott will touch her pocket. I think Indians go first to British markets and this they do on account of the political connexion. We are even ready to give preference to British goods upon principle of India for the Empire and the Empire for India. But if the political tie means Rowlattism we are entitled to ask the British merchants to help us in getting rid of Rowlattism or lose our orders for their goods. The British understand this very well. From the days of Simon de Montfort they are past masters in the art of exchanging pieces of silver for pieces of parchment like the Magna Charta, and the Declaration of Rights. But the question is : is it right to do so at present ? I think it is right. It is never wrong to do right. But right or wrong, in the hope that Government will respond and respect our generous forbearance, I would advise suspension for three months of all agitation among the uneducated masses, and confine ourselves to such agitation only among our educated countrymen as does not directly or indirectly or remotely lead to violence, or breach of laws.

Bolshevism.

But let me examine the allegation that Bolshevism is abroad. When in England about 4 months ago some correspondent of the "Times" cabled that there was Bolshevism in India. If this diagnosis were correct we would be face to face with a terrible monster—we cannot afford to play with it in India. The conditions in India afford a fine field for Bolsheviks. The daily bread of millions is only half a loaf. Peace to them means poverty, impaired productivity, enfeebled physique, and premature death. Therefore we should suspend agitation at once and assist Government in arresting the march of the Bolshevik Brigade, if it be marching. But is it marching ? We cannot accept pontifical pronouncements without some evidence. The only piece of good evidence available at present is the General's order at Amritsar that all goods in the shops not opened within 48 hours will be sold by auction. In the gospel of Bhik

this is known as the new law of loot which obliterates all distinction between law makers and law breakers. But the people's acts do not denote Bolshevism. They denote deep disappointment and intemperate antagonism to Government, stubbornness breaking into lawlessness. The course of events proves this. The Rowlatt Act incensed the people. Then Mr. Gandhi inaugurated the Satyagraha movement. Fasting, demonstrations, hartals followed. There was no force and no breach of peace. For this we must be grateful to our Governor for his independence from bureaucratic domination. Otherwise the Police would have prohibited demonstrations by force resulting in bloodshed. The next episode was the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. Disorders followed in quick succession in distant parts. The release of Mr. Gandhi resulted in the pacification of the people. This magical effect again negatives Bolshevism; it establishes that the arrest was the cause of the disorders. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi actually accepts the view "that the strike was due to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi." In the Punjab disorders came close upon the heels of deputation of the leaders. It is absurd to attribute these excesses to Satyagraha whose fundamental doctrine is "No Violence." These demonstrate that people will not suffer the arrest of their trusted leaders. This is not Bolshevism. It is antagonism against Government measures and the fact that Government institutions were the target of their assault confirms it. Hasty conclusions of conspiracy by clever men deduced from the seizure of strategic points and telegraphs will only obscure the truth. Coolies who lay the rails can uproot them easily. The supreme necessity of the moment is a thorough investigation with a co-operation of trusted leaders to inspire confidence. When the truth is known we can decide whether the proper remedy is coercion or real reform.

"Having discussed the issues I think it is necessary to say that I deplore and detest these riots, murders and arson and so do you. Rumour once reached me that the Collector's hands were chopped off. It sent a thrill of horror through me. Fortunately it was false. We ought particularly to denounce attacks on the persons of Europeans. They are strangers in our country. Nothing should be tolerated which undermines their sense of security amongst us. Hooligans ought to be punished. But the existence of hooligans ought not to be the pretext for depriving the citizens of their rights any more than the Gordon rioters and hooligans did. At the same time we must deplore the excess of Government officials. I cannot read without indignation of the slaughter of the innocent at Amritsar for attempting to hold a proscribed meeting peacefully. But even more inhuman and barbarous than this is the bombing and machine-gunning from

aeroplane. God grant that this may be the last scene of this infernal tragedy. I fear our enemies will exploit these misdeeds to mutilate reforms. But let me remind them that excesses are sometimes symptoms of intense feeling, for national liberty and self-government are also indices of capacity for self-government. Prof. Lowell says "if the people of India were capable of national self-government, the English would live on a volcano." Volcanoes may, therefore, be signs of fitness, rather than unfitness. Moreover it is now generally conceded that Bolshevism in Russia, Austria and Germany is due to the prolonged reign of autocracy. There would have been no trouble in Russia if the people were accustomed to govern themselves. Lord Bryce says that the troubles of China are due to the fact that they did not get self-government earlier. There is no trouble among self-governing peoples. The lesson is plain. It is dangerous to delay reforms in India. No doubt reform will come. But Rowlatism looks like an olive branch in a mailed fist. The prospect is dark but not gloomy. The problem is to surmount Anglo-Indian opposition.

Vested Interests.

"We have in our midst a handful of supermen with vested interests. They are omnipotent and omniscient. We cannot touch their interests nor teach others their duty to us. They constitute the new caste of untouchables and unteachables. Originally they came for our good, but they stayed for our good. So they say. They believe they built this Empire—chiefly on the sad tears of women and bad livers of men to exile. But then the nobodies of England become somebodies in India. Coming from the frigid to the torrid zone we may infer they believe it is better to reign in Hell than to serve in Heaven. However, they are prepared to give us some share in the business now and promise more in the sweet by-and-by. Do you believe in these promises? Lord Chelmsford was once asked if he believed in ghosts. He replied "No, I have seen so many." We too have seen so many promises and pie-crusts. But they say we are unfit for more at present. And upon this theory of unfitness they have recommended certain reforms. And the general impression in England is that a Reform Bill embodying the Diarchy will be introduced in Parliament, and then referred to a joint Committee of the Lords and Commons. The Committee will invite expert evidence on the Scheme or alternative schemes. Rumours relate that Diarchy is doomed and that there will be a content between complete Provincial Autonomy and Mr. Curtis' glorified Municipalities. We should be prepared with an alternative to Mr. Montagu's Diarchy.

Alternative.

"Every Province should be a full fledged State, with powers more or less equivalent to those possessed by the constituent States of the

American Union. The Executive Government should be vested in a Governor acting under the advice of Four Ministers nominated by him. Two should have seats in the Legislature within 3 months; the third after 5 years and the fourth after the next 5 years. In 10 years, all Ministers shall be men having seats in the House. The Ministers shall be responsible to the Legislature and removeable by a vote of censure individually. After 10 years the Governor should be elected by the Province or the Legislature. His tenure should be five years. The Legislature should be wholly elected. The number should be proportioned to the population at the rate of 3 per million with a minimum of 50. Twenty five or more of these should be elected by a College of Electors composed of delegates from each village. Each village shall elect delegates proportioned to their population at the rate of 2 per thousand adults. The remainder may be elected by communal representation as far as necessary. The College shall be divided by districts so that seats may be allotted to Districts according to population. Laws and resolutions, etc., shall be passed by majority of votes; but the Government may be empowered to demand a special vote in exceptional cases. The special vote means that if 30 per cent vote against a private measure, it shall be lost. If Government are unable to get the support of 30 per cent. Government are not morally justified in forcing it upon the people. In the Bundesrath 14 adverse votes can defeat any measure. It gives Prussia the control over the whole German Empire's legislation. This will secure all that is aimed at by Mr. Montagu, viz :—"Retention of genuine power of guidance, supervision, and if need be, of intervention." (p. 87). "Responsible Government is simply a means of securing that the Executive can be controlled by the legislature, the necessary condition of all Government." (Curtis' Letters p. 36). This special vote should be confined only to those subjects which the Subjects Commission propose to place on the list of reserved subjects. After 5 years, the special vote should be 40 per cent., and after 10 years the rule of the majority should come into full force. It will thus take 10 years for the Provincial Autonomy to come into full operation. The scheme dispenses with the paraphernalia of Grand Committees, and has none of the defects attributed to Diarchies. It shoulders the representative with responsibility. In the case of special vote, the conduct of the minority will be impeached in the constituency. They may be right or wrong, but the agitation for and against them will be an excellent education in the exercise of the franchise in self-government.

I hope you will not misunderstand me. I am only propounding an alternative to Mr. Montagu's Diarchy. I am not abandoning the demand for full Provincial Autonomy formulated by the Congress.

But the method of controlling the majority of the elected may be well applied in the Government of India, for the Congress has not demanded full self-Government in the Central Government. I should, however, like to say that in fashioning political structures, we must not lose sight of the principle of nationality, and the principal of federation.

What we require is our own organization in England to be in touch with the movement in Europe and America so that immediate action may be taken to dispel falsehood and disseminate truth. We also require an agency in India to send correct information by cables and weekly letters to sympathetic papers in England. The "Herald" is a great Labour organ whose influence is constantly increasing. I feel this work is indispensable for our success. Lastly I would strongly exhort those who have the ability and the sinews of war to enter Parliament, for much useful work can be done on the floor of the House of Commons.

Five years ago there was a great galaxy of crowns and coronets in Europe; to-day they have all been flung into the melting pot. Five years ago the masses in this country did not talk of rights, but to-day the man in the street asserts his right with manliness and even restiveness and is ready to go through the furnace of fire and brimstone for the sake of liberty. Five years ago he thought the Sirkar was his Ma-Bap; to-day he knows the Sirkar is his servant. When I searched the pages of History for a parallel to the present position I found it in the case of Canada. Time has wrought stupendous changes in India; so stupendous as to render it impossible for Englishmen to govern India without an overpowering passion for the principles of liberty and deep devotion to the political and industrial aspirations of the people. But I see no such passion for devotion. I see only some fine birds of passage on the Pagoda Tree of India. And I hear only vain regrets for our unfitness, of our countless caste creeds and colour. The future of India can no longer be entrusted to such trustees. Time waits for no nation. The hour of destiny is striking. It is an anxious hour for India; but it is a superb moment for England. Superb that God has given England the power to place this great country once more on the highway to greatness. It is a moment for one of those creative acts in the march of mankind that exalts the creator and edifies the world. Let us hope with all our hearts that England will grasp the occasion with a firm hand and place British connexion on the firm foundation of the people's affection and thus justify our creed that 'Liberty's battle once begun never ends till it is won.'

Andhra Provincial Conference

Anantapur—23 Aug. 1919.

The 25th Andhra Provincial Conference met at Anantapur Town Hall on the 23rd. Aug. 1919, under the presidency of Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao of Nellore. The hall was spacious and well decorated with flags and thoranams and photos of eminent Andhra patriots and with mottoes such as "Vande-Mataram," "Aldhramataku Jai" and "Home Rule is the only rule" etc.

Mr. H. Shiva Rao, on behalf of the Chairman of the Reception Committee Rao Sahab Humpayya Setti who was unavoidably absent, welcomed the President and the delegates in a felicitous speech in Telugu.

The President's Address.

The President, in the course of his address, referred to the economic condition of poverty-stricken India and said that a man's income in India did not exceed an anna and a half per day. Even in normal times many millions of people had to go to bed without even one meal a day. India which attracted nations of the earth by its great wealth and plenty had become absolutely hopeless, with famine all over the country and people feeling its pinch hardest. Even this would prove the necessity of speedily introducing the largest measure of popular control over the administration of the land. Referring to the Press Act, he said that the Editors were under Damocles' sword. From the beginning of the operations of the Press Act many presses and papers had suffered heavily. From 1917 the operations of this Act had been more unbearable than before. Some provincial satraps had indicted papers like the *New India* and the *Hindu* when the Press Act had reached its climax. In these circumstances it was very difficult for a self-respecting man to carry on the business of printing. Was it still possible to bear the insults of this Act? If this act stood by itself it were something. There was another Act more terrible and horrible than the Press Act. It was the Rowlatt Act which was enacted in the teeth of all the Indian Non-official opinion, which had so well gone into the blood and marrow of all of them that it did not require much explanation. He next referred to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and the great weapon of Satyagraha used by him to get the act repealed and the disturbances in Punjab which ultimately ended in the proclamation of Martial Law and the rigorous and tragic sentences of death, transportation for life, confiscation of property and rigorous imprison-

ments passed on such great and patriotic leaders like Babu Kalinath Roy, Lala Hurkishanlal, Rambhuj Dutt, Dr. Kitchlew, Satyapal, Dunichand and Muhammad Bhasi. The Rowlatt Act which infringed the primary rights of man was still maintained by the Viceroy and Secretary of State. Mahatma Gandhi had thrown the burden of repealing the Act on the Government and said that if it was not annulled the resumption of *Satyagraha* might once more become necessary.

No reforms could be of any value unless we get statutory protection of our life and limb by Parliament giving a Declaration of Rights. The U. S. A. Government had very recently given full autonomy to the Philippines and have included a Bill of Rights in the Statute.

The President then criticised the Reform Bill in great detail and said that the superficial agitation that we are now carrying out will never give us what we actually want. *Satyagraha* is the only last weapon in our hands.

Resolutions Passed.

This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the orders passed against Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Horniman are absolutely unjustifiable and urges that the same be immediately withdrawn.

This Conference also prays that a general amnesty be granted to all political prisoners and internees and in particular urges for the immediate release of Mr. Darsi Chenchiah and Messrs Muhammad Ali and Shaikut Ali.

Reforms Resolution.

Mr. T. Prakasam moved the following resolution :—

That in the opinion of this Conference the Government of India Bill now before Parliament is unsatisfactory and disappointing. And in order to be an effective step towards the progressive realisation of Responsible Government, the Bill should be brought into line with the demands of the Delhi Congress by incorporating the amendment suggested in the memorandum presented by the Congress to the Joint Committee.

The Press Act.

Mr. P. Nagabhushanam moved the following resolution :—

This Conference strongly protests against the action taken under the Press Act by the Government of India and in particular against the action of the Government of Madras in regard to some of the papers in the Presidency including *Hindu*, *Swadesmitram*, *Nationalist*, *Desabhaktan*, and urges the immediate repeal of the Press Act of 1910.

The Hon. Mr. C. V. S. Narasimharaju next moved a resolution as follows :—

This Conference expresses its deep sympathy with those who have been affected by the administration of Martial Law and appeals to the public for donations to aid them in their distress.

This Conference expresses its grateful appreciation of the distinguished services rendered by Sir Sankaran Nair as Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

This Conference is of opinion that the principle of provincial contribution to the Imperial revenues, suggested in the Report on the Constitutional Reforms, is highly detrimental to the development and progress of the provinces and particularly in the Madras Presidency and urges that the contributions should be fixed in proportion to the gross provincial revenues but not in proportion to the gross provincial surpluses.

Women Franchise

This Conference prays that in the scheme of Reforms proposed by the Government of India Bill women also should be given the right to vote.

Andhra Province

As the division of provinces on linguistic basis is essential for the realisation by the people of the advantages of responsible Government proposed shortly to be introduced into this country and for securing efficiency of administration, and the same principle has been recognised in the Montford Report and in the Bill for the Government of India now before Parliament, this Conference prays that the 11 northern districts in the Madras Presidency and Madras be constituted into an Andhra province.

Transvaal Question

Mr. P. Nagabhushanam moved :—

That this Conference enters its emphatic protest against the recent amendments of the Transvaal Gold Law (35 of 1908) and of Law No. 3 of 1885 recently adopted by the South African Union, as those amended laws grossly violate the fundamental right of British Indians in South Africa and cannot but reduce them in a short time to a state of helotry (b) that those amendments are not justified by the terms of the so-called agreement of 1914 between Mr. Smuts and Mr. Gandhi (c) and that the Conference urges on His Majesty's Government the immediate necessity of having the said amendments cancelled by such means as may be open to it in order that His Majesty's Indian subjects may not be stultified in the eyes of the civilised world and be able to enjoy full rights of British citizenship throughout the Empire.

U. P. Povincial Conference.

Shaharanpur—21 Oct. 1919.

An important political conference was held at Saharanpur on the 21st Oct. 1919, followed by Industrial, Economic and Social conferences. Much enthusiasm prevailed in the Political conference as public mind was intensely agitated over the Punjab affairs. The President, the late Dr. M. N. Ohdedar, said that the first and foremost sufferer in the new era of peace to which H. E. the Viceroy referred in his opening speech at the Simla Session of the Imperial Council was the Province which had contributed its best blood and the flower of its youth for the defeat of the powerful enemies of the Empire. The Delhi tragedy, the deportation of J. B. Harniman, the repressive campaign against the Indian Press, the Ahmedabad episode and numerous other events showed that bureaucracy, whatever else its weakness might be, did not lack courage to turn to account its tremendous power in the name of peace and safety. Tracing the causes of discontent, the speaker referred to the ill-treatment made by the people of the Punjab in the matter of raising of recruits and collecting money. Recruiting officers were occasionally attacked and in one instance at least a Tahsildar was killed. It could easily be imagined what provocation there must have been to induce the peaceful Punjabees to break out into murder and assault. He then went on:—"Sir Michael O'Dowyer's attitude was one of unveiled antagonism to Indian aspirations; it was notorious that the strongest Lieutenant-Governor had the fiercest hatred for the Indian politician. In proof thereof besides his outburst in the Council, preliminary to the deportation of political leaders, may be mentioned his fulminations in his memorandum on the Reform proposals. I shall refer to one of his characteristic exclamations protesting against the Government of India's policy of conciliation during the days of Mrs. Besant's release and the Montagu Reform Commission: "We now seem to be drifting into what is known as "Birrelism" in Ireland, truckling to the extremist, encouraging the idea that we are going to hand over the administration to them." Dr. Ohdedar said that in the opinion of the people there was no necessity for the Rowlatt Act which had no parallel in the history of civilised nations and might have been modelled on some ukase of Russia before the revolution. He went on to deal with the events in the Punjab and referring to the crawling order said that apparently according to General

Hudson Indians were born in the world to strike the white man's imagination. He said there was never any open rebellion or justification for Martial law in the Punjab and held Sir Michael O'Dwyer responsible for all that occurred. He condemned the Enquiry Committee as a bureaucratic committee and suggested that an all-India Congress Sub-committee be allowed to conduct the people's case before the Committee. No reforms, he said, would be acceptable which would make possible the repetition of the Punjab perils. He dealt with the Katarpur trial, the Hindu-Moslem entente, the Ali Brothers and the Khalifat question. Incidentally he paid a high tribute to Sir Harcourt Butler for his sympathetic statesmanship which was a shining contrast to O'Dowyerian extremism.

The President then narrated step by step the horrible events of the Punjab of April last, the ghastly tragedy enacted at Jhallianwalla, the infamy and barbarities inflicted on the people, and the ghoulish reign of terror which beats even the German "frightfulness" in Belgium, during the Martial Law period. He continued :—

The Case for the People.

"The case for the people of the Punjab is that there never was any open rebellion, there never was any justification for the declaration of Martial Law in any of the districts of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer grossly abused his powers as a Governor and for reasons of his own perpetrated this outrage on the peaceful Punjabees. According to Mr. Alfred Nundy :—

"He wanted Martial Law not because of 'any open rebellion' but he was very keen about paying off old scores to a set of criminals who had been a thorn in his side. Who were the criminals? Political agitators. What was their offence? Political agitation."

"Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar, quoting Mr. Alfred Nuddy, stated this in the Imperial Council, whereupon the Home Member was pleased to call him a coward for attacking an absent person. This is an amazing proposition. A Governor may do anything he pleases, may misgovern, may be guilty of the greatest excesses, but he is sacrosanct if he leaves the shores of India! He cannot be criticised because he is, forsooth, not present to face the music. With a full sense of responsibility and at the risk of being called a coward, I repeat the charge and say that on Sir Michael O'Dwyer rests the responsibility of the horrors in the Punjab. Let Sir Michael O'Dwyer come back to India and I am confident that the patriots of the Punjab and the people of India will repeat this to his face. Meanwhile he has a sufficiency of defenders in the present Government of India and his old protege of the Punjab Government.

"It is our case that the original declaration of Martial Law was utterly unjustified and that such disturbances or riots as took place were due to the provoking attitude of the authorities. It is our case that at the time of the declaration of Martial Law, order had been restored even in places where it had been temporarily ruffled owing to the ineptitude of the authorities. It is our case that there was absolutely no necessity for the continuation of Martial Law for such a long period, and above all nothing can justify the horrors of the 'soldiers' ukase."

Lord Chelmsford's Responsibility.

Not only is Sir Michael O'Dowyer's Government responsible for this. Lord Chelmsford and his Government are equally responsible and must be held to account.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the office of the Indian Viceroy is the most difficult of the high offices under the Crown. As John Bright has truly said : the Governor-General "has a power omnipotent to crush anything that is good, while he is really almost powerless to effect anything that those countries require. Further he knows nothing of the country or the people and they are really unknown to the Government of India. He is surrounded by an official circle, he breathes an official air and everything is dim or dark beyond it." Such was the observation made many years ago by one of England's greatest statesmen ; the facts continue to be the same to-day. Indeed the duty of the Viceroy especially in view of "so great an upheaval of normal conditions," as His Excellency put it, lay not in isolating himself in the cool heights of Simla, but in trying to understand the people ; to redress their legitimate grievances, and in admonishing the provincial satraps against aggravating the situation by any unwary step, wrong move, or hasty action. However, Olympus appears to have understood its duty to be to give a loose rein to Sir Michael O'Dowyer to follow his own bent and inclination. In the speech that His Excellency delivered while opening the Simla session of September 3rd, His Excellency attempted to fasten the responsibility for "the deplorable events" on the non-official "warnings of an almost minatory character" and their decision to make good their 'threat of agitation.' This grave charge which His Excellency thought fit to level against the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council, has no foundation in fact. Honourable members were performing their duty to the Government by warning them against the dangerous folly of exasperating public opinions. Pray, why did the Government of India ignore the serious character of the warnings ? Was Lord Chelmsford trying to take the first step towards "a progressive realisation of responsible Government" by setting his face against the united expression of unanimous Indian

opinion ? Under these circumstances I am not surprised that the cry has gone forth from the country that "Lord Chelmsford must go.

Resolutions Passed.

Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru moved :—"This conference protests against the appointment by H. E. the Viceroy of the Hunter Committee to enquire into the disturbances in the Punjab and elsewhere and urges on His Majesty's Government the appointment of an independent commission to enquire into the causes of recent disturbances and the propriety of measures adopted in dealing with them. In the opinion of this Conference the Hunter Committee, as constituted, is one-sided in so much as the Government of India is directly represented on it while the people are neither properly nor sufficiently represented. This Conference is emphatically of opinion that in any event the Hunter Committee can only be acceptable if full and sufficient opportunities are afforded to the people to present their own case and to meet the case of the Government whose policy and actions are the subject of enquiry. The conference is of opinion that it is essential that at least one member of the Punjab Enquiry Sub-Committee be added to the Hunter Committee and that the enquiry should be of judicial nature with counsel appearing on both sides." Mr. Paranjipye of Cawnpore seconded the resolution which was passed unanimously.

2. "This conference records its strong protest against the passing of the Indemnity Bill in defiance of Indian opinion to legalise the action of officers of Government and others connected with the administration of martial law before justification for the promulgation and maintenance of martial law has been established."

3. "This conference places on record its appreciation of Sir Sankaran Nair's services to the country and in particular his resignation of the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council as a protest against the policy pursued in the promulgation and maintenance of martial law, and its appreciation of the action taken by Rabindranath Tagore in resigning his knight-hood as a protest against the policy of Government."

4. "This conference is strongly of opinion that Lord Chelmsford has wholly forfeited the confidence of the people of India by the whole tenor of his support of the Punjab policy and should be immediately recalled."

The Conference ended on the 20th October after passing a few more Resolutions condemning appointment of Sir Michael O'Dowry to the Army Commission and against the provisions of the Press Act and on various provincial matters. The next conference was invited to Moradabad.

The Nationalist Conference.

Madras—8 November, 1919.

The Conference of Nationalist of the Madras Presidency opened its first session at Madras on the 8 November 1919. A large number of delegates attended from the different districts of the Province. Mr. Salla Guruswami Chetti was the chairman of the Reception Committee and Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar was the President. The Conference sat for two days and discussed measures to meet the present situation in the country caused by bureaucratic repression of National feeling. The need and justification of a national organisation was forced upon those who found that a minority was directly or indirectly helping the bureaucracy in all its measures on the shaky platform of the so-called Reforms. The neo-Nationalist's ideals are set forth in the President's concluding address.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee in the course of his long speech mainly directed on the Reforms said :—

"The object of summoning the conference is not to create or form any new political party or organisation. It is to be regretted that we have too many of them—but to strengthen the party of Nationalists who are in entire agreement with the resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress at its Session at Delhi in 1918. This conference therefore is intended solely for the purpose of bringing together all persons who are already agreed in the most important political questions of the day in order to deliberate on the plan of effective political action with a view to rouse themselves in such a way as to give their opinion continuous influence in the Congress, Conferences and Legislative Councils.

"The Congress has been striving for the last three and forty years to obtain Responsible Self-Government as an integral part of the British Empire claiming that the Indians should be allowed the same privileges as in the Colonies.

"India wants Self-Government because British rule has destroyed her village and council Government and has put in its place a hybrid system of Boards and Councils which are impotent for good, because well-informed Indian opinion is overruled by officials who come knowing nothing of India and seek to impose English methods on our ancient land which has its own traditions. They then begin to complain that their hybrid system is sterile.

India wants to rebuild and improve her own system beginning with the Panchayats and working by ways untrammelled by foreign experts.

Educational needs.

British rule after eighty and odd years of its education is now imparting it to only 2.6 percent of its population and bases her denial of liberty on the microscopic minority of the educated, which is due to her own policy. On the other hand, Japan under Eastern Rule has educated the whole population in forty years. Further the system of education which is now in vogue is ill-directed. It was arranged with a view to supply clerks and some professional men in order to enable British Government to be carried on. What India wants is a system which will develop the resources by special scientific experts in every branch wherein applied science is needed, by supplying practical experts in all industries and crafts a system which will educate her own population for useful ends.

Arts and Industries.

"British rule has destroyed her finest arts and industries in order to pave the way for the importation of cheap foreign goods and, even in machine industries such as cotton, taxes the home produce in order to balance the customs levied on the imported goods. It has been encouraging the export of raw material wholly to be sent back as manufactured articles, thus paralysing the Indian industrial efforts for the benefit of foreigners. India should train her own sons to utilise her vast sources of raw materials for her own profit and should send abroad only her surplusage.

Irrigation and Forestry.

"British rule has neglected irrigation, and has only lately given attention to it because of the awful famines, and even now starved for want of funds; and while recklessly cutting forests down, has also until lately neglected replanting. India would place irrigation and forestry among the first duties of Government."

Sanitation and Medicine.

"British rule has neglected sanitation while the tendency to congregate in towns, and neglecting villages, has necessitated changes from the old methods. In point of medicine the trouble has increased by the organised contempt for the indigenous system and ousting of them by Government, while it is impossible to replace them adequately everywhere with the results of modern appliances.

Exploitation.

"British rule is extremely costly. It employs Europeans in the highest posts on the highest salaries and introduces them everywhere as experts. It keeps special reserves wholly for Europeans. The other avocations into which Indians may enter can only be at the heavy cost of going to English Degrees. It encourages exploitation of the country by English companies and English capital which results in another source of drain. India should have her own army and navy for their protection and Imperial needs.

Coercive measures.

"Lastly British rule has substituted coercion for improvements in government, like any other autocracy. India should sweep away all these coercive legislation. She should not be afraid of her people possessing arms nor of criticism, a free speech and a free press. India should emulate British rule in Britain, not British rule in India. In a word, India which is now enthralled should be determined to become free.

India's share in the War.

"India has taken a share in the burden of the Empire furnishing one million men and a gift of £1,50,000,000 to Britain. The war has proved that Indians were neither dwarfs, pigmies nor skeletons but that they could fight as well as any man. The achievements of the Indian army in Flanders and Mesopotamia are well-known. The Empire cannot any more afford to maintain one part in freedom and another in bondage. India has played her part in the war undertaken in defence of small nationalities, but India could not unfortunately claim to be a small nation. She has been patted and her men and money had been used during the struggle and yet further fetters are now being placed upon her by her Government. It is but right that she should claim as the freedom loving people of a free empire equal treatment in the matter of self-Government. No nation under the dominion of another could be happy or contented; for liberty is the birth right of all people; as each man must learn by his mistakes, so must each country. Each nation must work out its own freedom and India is ready to take up the reins and would once more be found among the leaders and teachers of mankind. The pride of race culture, the knowledge that she had been a vehicle of the ancient wisdom of the world, a certainty that she could manage her own affairs justify her demand for self-government amply."

He then detailed the work of the Congress Deputation in England and compared it with that of the Moderate deputation. He concluded by hinting at the "Work before us" as follows.

"Before the next Congress meets at Amritsar the Reform Bill will have been passed in Parliament and thereafter the several political organisations and parties which came into existence in connection with the Indian constitutional reforms may not continue to work or may cease to exist. The Indian National Congress alone will continue to work for the attainment of self-Government within the British Empire ; but the annual sessions of the Congress cannot do any practical work though it may declare the policy and resolve upon the kind of further work to be done from time to time. It is therefore necessary that in each province, there should be a central organisation with a net work of branch organisations in the district towns and villages to work continuously, steadily and vigorously for the attainment of nationalist ideals, and it is only to deliberate and resolve upon the course of action to be adopted for the above propose that we are met in this conference. I dare say that the organisers of the Conference are not for creating any new body or organisation but are anxious only to utilise the existing political bodies after resuscitating them and infusing into them fresh vigour and energy, as the machinery for carrying on the work of the Nationalists until the goal is reached. It may however be necessary to have a central controlling body at the top to direct the organisations in the mofussils to work on the lines chalked out by this Conference.

The Presidential Address.

The following is the substantial portion of the President's speech:—

"In the tumultuous intellectual agitation which has come into existence in this country in recent years, and the consequent upheaval of opinions, it is idle to expect that there would be a uniformity of thought, of aspiration and of course of action even among all men having the same national goal or ideal in view.

MODERATE DEFECTION FROM THE CONGRESS.

"The Indian National Congress has always been regarded as the source of inspiration for political action to every intelligent Indian citizen. It has focussed Indian political intelligence in a supreme measure, and its resolutions have gained increasing weight and the confidence of the public at large as time has advanced. The last Session of the Congress held at Delhi was of exceptional interest and importance. It was attended by about 5,400 delegates among whom were a large number of cultivators. Resolutions were passed at this session on the subject of Indian Reform and it does not seem to me, as is contended by some, that as they are in some respects in advance of those passed at the Special Congress held at Bombay, it detracts from their value. Those resolutions were identical with the resolutions on the reform scheme passed by the All-India Moslem League at its session held at Delhi at the same time. Excepting a very few members, the Moderate party kept aloof from this Congress as well as from the special session held at Bombay to discuss the Indian Reform proposals. From the time indeed when the proposal to hold a special session at Bombay was made, the Moderates determined to abstain from taking part in the Congress proceedings. They held a Congress of their own at Bombay, and have formed separate political organisations in Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad and Madras. Since the Reform Bill has been introduced in the British Parliament and the difference between the Moderates and the Congress party have become more acute. The Moderate party sent up a deputation consisting of representatives from all parts of India to give evidence before the Parliamentary Joint Committee. The Congress deputation met with great difficulty in making its arrangements. A proposition was brought forward in the Madras Provincial Congress Committee that a sub-committee be appointed to collect funds for the Congress deputation as resolved at the Congress Session. Several of the Moderates were proposed as mem-

bers to serve on the Committee but every one of them declined to serve on it. It was some time after this that the dramatic announcement was made of the simultaneous resignations of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries and some of the members of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Congress Committee. One of the grounds for resignation was declared to be that among the other members of the Committee were persons who resisted attempts at co-operation, and who failed to observe the amenities of public life and disregarded the decencies of controversy not only in public meetings but in the meetings of the Committee as well. The political associations which have been formed by the Moderates in the various Provinces carry on their activities not only in regard to matters connected with the Indian Reform Bill but also in all matters of public interest, independently of the Congress party. The proceedings of the All-India Committee and of the Provincial and District Conferences are carried on without the co-operation of the Moderate Leaders. The work of the respective Indian Deputations in Great Britain also shows that the fissure between the Congress Leaders and the Moderate Party is wide and deep. The Moderate Leaders used their best endeavours to make the British Congress Committee disavow and act independently of the Resolutions of the National Congress. When their efforts in this behalf proved unsuccessful, when the British Congress Committee was reconstituted so as to form an adjunct of the National Congress, and the "India" newspaper was constituted to ventilate the views of the Congress party in Great Britain another newspaper has been started to propagate the views of the Moderate party. The intention of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee in returning in advance of his party was stated to be to organise the electorates in Bengal in order to secure the predominance of the Moderate Party in the councils to be elected next year and to prepare their plans with this object. On his arrival in India he stated :—

"Before I left England, we were trying to form a Moderate organisation in London. We have none at present. I placed myself in communication with many of our English friends and received encouraging replies. I hope that before long a Moderate organisation to represent our views and to place us in touch with English opinion will have been formed in England."

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES.

"All fairminded persons must agree that it is the members of the Moderate Party that have cut themselves off from the Indian National Congress and have refused co-operation with those belonging to the Congress party both in India and in England. It

is an idle reproach levelled against the Nationalists that they have captured the Indian National Congress. In seeking to belittle the importance and value of that great National organization the Moderates are playing into the hands of the enemies of our motherland. It is a matter of common knowledge that in upholding the principles of national freedom and in resisting the encroachment of individual and personal liberties by the agents of despotic power there is a marked difference between the Moderates and the Nationalists. There is abundant proof of the apathy and want of apprehension on the part of the Moderate leaders of the value of constitutional rights of the first importance. The Resolutions of the Delhi Congress rightly lay stress on the great importance of placing beyond the pale of executive interference, and of local legislation, the fundamental rights of citizenship. The Special Provincial Conference held at Madras, the Special Congress at Bombay and the Delhi Congress have all affirmed this position. Even the Moderate Conference held at Bombay last year acknowledged the importance of this principle in one Resolution though in an attenuated form and with one notable dissentient among its leaders. At a Conference held in Madras two months ago with the ostensible object of bringing together to work on common lines of agreement on public questions persons prominent among the Moderates and those belonging to the Congress party, the former strongly opposed the proposal, which consequently fell through, to include a request for the incorporation in the Reform Bill of the provisions affirming the inviolability of the fundamental rights of the people except by the British Parliament. In a manifesto on the Indian situation issued by the British Congress Committee and received by the last mail it is pointed out with reference to a statement of the Prime Minister that "the Government of India since the Armistice has requited India's glorious services" by legislative and administrative repression depriving India of freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of the person, provoking public protest and riots, particularly in the Punjab, with martial law, deportation of leaders beloved of the people, confiscation of property, suppression of newspapers, executions, public floggings, imprisonment of prominent and patriotic citizens on fantastic charges, refusal of permission to choose counsel for their defence before Military tribunals, shooting by machine guns, and bombing by military aeroplanes on defenceless men and women—a regime of blood and iron, which if practised by Germans would have filled Englishmen with horror and indignation." I need not say how the occurrences as depicted above have been viewed and action taken in respect of them by

the Moderate party and the Congress leaders respectively both in this country and in England. One typical instance I will give here. In the matter of the wholesale repression of the Indian press in the present regime all over India, and the misapplication of the Press Act so as to curb and suppress freedom of speech and of writing, in regard to which the Nationalist Press has been the chief sufferer, it is worthy of note that the Association of the Moderate party in Madras, the Madras Liberal League, a Joint Secretary of which is a journalist of considerable standing, considered that the meeds of the times were sufficiently met by passing the following Resolution:—

"That in the interest of justice, the Madras Liberal League is of opinion that it is necessary that before the Madras Government directs that steps should be taken to enforce the deposit of security by owners of presses, due warning should be given to them setting forth with reasonable definiteness the articles or the matter to which objection may be taken so as to enable the persons concerned to set themselves right if possible and to obviate the need for further warnings or steps against them and that the above course is necessary to remove the uneasiness in the minds of the general public that is prevalent in consequence of some of the recent proceedings of the Government that ended in the demand of security."

It must be remembered that at this time securities had been forfeited and securities taken on colourable and flimsy grounds from leading English edited Indian and Vernacular Journals in Madras, and popular indignation had been expressed in numerous public meetings at the high-handed and oppressive actions of the Government. The same callous indifference seems to have been shown by the members of the Moderate Deputation in England to the unjust persecution to which the Nationalist Press in India is subjected. The manner in which the "Bombay Chronicle" and its editor, Mr. Horniman, has been persecuted is well-known. By the drastic provisions of the Defence of India Act, the press Act and the Deportation Regulation, the Bombay Chronicle was put under precensorship, its security was forfeited and heavy fresh security was demanded, and the editor while he was in his sickbed, was bundled out of the country to England in a ruthless fashion. One of the results of this gross infringement of a public right as well as of personal liberty was the disappearance for a time of a leading nationalist newspaper of great influence and repute. If we add this to the numerous other cases of executive oppression of Indian journals throughout the country the Government of India is liable to a heavy indictment in regard to its

actions and policy with regard to the Indian Press. The members of the Moderate Deputation had, as their chief, a journalist of long experience and distinguished position and it was expected that he with the others in the deputation who held important position as journalists and as prominent men in public life would have set up an agitation in favour of the emancipation of the Indian press from its present harassing disabilities. That in this matter the Moderate Deputation greatly fell short of public expectation and did not rise to the level of their opportunities is clear from what Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea himself has stated in his speech at Bombay as regards the doings of what he himself calls "the members of the Moderate Press." I have on a previous occasion pointed out that the journals belonging to the Moderate Press in India such as the "Bengalee," the "Leader" and some others have never been interfered with either in England or in India under color of the provisions of the Indian Defence Act, the Press Act, the Post Office Act &c. It has also been stated affirmatively that the Moderate Deputation in England met and resolved not to attend the next Congress.

PARTIES INEVITABLE.

"Can anybody doubt under all the circumstances that the Moderate party consider themselves in a lofty and privileged position, that they want to carry on their activities independently of the Congress party, and that their self-importance and self-righteousness are encouraged and supported by persons in power for their own purposes. The attitude of the members of the Congress party towards the Moderates has been throughout one of conciliation and of friendly exhortation. It may be described in the language of the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain at one phase of English political life:—The Radicals are, I venture to say, the majority of the Liberal Party. Yet sufferance is the badge of all our tribe, and we have conceded—we are conceding, we will concede—to our Moderate friends, to their convictions, even to their prejudices, if they will meet us somewhere on the road in a similar spirit." The defection of one section of the Congress party and the formation of a separate party is not however to be taken as a serious evil. It corresponds to a well-known principle in human nature and is a natural incident in the constitutional development of a country. Lord Courtney has observed that "men have always been and must be drawn into camps of progress and caution." Mr. Balfour has said, "In English domestic politics we are never at peace—our whole political organization is arranged in order that we may quarrel—and we always do quarrel, sometimes over matters of great

importance, sometimes over matters of small importance, sometimes over matters which cannot but be matters of bitter strife, and some matters which I should suppose might always be dealt with by agreement." Edmund Burke has described the qualities of two classes of persons who may aspire to be members of the British Parliament, one possessing the qualities of "a strenuous resistance—to every appearance of lawless power—a spirit of independence carried to some degree of enthusiasm, an inquisitive character to discover and a bold one to display, every corruption and every error of Government." The other possessing—"an indolent and submissive disposition—a disposition to think charitably of all the actions of men in power and to live in mutual intercourse of favors with them, an inclination rather to countenance a strong use of authority than to bear any sort of licentiousness on the part of the people." It is needless for me to say on which side, among the Moderates or the Nationalists, the respective qualities above enumerated are to be found.

REFORMS.

"The purpose of this Conference is to consolidate and strengthen the forces that sustain the Indian National Congress. There is no question of forming a new party or party organization. As the memorandum of evidence by the delegates of the Indian National Congress before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill says, "the Indian National Congress represents to-day the overwhelming body of opinion among the people of India. Its constitution and organisation are of the widest democratic kind." We have in this Conference to devise means to enable the Congress to resist the assaults on it from various quarters—to make it a living effective and progressive exponent of the people's will. Reactionary tendencies must not be allowed to creep into its councils. Its democratic structure must be made to reflect truly all the interests which compose the body politic in this country. The Moderate party has eschewed association with the English Labour party. The labour conditions in India merit the serious attention of Indian leaders, and they cannot be properly dealt with without communication and co-operation with the leaders of the Labour party in England. You would have noticed that a special cable received from England states that Mr. Henderson, one of the most prominent and influential leaders of the Labour party has pledged his support to the Congress demands. I cannot but feel that the inattention of the Congress party in the past to the socio-political questions in this country has led to a crop of troubles and embarrassments in our political work. The Indian

Reform Bill has been the means of bringing to the surface communal and caste differences which in my opinion are capable of easy adjustment. There is grave danger, it has been pointed out, when the lines of the cleavage of the parties coincide with those between the different social classes in the community, because one side is likely to believe that the other is shaking the foundations of society and passions are kindled like those in civil war. I have no doubt in my mind that unless the interests of those who form a large section are given due consideration and adequately supported, there can be no true national advancement and growth.

"As regards the reform Bill before Parliament, it is generally admitted that it is not likely to be passed with any of the material modifications required by the Congress Deputation or the Moderate party. It will be an irreducible minimum in the process of giving effect to the pronouncement of His Majesty's Government made two years ago. The political fortunes of the Indian people do not in my opinion depend upon the granting or withholding of this modicum of Reform. It will not be a national disaster if by the mutations of party conflict in the House of Commons the present cabinet goes down and with it the present Reform Bill. Mr. Montagu is entitled to our gratitude for his endeavours to give us an instalment of constitutional reform however inadequate we may consider it to be. If the Reform Bill is passed even in its present shape, I would try to make such use of it as is capable of being utilised for the country's progress. I agree with Mr. Jinnah, of the Moslem League Deputation, who in his evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee replied in answer to the question that "beggars cannot be choosers, and we must therefore take the best we can get."

OUR WORK.

"We have large work to do in the near future. The spirit of nationalism has permeated every nook and corner of the country. As Sir Sankaran Nair has clearly put it before the Joint Parliamentary Committee there is a wide political awakening among the masses of the Indian people. There is more true patriotism and genuine public spirit combined with knowledge of current affairs among the rural population than among the town dwellers.

"The political energy and intelligence of the people have to be rightly guided, and as the circle of interest becomes larger for public workers their number must correspondingly be strengthened by fresh accession to their ranks. Whatever may be the nature of the Reform Scheme which is going to emerge from Parliament,

there would be tremendous work to do in the country at large for public workers. Their work must be organised on a stable basis and on progressive lines.

As the Bill is expected to be passed by the middle of December, the Congress at its session in Amritsar will have an opportunity of considering it and deciding upon the future course of action. The forthcoming session is therefore a very important one. The Congress is going to meet in a Province which has been the scene of frightful maladministration and the sufferings and troubles which the people have undergone must excite our warmest sympathy and delegates from all parts of the country should flock in large numbers to Amritsar and make the Congress session a success. The members of the various Indian deputations to England would have returned to the country by that time and would attend the Congress. The business of this Conference would immediately be to concert measures to make the ensuing session of the Congress as largely attended as possible by persons who subscribe to the resolutions adopted at the last sessions, to infuse life and vigor into all local political associations whose aims and objects are in harmony with those resolutions, and to promote a feeling of solidarity and unity of effort irrespective of class or creed among them. Whatever may be the nature of the work which may be turned out at this conference, it is quite clear to me from the response which we have received in writing, and in the attendance of the members which we see that the necessity for convening it has been amply recognised and appreciated. I earnestly hope that our meeting together and holding consultations with regard to the objects which we all have in view, will result in promoting in however small a degree the country's welfare.

"I have not attempted in the foregoing remarks to make out a constructive programme. It seems to me that it is the function of the general body of the Conference after full discussion of the various points that may be suggested by the members. Having regard to the consideration that persons belonging to the Moderate party are perfecting their organisations and making frantic endeavours to obtain ascendancy for their views, it is incumbent on those who hold fast by Nationalists' principles to consolidate their forces and to organise themselves efficiently for practical work. There is a feeling among some gentlemen further that this could best be done by strengthening the existing political organisations such as the Congress Committee and the Home Rule League. On the other hand it is argued that these organisations though largely composed of nationalist members are by the nature

of their constitution unable to exclude from their deliberation and practical work persons who differ from them in fundamental political principles, and that their actions are greatly delayed and hampered in consequence. There is considerable force in both these aspects. There would be common agreement, I take it, among all those assembled in this Conference that in the stirring times in which we live, with political changes and reconstruction of great magnitude looming before us in the near or distant future, it is important that a central organisation in Madras and a net work of similar bodies should be formed in the districts, in towns and in villages, and the work of political education and practical action should be vigorously undertaken and carried on. A big National Fund should also be raised in order that political work may be carried on systematically without having to resort to fugitive subscriptions as is now the case. A number of workers should be enlisted to work in the public cause who should be paid for their time and labour.

Before closing my remarks I have to bring to your notice one more fact: In the course of a private letter written from London dated 16th October, 1919 by a member of the Legislative Council in India to a friend who has forwarded the letter to me for perusal to-day, he says: "In the Punjab matter, the stupid doctrine of prestige will come in the way of justice. It is said that the Viceroy being assured of the support of Lord Curzon and Lord Milner not only does not care, but actually defies the present Secretary of State, and our Moderate friends are playing into the hands of the powers that be. This unfortunately cannot be helped." It is to tide over the consequences of such an unfortunate situation that we have met here and I do not despair of success in our efforts.

RESOLUTIONS.

The Conference passed the following resolutions unanimously:—

I. That the members of the Conference do form themselves into a permanent organization for the achievement of Nationalist aims in consonance with the ideals of the Indian National Congress.

II. That the following Constitution be adopted:—

(1) There shall be a Central Council consisting of five members for each district in the Presidency and 31 for Madras City besides the Chairman and four Vice-Chairman to be elected by the general body at the Annual Conference.

(2) The members of the Central Council will hold office for one year or until their successors are elected.

(3) As organizations are formed in the city and mufassal the members of the Council will be elected by them for their respective circles, instead of the annual conference.

(4) There shall be a standing Committee of the Council consisting of 38 members as follows:—Chairman, four Vice-Chairmen, two General Secretaries, Treasurer and five Organizing Secretaries and 25 members. Excepting the Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen the others will be elected by the Central Council. This year the Conference will elect all the officers.

(5) The Standing Committee will be responsible for the carrying on of the work subject to the control and direction of the Central Council. The Standing Committee shall have power to appoint Additional Organising Secretaries who shall however not be members of the Committee.

(6) The quorum for the Central Council shall be 15 and for the Standing Committee shall be five.

(7) The Standing Committee will organize branches and shall have power to affiliate such other bodies as may apply for the affiliation.

(8) Individual members will be admitted into the general body on application at the discretion of the Standing Committee. The annual subscription for a member shall be four annas.

(9) The annual contribution for affiliated bodies and branches shall be fixed by the Standing Committee from time to time in each case.

(10) The Standing Committee shall have power to frame bye-laws and rules to carry out the objects of the Conference.

(11) The Conference shall ordinarily meet once a year but a special session of the conference may be convened at any time on a requisition of 100 members or at the discretion of the Standing Committee.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS.

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Salem was unanimously elected as Chairman of the Nationalist organisation for the ensuing year amidst deafening cheers. The names of the Hon'ble Mr. K. V. Rangasawmi Iyengar, Hon'ble Mr. Konda Venkatappayya and Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao were proposed for the vice-Chairmanship.

III. This Conference requests the Government of India and the Punjab Government to withdraw the order prohibiting Mr. Tilak from entering the Punjab.

PROGRAMME OF WORK.

IV. That the following programme be adopted as the work of the Conference:—

(a) (1) To work by all constitutional means for the attainment of Swaraj in which the Government would be responsible to the people of this country.

(2) To carry on sustained agitation to secure primary citizen rights and full responsible government, irrespectively of the limitations and machinery that may be provided in any scheme of constitutional reform that may in the meanwhile be passed.

(3) To educate and organize public opinion for securing and maintaining nationalist ideals in the political organizations of the country.

(4) And to select and support candidates to the Council pledged to carry out the nationalist programme.

President's Concluding Speech.

The President in his concluding speech said:—I think that on the whole we have reason to be fairly satisfied with the business we have gone through in this Conference. This is the first attempt which, we as persons holding nationalist principles in this presidency have made in order to come to a common understanding as to the methods of work and the aims which the nationalists have in view. As has been pointed out yesterday, the expression 'Nationalist' has got a wellknown signification. So far as I understand it, the chief principle of nationalism is that we should always prefer the interests of the many to the interests of the few, and that in common life every citizen should be prepared to resent to the utmost capacity any injury of personal or other character to the meanest citizen in the country (Hear, Hear). The nationalists should also see that no communal differences exist among them and that they should be adjusted by mutual arrangements and by harmonious relations among the various members of the community. Above all, those who belong to the Nationalist party should consider that the interests of the country are above the interests of party or of individuals in the community. (Hear, hear). I think, that from the proceedings that has taken place since yesterday it may safely be said (I see the members have gathered here in fairly larger numbers and I did not even expect that such attendance should be forthcoming, seeing the sort of stain which the nationalists carry in this country)—that the nationalist spirit is largely widespread in this part of the country. We have reason to hope that in all dealings in which the nationalists would be engaged they would carry firmness of purpose and true patriotism and would have, as their ideal, what the national congress has in view. As I have said in my opening speech yesterday the immediate object which we all should have in view is to make the ensuing session of the National Congress a success. That is the

greatest practical work which we have in hand and there is a very short time before us. We should see that every part of the Madras Presidency sends a large contingent of delegates to the Amritsar Congress. It would not do for us to rely upon the general feeling of nationalism in the country. It is possible that an attempt will be made to induce the next session of the Congress to go back upon the resolutions framed in the last Congress at Delhi and it is therefore incumbent upon us all not only in this part but in other parts of the country as well to take a large number of delegates who hold fast to the resolutions adopted last year to Amritsar and have consultations with the Congressmen from the other parts of the country and come to a common understanding as regards our future work. I have no doubt that the next session would be a very important and useful one because the Reform Bill would have most probably by that time been passed in Parliament. It would be necessary for us to consult the other members of the Congress as to what our future action should be not only as regards the Congress aims but also as regards the various social and political questions which are likely to come in the near future. On the whole we have met under very fair auspices and we have carried through our proceedings with an amount of good will and earnestness of purpose which have characterised the members who have taken part in the proceedings of this conference. I congratulate all of them and most heartily thank them for the great good will which they have shown throughout and for the readiness with which they have responded to the request made to them to attend and give us the benefit of their co-operation.

"A question has been asked as to what name should be given to any association which may be formed in the mofussal. I do not think the name is of particular significance at the present time. It may be called the Nationalist Association branch. So long as the name nationalist is attached to it, that would mark all the differences necessary between other associations and an association having nationalist aims. I hope the Standing Committee which will be elected by the central Council just now, would immediately meet and frame a sort of programme for the various branch associations which will be formed in the country. The first duty of the committee would be to put themselves in touch with the various political organisations in order to guide their future work.

After the usual thanks-givings the Conference then came to an end.

National Congress & Conference

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

(Hon. Pt. Motilal Nehru.)

Amritsar, Dec. 27th, 1919.

It is indeed an exceptional honour to be thought fit to take the helm of the great ship of the Indian National Congress in the stormy weather we are passing through. The honour you have conferred on me is deserved only by a skilled point, who can afford to make light of the breakers and the rocks ahead. I wish your choice had fallen on one who had both the skill and the confidence to steer clear of all danger the noble vessel you have so generously committed to my care when it is about to sail on a perilous voyage. But all too unworthy as I am for the great distinction you have bestowed on me, I derive solace from the fact that there is a special feature of this session, which no doubt has influenced your choice, and which perhaps widens the qualification for the chair to include even such as I. That special feature presents itself at the outset and runs through our whole programme. It arises out of the recent tragic events in the Punjab which must naturally form the key-note of our proceedings. These events furnish many a dark chapter to the history of the past twelve months, but none darker than the great tragedy enacted in this very city of Amritsar in April last. Fellow delegates, you have assembled here in deep mourning over the cruel murder of hundreds of your brothers and in electing your president you have assigned to him the position of chief mourner. That position I accept in all reverence and I sincerely thank you for it. The responsibility, however, remains and is considerably augmented by the great solemnity of the occasion. I can only hope to discharge it by your generous indulgence and the kindly co-operation which I trust I shall receive at your hands in a very liberal measure.

Last year when we met at Delhi the great war had ended and we were all looking forward, full of hope, to the great peace which would endure and which would bring the blessings of freedom to

all nationalities. The time had come for the fulfilment of the many pledges made to us and in accordance with the principles laid down by statesmen in Europe and America, this Congress demanded self-determination for our country. Peace has now come, partially at least, but it has brought little comfort even to the victors. The pledges made by statesmen have proved but empty words, the principles for which the War was fought have been forgotten and the famous fourteen points are dead and gone. "Vae victis" is still, as of old, the order of the day. Russia, hungering for peace, is allowed no respite, and a number of little wars are waging on the continent of Europe. Prussianism has been crushed but it has been reborn in the other countries of the West, which have enthroned militarism on high. The fate of Turkey hangs in the balance, and Ireland and Egypt are being made to feel the might of the British Empire. In India the first fruits of the peace were the Rowlatt Bills and Martial Law. It was not for this that the War was fought; it was not for this that many hundreds of thousands laid down their lives. Is it any wonder that the peace has aroused no enthusiasm and that the vast majority of the people of India refused to participate in the peace celebrations?

With coercion has come concession. That has been the old time policy in India, as in Ireland, persisted in by England in spite of repeated disillusionment. Our rulers have failed to realise that repression and conciliation cannot go hand in hand; that the grace of a gift lies more in the manner of giving than in the thing given. And so the much discussed Reform Bill has been hurried through Parliament so that this "big meeting," as Mr. Bonar Law put it, may be pacified by it to a certain extent at least. The new act demands our most careful consideration. I shall deal with it at a later stage and it will be for you to decide how far it meets with your wishes

In Memoriam.

But before we proceed further we must pause for a moment to pay our tribute of respect to the memory of one of our leaders who have passed away from our midst since we last met in Delhi. Nawab Syed Mohammed, the President of the 28th Congress, held in Karachi in 1913 and for many years the Joint General Secretary of the Congress, died in Madras on the 13th February last. He was one of our foremost public men and had the courage to adopt the Congress creed at a time when the great majority of our Mohamadan brothers were keeping aloof from the national movement. May his soul rest in peace.

We must also do reverence to the sacred memory of the dead who were killed in Amritsar and elsewhere in the Panjah, and to the living who were put to indignities worse even than death and suffered the most shameful barbarities. No monument in marble or bronze is needed to consecrate their memory. Our speeches here will be forgotten, the resolutions you pass may in the future have interest only for the historian, but India will never forget the sacrifice and the sufferings of these children of hers.

But through the surrounding gloom has come a ray of bright sunshine which has cheered up many a suffering individual and family in India. His Majesty the King Emperor has on the eve of this great meeting been graciously pleased to send out to us a message of His Royal clemency to be exercised by the Viceroy in the name and on behalf of His Majesty to all political offenders suffering imprisonment or restriction on their liberty in the gracious words of the proclamation. It is the sentiments of affection and devotion which His Majesty and his predecessors have been animated that have consoled us in our misfortunes. It is for us, fellow delegates, on our own behalf and on behalf of the people of India, whom we represent to convey our sincere homage to His Majesty and our humble appreciation of His Royal benevolence. I have no doubt that you will discharge this Royal duty in a befitting manner, and send out a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales who is to visit our country next winter. Let us gratefully join His Majesty in his hopes of the future and in the fervent prayer to the Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fullness of political freedom. It is due to this Royal mercy that we have among us to-day the great leaders of the Punjab who till yesterday were in jail. Oh behalf of this great Congress I offer them the warmest of welcome. They have passed through the fiery ordeal of suffering for the cause and they have come back to us to take their rightful place in the counsels of this great assembly. Their suffering has not been in vain. It has taught us a lesson which we in this Congress, I trust, will not fail to learn.

The Punjab.

As I have already indicated the Punjab has the right to claim first attention of this Congress. But before I deal with the various problems which it presents for our consideration I desire to congratulate you heartily, my fellow countrymen and women of the Punjab, and more specially those of Amritsar, for the courageous

public spirit you have shown in holding the present session of your great National Assembly in this city. You resolved in happier times to invite the Congress to your Province, little dreaming of the dark days you were destined to go through before you were to realize your expectations. You lost no time in forming your Reception Committee and were cheerfully busying yourself with your patriotic work when a great calamity suddenly descended upon you. You have borne this affliction and at the same time have adhered to your resolve. Your spokesman at Delhi, who invited the Congress, lies in jail together with many of his colleagues. Yet you have not flinched or sought to cast aside the burden you had voluntarily undertaken. All honour to you for your devoted patriotism. All praise for your patient suffering.

India has suffered much at the hands of an alien and reactionary bureaucracy, but the Punjab has in that respect acquired a most unenviable notoriety. Competent observers have borne testimony to the spirit that has animated the Punjab administration ever since it came under British rule. Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Bernard Houghton, both eminent members of the Indian Civil Service, have told us of the retrogressive and backward condition of the province and the militarist tendencies which hold sway there. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his book "Awakening of India" says :—

"It is generally conceded in India that the most incompetent of the Governments is that of the Punjab. It takes its stand upon two foundation rocks. "Prestige" and "Sedition," the meaning of the former being that it can do what it likes, and of the latter that if any Indian questions its doings his house will be raided and he will be deported.....It has no notion of statesmanlike handling, no idea of political methods. The man in power simply uses his power, whether it is in the form of a not too honest detective department, or a not too discriminating executive or judiciary."

The proximity of the Punjab to the frontier has enabled its administrators time and again to enforce their will on successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State. The bogey of the frontier is exploited to the uttermost and the proposals made by the "man on the spot" seldom fail to secure acceptance at the hands of the higher authorities. With Delhi almost on the border and with Simla for its summer capital, the Government of the Punjab has the additional advantage of having the ear of the Viceroy, and it has thus come about that being the worst Government in India, it is the most favoured of all provincial administrations. Public life is not likely to thrive under these conditions and it is no wonder that for long there was no marked growth of political ideas in the Punjab.

In order to appreciate the causes which ultimately led to the catastrophe of April last and its sequel, it is desirable to consider briefly the force which have been at work ever since the first pulsations of public life began to be noticed by the authorities. Before 1905 there was practically no public life in the Punjab, but the stupendous blunder of Lord Curzon in effecting the partition of Bengal in the face of a nation's resentment not only convulsed the affected province but sent a thrill of excitement and discontent throughout the country, which could not fail to arouse public activity in the Punjab. The introduction of the Colonization Bill in the local Legislative Council shortly after brought trouble to the very doors of the people. By this bill it was intended to curtail the valuable vested rights of the so-called colonists and to deprive them of the fruits of their labour which had converted the desolate wilds around Lyallpur into a smiling garden. A strong agitation followed and this was dealt with by the usual policy of repression. About this time the editor and proprietor of the *Punjabee* newspaper were convicted. Shortly after the Colonization Bill was passed by the local Council. But these measure failed to put down the agitation which was continued with redoubled energy. The more excitable among the people came into conflict with the police and there were riots in Lahore and Rawalpindi in April, 1907. Against the arrest and trial of the actual rioters no sensible person can have any thing to say but there was no justification for the arrest of Lala Hansraj Sawhney and some other leading public men, as was shown at their trial. Even less excusable was the deportation without trial of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. The policy of the Punjab Government in those days, and handed down as a legacy to succeeding Lieutenant Governors, was to shut their eyes to their own reactionary administration and keep the Government of India and the Secretary of State in ignorance of the real causes of the disturbances by supplying them with coloured accounts and fixing responsibility for their own lapses on the poor "agitator". Be it said however to the credit of Lord Minto that he refused to assent to the unjust law passed by the Punjab Council. But there was no lack of other weapons of repression in the already over-stocked armoury of the Punjab Government and these continued to be freely used during the years 1907 to 1909. The methods adopted were the suppression of the press and the prosecution of individuals unacceptable to the Government. Needless to say the young sapling could not weather the continuous storm it was subjected to and there was little manifestation of public life in the Punjab during the years 1910 to 1913.

But repression and terrorism have never yet killed the life of a nation, they but increase the disaffection and drive it under-ground to pursue an unhealthy course breaking out occasionally into crimes of violence. And this brings further repression and so the vicious circle goes on. No one can but deplore violence and political crime. But let us not forget that this is the direct outcome of continued repression. It is due to the perversity of the executive which blinds itself to the causes of the discontent and, like mad bull, goes about attacking all who dare to stand up against it.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab during the troublous days of 1907, was not slow to perceive the 'new air which was blowing through men's minds' but instead of adjusting his sails to this "new air" he chose to steer his course right against it. He, as well as his successor, followed the broad and easy path of piling repression upon repression in accordance with hallowed traditions of the Punjab Administration.

This was the state of the Punjab when her destinies were placed in the hands of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It was a splendid opportunity for a broadminded and generous hearted statesman to strengthen the foundations of the Empire by doing the barest justice to the natural aspirations of a people to whom the Empire owed so much. How Sir Michael acquitted himself of this high trust every Indian knows.

During the early days of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's rule occurred the "Komagata Maru" incident. The unfortunate men who had left their homes in a spirit of peaceful enterprise, many not wishing to return to India at all, found every door shut in their faces and were forced to return. The reception prepared for them by the Government of India, presumably at the instance of the Punjab Government, was the passing of the Ingress into India Ordinance, which empowered the Government to restrict the liberty of any person entering India. On landing in India they found themselves prisoners and, broken down as they were by the consistent ill-treatment they had received at home and aboard, they completely lost their heads and the unfortunate Budge-Budge riot was the result.

The "Komagata Maru" episodes marked the recrudescence of unrest in the Punjab and afforded a pretext to Sir Michael O'Dwyer to ask for more "effective power" from the unwilling Government of Lord Hardinge. During 1914 and the early part of 1915 insistent demands continued to be made for a "carte blanche" to deal with the situation and a draft ordinance of a drastic character was submitted to the Government of India for approval and promulgation. At last Lord Hardinge was compelled to yield and

the Defence of India Act which substantially embodied the provisions of this draft ordinance was hurriedly passed through the Indian Council. How this "essentially war measure" has been used not only in the Punjab but other provinces as well to deal with matters wholly unconnected with the war, we all know. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was not slow to utilise it and soon after reported its "salutary effect" to the Government of India.

The years 1915 to 1917 were occupied with various conspiracy trials by special tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act. The vernacular press was ruthlessly suppressed and hundreds of persons were interned under the Defence of India Act or the Ingress Ordinance. It was during this period that Lokamanya Tilak and Sriji Bepin Chandra Pal were prohibited from entering the province lest they should introduce the virus of Home Rule here. This order was recently withdrawn as far as Mr. Tilak was concerned and I am sure you will all join with me in offering a most cordial welcome to him here after his arduous labours in England for the cause. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal is, I believe, still prohibited from coming here and we are thus deprived of his counsel and mature judgment at this critical juncture.

War Activities.

I now come to the war activities of the O'Dwyerian regime during which, in the name of patriotism and the Empire, methods were employed which are even worse than those I have so far noticed. These could only have been practised in the Punjab either by the direct sanction or connivance of Sir Michael O'Dwyer or by over-zealous subordinates in the hope of reward. The truth of the Persian saying—(if a king tolerate one grain of oppression his retinue will inflict a ton of misery,) was fully realised in the course of this strenuous period. For a short time after the beginning of the war recruitment in the Punjab proceeded under normal conditions. But soon after Sir Michael O'Dwyer made up his mind to acquire the distinction of being the foremost recruiting sergeant in India and gentle persuasion gave place to more vigorous methods. Then came the Prime Minister's appeal for the increased war effort. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's energies now knew no limits. In his speech in the Punjab War Conference he said :—

"You know the Delhi programme. My application of it to the Punjab I can explain in a single sentence. Two hundred thousand men for the regular army, voluntarism if possible, conscription if necessary; twice the thousand men we have been asked for for the Indian portion of the Indian Defence Force; a war loan effort which

will eclipse the last ; the development to the utmost of our local resources and by God's grace, victory in the end."

These are noble words breathing a lofty patriotism for the Empire. But what regard was paid to the capacity of the province to fulfil the expectations of its ruler ? At the Delhi Conference the total number of men to be supplied by India was determined to be 5,00,000. Of these Sir Michael O'Dwyer made up his mind to find no less than 40 per cent from his own province the population of which including the Indian States is only 13 per cent. It was too big an undertaking even for the martial races of the Punjab who had already contributed over 2,50,000 combatants and 70,000 non-combatants, since the commencement of the war. Hence the broad hint conveyed in the words "voluntaryism if possible, conscription if necessary." The various officials engaged in recruiting lost no time in translating those words into action and the horrors committed in the guise of patriotic effort are still fresh in the memory of the victims. An ingenious "quota system" was devised under which a rough census of the male population of every village was taken and each village was called upon to furnish a certain number of recruits within a fixed time. If the required number was not forthcoming within the time given various unlawful and oppressive methods were employed. Villages were punished collectively and individuals were subjected to great hardships and humiliation. I shall not here enter into any details as the Commissioners appointed by your Sub-Committee are enquiring into these cases of ill-treatment and will present to you their report in due course.

The Criminal law was openly abused and numerous proceedings were taken against innocent men under the provisions of Sections 107 and 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure with the sole object of compelling the accused persons either to enlist or to supply recruits. There are judicial records in existence showing that those who did either the one or the other were acquitted while those who did neither were convicted. In the report on the administration of Criminal Justice for 1917 it is stated :—

"District Magistrates have spent much time in recruiting work during the year. The large decrease in the number of persons called upon to give security under Section 110 Criminal Procedure Code is in a great part due to the heavy recruiting for the army."

In the report for 1918 it is again stated :

"Recruiting for the army continued to be one of the main factors in bad livelihood cases."

Nor was the abuse of law confined only to bad livelihood cases. The following passage occurs in the judgment of the Sessions judge

of Karnal setting aside the convictions of the appellants by the District Magistrate :—

"The various orders passed by the District Magistrate from time to time clearly show that if these appellants had also supplied recruits from among their near relations or if they were fit for enlistment themselves they would have been let off provided 20 recruits were made up from the village as was originally demanded from it."

Similar methods were employed to swell the provincial contributions to the war loan. It will be interesting to prepare statistics to show how many subscribers found it necessary to transfer their war bonds at heavy discount soon after their subscriptions were announced. One of the favourite methods to deal those who did not satisfy the authorities with their war effort either in supplying recruits or contributing to the war loan was to enhance their income-tax. The following short extracts from the judgments of Collectors rejecting objections to the enhancement will be instructive.

"He (the objector) has three sons and will not enlist one of them. He has not subscribed to any war fund or war loan although he could easily do so."

"Up to date he has not helped even by a single pice in any war fund or loan."

The inevitable result of the systematic oppression the main features of which I have described was to spread serious discontent throughout the province and it is not surprising that the pent up feelings of the people occasionally found vent in the commission of serious offences. We have it on record that a Tehsildar in the Shahpur District was murdered and some of his companions sustained grievous hurt. In the same district a mob offered resistance to the arrest of some men on a charge of dissuading people from enlistment with the result that it was fired upon and several casualties occurred.

In a recent speech made in Multan Sir Michael O'Dwyer expressed the lament that "those who worked in organizing recruiting for the division have had a most arduous task ; they have had to content against apathy, timidity, and even with open hostility, which in some cases unfortunately culminated into riot, bloodshed, and defiance of authority in Multan and Muzaffargarh."

Mr. Montagu in his last speech on the Indian budget remarked :—

"Recruiting for the army has gone on in parts particularly affected by these disturbances with such zeal and enthusiasm that I think there is reason to believe that many a family was left without its bread-winner."

Did Mr. Montagu sufficiently realize the inwardness of the "zeal and enthusiasm" he referred to or the extent to which it was carried? The "unauthorised, objectionable and oppressive methods" employed by zaildars and lambardars under pressure of the authorities are described in the judgment of the Sessions judge of Multan as "matters of common knowledge." It is evident that this "common knowledge" did not travel beyond the seas to England or we should have found some indication of it in Mr. Montagu's speech.

What I have so far said applies to all classes affected by recruiting and war loan activities and concerns mainly "the man on the sod, and the man behind the plough" for whom the late Lieutenant Governor professed the warmest sympathy and solicitude. Let us now turn to another class of people for whom he never affected any feelings other than those of unqualified hatred and contempt—I mean the people known as the educated classes in general and the politically minded section of them in particular. I have already shown that public life was all but dead in the Punjab some years before Sir Michael O'Dwyer appeared on the scene. It showed some signs of revival on his assuming charge of the province but was again put down by his masterful repression. There were, however, world forces at work which even the strongest man could not resist and the people of the Punjab whose "manliness, sanity, and practical common sense" the then Lieutenant-Governor was never tired of extolling for his own purposes, could not remain unaffected. The famous memorandum of the nineteen members of the Indian Council, the Congress League Scheme of Constitutional Reforms, the historical announcement of the 20th August, 1917, the visit to India of Mr Montagu himself and the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, all came in quick succession to the utter bewilderment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He saw Congress Committees spring up in important centres, and heard the whole province ring with the echoes of speeches made at public meetings and conferences in the course of which this administration was freely criticised. Early in his career as Lieutenant Governor he had conceived an immense admiration for himself and his administration and so long as it was open to him he suppressed all talk of the slightest change or improvement. When that was made impossible by the announcement of the 20th August and the developments which followed it, he made highly offensive and provocative speeches in his own and the Viceroy's Council which served the only purpose of adding to the bitterness of feeling on both sides. Up to the end of 1918 constitutional reforms were the all absorbing topic at almost

all public meetings and he could not well interfere with them: But early in 1919 came a terrible visitation in the shape of the Rowlatt Legislation which set a tremendous wave of agitation rolling in the country from one end to the other. It swept through the Punjab with the same volume and force as through other parts of India and gave Sir Michael O'Dwyer the opportunity he sought. The people were no longer offering criticism which was invited by the Government, but had engaged themselves in a strong agitation against a set policy which the Government had made up its mind to carry out at all cost. This made all the difference with him and with the convenient bogey of the frontier to trot out in case of need; he prepared himself to deal the last effective blow.

The Rowlatt Legislation.

It will be convenient for me here to say a few words about this most inequitable measure which even according to Mr. Montagu has met with "universal opposition throughout India." You must be perfectly familiar with the provisions of this Act and I shall only notice a few salient features which are enough to condemn it. It invests the Government with "emergency powers" to enable it to deal with anarchical and revolutionary movements. Part I of the Act supersedes the ordinary mode of trial by a special procedure when the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that it is expedient in the interests of public safety to provide for a speedy trial. This speed is attained by doing away with commitment proceedings and the right of appeal which in one word means speed at the expense of justice. It is impossible to underrate the importance of commitment proceedings which give fair notice to the accused of what the case against him is, and how the prosecution seeks to prove it. As to the value of the right of appeal there can be no two opinions. The most remarkable feature of the Act in this respect is that no right of appeal is given even when the judges differ, the only consideration shown being that no sentence of death shall be passed if there is such difference of opinion.

Parts II and III are designed to deal with two classes of anarchical and revolutionary movements but the difference between them is only one of degree. Part II applies when such movements are "extensively promoted" and Part III when they are "prevalent to such an extent as to endanger public safety." But whatever the difference between the two it is impossible in any given case to show that the movement in question was of the one kind and not of the other. For all practical purpose, therefore, the Governor-General in Council has a free hand in the matter and may proceed

under Part II or III as he likes. The fact that a person is concerned in any movement of either kind is in the first instance to be determined behind his back and later on, when his case is referred to the investigating authority, he is to be given an opportunity to appear at "some stage" (not all the stages) of the proceedings, which are to be held in camera. The unfortunate person is not to be allowed to be represented by counsel, he may not be told the name of his accuser, nor even all the facts on which the accusation is based and is not entitled as a matter of right to examine any witness, or produce any document if the investigating authority considers it unnecessary. To crown all this the investigating authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence and there shall be no appeal from its finding. We then have the drastic powers given to Local Government, which are milder under Part II than Part III but extend to the search of any place and confinement in jail of the person concerned.

These, fellow delegates, are some of the staggering provisions of the new law against which the whole country rightly rose as one man. Because there are unfortunately in this country as there undoubtedly are in other countries, some misguided persons who endanger public safety, the whole nation must submit to the disgrace of following this terror to hung over it. It has been over and over again admitted that the great bulk of the population in India are law-abiding. The negation of law and justice which the Rowlatt Act represents could only be necessary to cover the inability or incompetency of the Government to cope with an evil which is by no means confined to India. The only justification pleaded is that the Act is not meant for the innocent and the law-abiding, who need have no fear of its application to them. But it is conveniently forgotten that the sole judge of the innocence or guilt of any person, however high placed he may be, is the executive. And who can have faith in the executive if the safeguards imposed by law on them are removed? Our critics may, but let me tell them plainly that we do not. But it is said that there are safeguards. The Local Government can not proceed without first obtaining the opinion of a judicial officer qualified to be a High Court judge. The obvious answer is that in the first place that opinion is to be based on one-sided evidence and in the second the Local Government is not bound by it. All it is bound to do is to consider the opinion, If this opinion is against the Government, but the latter is still satisfied that action is necessary, there is nothing in the Act to prevent it from applying either Part II or III as it likes. It is however pointed out that no Government would be unreasonable enough to

disregard the opinion of the judicial officer whom it consults. After what has happened recently in the Punjab, and at different times in other parts of India, let no man ask us to put implicit faith in the reasonableness of Government measures and methods. What is possible for the Government to do it may do at any time. We cannot be satisfied until it is made impossible for it to depart from strictly constitutional lines. The next safeguard relied upon is the enquiry by the "investigating authority." As you have seen from the conditions under which that enquiry is to be held it is nothing short of an unmitigated farce and can afford no real safeguard. The last argument in favour of the Act is that it is nowhere in force and will never be put in force unless occasion arises and then only in the part of country where such occasion arises. Here again the only determining authority is the executive though in this case it is the Governor-General in Council. It may be said that under the new Reform Act there will be three Indians in the Executive Council and at least they may be relied upon. But the executive does not change its character by being English or Indian. The point is that no executive in the world, however competent it may be, has any business to usurp the jurisdiction of duly constituted law courts or deprive the people of the protection afforded by them.

Much has been said of rumours and misrepresentations of the provision of the Act. I confess that I have not come across them except in Government "communiqués" and some police evidence before the Martial Law Commissions. It is a remarkable fact that though these rumours were supposed to have emanated from the educated classes, not a single witness was called nor a single speech produced to fix any particular person with their authorship or circulation though the C. I. D. were everywhere in evidence. Indeed one of the popular cries in the Punjab put the main provisions of the Act in a nutshell.

No pleader, no appeal, no argument.

This is as true a description of the Act as any that can be given in six words, though the author of it has been convicted and sentenced by a Martial Law Commission.

Mr. Montagu has sought to defend this measure in his Budget speech in the House of Commons. He has resorted to special pleading and instead of justifying the principle of the Act has plunged into a consideration of the necessity to deal with anarchical crime. Political crime has to be dealt with, has to be rooted out, but I repeat, what has been said so often before, that no number of Rowlatt Acts or other repressive measures will put an end to it. The one and only way to cast it out is to remove the causes of discontent.

The most amazing part of Mr. Montagu's defence of the Act came when on being interrupted by an hon. member on the question of the accused being deprived of legal assistance, he said :—

"Yes Sir ; under Part I of the Act he has assistance, but under Parts II and III there is no legal assistance. This is not a law court but a committee of inquiry. It is more like a school master investigating trouble at a school, a committee of a club using its friendly services for the purposes of inquiry, somebody to explore all matters, somebody to see that injustice is not done, somebody to be sure that all the facts are investigated."

To compare the arrest and confinement without trial of a citizen, and numerous other restraints put on his liberty of action and speech, with the governance of a school or a club is, to say the least, adding a gross insult to a serious wrong ; it can only be accounted for by the oft-repeated complaint that Mr. Montagu has recently, to push the Reform Bill through, lost all sense of proportion of other things Indian.

For these reasons I have no hesitation in asking you to express in no uncertain terms, what I know to be your considered opinion, that the Act is an ugly blot on the Indian statute book and must be removed without delay. The issue before us is, as Mahatma Gandhi has concisely put it, "is the will of the people to prevail or that of the Government"? The very existence of this measure puts a stain on our self respect and our national honour. But I feel confident that if you persist in your constitutional efforts you will get rid of it. For, as Mahatmaji says : "A Government be it ever so powerful and autocratic is bound to yield to unanimous public opinion. It is a bad outlook before us if truth and justice have to surrender to mere physical force whether it is wielded by an individual or a Government."

I apologise to you, fellow delegates, for having detained you even for the few minutes I have on the provisions of the inequitable measure. I have done so as this is the first opportunity for the Congress to pronounce its opinion on the Act and also because it marks the starting point of the recent trouble in the Punjab. I must not omit in this connection to express our keen appreciation of the high sense of public duty shown by those members of the Imperial Council who resigned their seats as a protest against the passing of the Act.

Satyagraha.

The Rowlatt Bills, bad as they were, were made even worse and more unacceptable to us by the environment in which they were set.

Mahatma Gandhi rightly pointed out that they were "the unmistakable symptom of the deep-seated disease in the governing body"—a disease which soon after broke out in all its virulence and naked ugliness. To fight this disease Mahatma Gandhi started the great Satyagraha movement. A new force was introduced into our politics, a force with the most tremendous potentialities. India's masses were suddenly awakened and the message of Satyagraha entered the humblest home. Some of us did not entirely agree with the wording of the Satyagraha pledge, many were of opinion that the time had not come for civil disobedience. But few, I imagine, can disagree with the essentials of the doctrine. These, as I conceive them, are truth, fearlessness and non-violence. And, as a corollary, I would add that it is the right of every man to refuse to obey any law which goes against his conscience and to which he cannot with due regard to truth submit, and to suffer the consequences for such disobedience. This is specially so where the laws are passed against the will of the people. I would here refer you to what an eminent American has said. Mr. Hadley, president of the Yale University, says "You can compell ignorant people to accept a statute, you can force bad men to obey it when they do not want to ; but if a statute or a judicial decision passes the line of those duties which good and intelligent men as a body accept and impose upon themselves, it is at once nullified. The process of nullifying law has sometimes been called passive resistance."

The qualities I have mentioned above, whether you call them Satyagraha or by any other name, are essential if we are to take our rightful place amongst the nations of the world. We shall not be free or deserve freedom unless we have these qualities in ample measure. Unless we adhere to truth and discard fear we cannot get rid of the slave psychology, the outcome of generations of repression, which has been our sad inheritance. And violence cannot avail us. That is the special weapon of the west and cannot hope to win freedom by armed force. But even if we could do so it would be a barren victory, a victory which would degrade and coarsen us and make us less fit to enjoy the freedom we had so won. We would develop the same vices against which we are contending now and in our turn would start the game of repression.

The spirit of Satyagraha was nobly shown by the great and peaceful demonstrations of the 6th of April. That day must remain a red letter day for India. It was the greatest event of the year. Some persons, ignorant of history and Indian tradition, have likened the hartal to the general strike after the manner of the west, and have called it the forerunner of riot and bloodshed. But the hartal

in India is a spiritual weapon, the old time method of showing sorrow, of having grievances redressed by patient suffering. It has from time immemorial been resorted to to express grief at a national calamity, sorrow at the loss of a loved citizen. It is not used as a threat, nor as a weapon against the forces of law and order. And this was fully shown on the Satyagraha Day when the mighty demonstrations passed off peacefully without the slightest conflict with the police or military.

Some words of Mahatma Gandhi have been distorted to mean that the Satyagraha movement was the cause of disturbances in India. Fellow delegates, I say most emphatically that this was not so. Neither Satyagraha nor the hartal was the cause except in so far as they greatly displeased the authorities and made them provoke the people. There was no civil disobedience of laws in the Punjab. Satyagraha flourished more in other parts of the country and yet there was no disturbance there. The hartals of the 6th April did not cause any breach of the peace. It was only after two popular leaders of this city had been suddenly deported and Mahatma Ghandhi, the most revered Indian of the day, had been arrested, that the passion of the populace broke loose in certain parts of the country. That would have been so even without Satyagraha or hartal. The disturbances were the result of the action of the authorities. They knew full well, in the Punjab at least, that the consequence of their provocative action would lead to trouble and they took measures accordingly.

Martial Law and after.

The events which followed must be fresh in your memory. Martial Law was enforced and for long the Punjab was almost cut off from the rest of the world. The truth was hidden from us and we had to rely on the one-sided accounts presented by Government for our benefit. Outsiders were not permitted to enter the charmed area, even Mr. Andrews being turned out of the province. Within a few days of the declaration of Martial Law the All Indian Congress Committee demanded a full and impartial enquiry, and a little later appointed a Sub-Committee to conduct an enquiry. This Sub-Committee laboured for months and collected a great deal of evidence. It was hoped to present this evidence to the official committee which had been announced.

Lord Hunter's Committee.

The appointment by the Government of India of Lord Hunter's Committee was most disappointing, but we waived our substantial

objections to it and decided to co-operate provided only full facilities were given to us to represent the people's case. At the earliest possible opportunity we urged upon the Government that the presence of the Panjabee leaders, who were in jail, was necessary for a fair enquiry. For many days we were in frequent communication with the Panjab Government and we were led to believe that our requests were being favourably considered by them. We refrained from going to the press in order to avoid embarrassing the Government and waited patiently for their answer. That answer came on the eve of the Hunter Committee's arrival in Lahore. You must have seen the correspondence subsequent to this and our Sub-Committee's statement which have already appeared in the papers, and I can add but little, I would only point out to you that we tried to meet the Government as much as possible. We modified our original request for the release of all the leaders during the enquiry and agreed to the presence of only one or two of them at that time in custody before Lord Hunter's Committee while evidence relating to them was being given. That was all we wanted and which the Government finally refused to give us. It was not an extravagant request. Even criminals have a right to be present in court during their trials. The Panjabee leaders are not being tried in the technical sense but their actions are being judged, they are being attacked by official witnesses and much of the blame and responsibility for the disturbances is being cast on them. Yet they were not allowed the privilege of the meanest criminal although the officials of Government, who are as much on their trial and have at least as much to answer for, have had the fullest opportunities of appearing before the committee and conducting their case. Some of these officials have even been allowed the advantage of giving their evidence in camera. After the most anxious consideration the Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that "if it was to discharge the trust upon it, if it was to vindicate the national honour and the honour of the great Panjabee leader, if it was to see truth and innocence established, it could not possibly engage in an enquiry in which the people's party was so heavily handicapped." I feel confident that you will approve of and endorse the action your Sub-Committee took, and trust to its judgment in taking all necessary steps to obtain justice.

Meanwhile Lord Hunter's Committee has pursued the even tenor of its way, roused occasionally by some particularly callous official admissions. Their findings can but be ex parte decisions, based on the evidence of one party only. The other side of the shield will be presented to you by the Commissioners appointed by

your Sub-Committee, who have strenuously laboured to collect and shift the evidence for the people. I do not overlook the fact that the proceedings of your Commissioners are in the legal sense as *ex parte* as those of Lord Hunter's Committee. There is however this to be said that your Commissioners have the additional advantage of considering the evidence given before the Hunter Committee. They have for good reasons deferred publishing their report and the evidence on which it will be based and this Congress will not have the advantage of having their considered opinion on the Panjab occurrences before it. This has also considerably handicapped me as in the absence of your commissioner's report, it is somewhat difficult for me to deal with some aspects of Martial Law.

But whatever findings the Commissioners appointed by the Congress Sub-Committee may arrive at, the central facts of the recent tragic events have now become so crystallised as to enable us to form an adequate idea of the true nature of the horrors through which the Panjab has just passed. These central facts are now matters of common knowledge and emerge clearly above the few controversial points which we may safely leave to our Commissioners. What we in this Congress are concerned with is not so much the fixing of individual responsibility for particular acts as the ascertainment of the spirit which runs through them all. I shall now by your leave touch on some of the main incidents and broad features of the occurrences which clearly indicate the spirit with which the people on the one side and the administration on the other were actuated.

Amritsar.

I shall take the case of Amritsar which stands out more prominently than any other as affording in itself a complete illustration of the spirit on either side.

The people of Amritsar observed the 6th April in the true Satyagraha spirit. So they did also the 9th April, the Ram Navami day, and Mahammadans gladly and eagerly joined their Hindu brethren in celebrating the festival. There was no violence, no threats, and the processionists played the English National Anthem in honour of the Deputy Commissioner. That showed the psychology of the people of Amritsar on that Ram Navami day, Hindus and Moslems observing the festival together, and both joining to do honour to the King Emperor. The next few hours brought a strange transformation. The Bazaars were filled with mourning and the crowds that had rejoiced the night before, discarded their turbans and shoes in sorrow for they heard that two of their loved leaders had been suddenly deported. And, after the old Indian

fashion, they went unarmed and bare-headed towards the Deputy Commissioner's house to pray for the realise of their leaders. They were fired at, some were killed and a number wounded. But I shall not here deal with the circumstances of or the necessity for this firing. Again the temper of the crowd changed and as is the way with crowds, it rapidly went to the other extreme. The passion for vengeance took possession of it and some parts of the mob committed those excesses for which we Indians cannot but hang our heads in shame. Whatever the treatment they had been subjected to, whatever the provocation offered, nothing can justify the murders which they committed, the shameful assault which they perpetrated on a defenceless woman, the arson and plunder of which they were guilty.

Yet again, the mood changed. After two or three hours of madness, the people, or rather such of them as had been guilty of the outrages, recovered control of themselves. They saw the folly of their doings and, without the intervention of the police or military, of themselves stopped the destruction.

Such was the behaviour of the people of this city on those fateful days. The psychology of a crowd is a difficult thing to fathom, but I cannot but think that the history of those days would have been differently written if an attempt had been made to appreciate the view point of the people.

Let us now consider some of the doings of the officials and the spirit which actuated them. They did not appreciate the inner significance of Satyagraha or the 'hartal.' To them it was all a vast conspiracy, the forerunner of a second mutiny. They did not care to see what troubled the people, they did not search for the causes of this mighty movement. They looked upon the closing of shops and the meetings and the demonstrations as a personal insult to them. Even the fraternisation of Hindus and Moslems was anathema, an act in the great conspiracy. We all know what it is in this country for a body of men to walk bare-headed and bare-footed. It is the sign of deep grief, a token of a great calamity. But our rulers neither understand nor care to study the feelings and emotions of those whom they look upon as a subject race. In his evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee, Mr. Miles Irving, who was Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar at the time, was asked about the people who were proceeding to his house on the 10th. He stated :

"Yes, they were coming to my house, I understood. They were coming not to make any ordinary protest. When people come, they come properly clad, but these men had put off their 'pugrees' and shoes and they intended violence.

Question.—It might have been the sign of mourning?

Answer.—If it was mourning, it was violent mourning."

So, Mr. Miles Irving, after a life-time spent in the Indian Civil Service, thinks that the taking off of turbans and shoes is a sign of coming violence! Ignorance of the habits of a people is never excusable in one whose duty it is govern them. It becomes criminal when it leads to grave consequences.

The sudden deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal was a typical act of our administrators. Having convinced themselves that there was revolution in the air, that conspiracies were being hatched, that the wonderful calm of the 6th and 9th of April hid strange currents underneath, they took the only step which appeals to the mind of a bureaucrat. They knew that this would greatly upset the people, they knew that there might be trouble, but what matter? Could they not crush them with the "ample resources at their disposal? It did not strike them that the people could be reasoned with or could be conciliated. Nor did they think of having recourse to the ordinary law courts of the country. They do not believe in the intricacies or the delays of the law. They believe in making themselves the judges and meeting out swift and stern justice to their opponents.

The Jallianwala Bagh.

But saddest and most revealing of all was the great tragedy which occurred here on the Vaisakhi day. No Indian and no true Englishman can hear the story of the Khuni Bagh, as it is now aptly called, without a sickening feeling of horror. Our friend Mr. C. F. Andrews, to whom this province and our country is so much indebted, has described it "as a cold and calculated massacre." He says 'I have gone into every single detail with all the ease and thoroughness that a personal investigation could command and it remains to me an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable.' Such is the verdict of an Englishman. What words, fellow delegates, can I use to express your feelings and mine whose kith and kin were mercilessly shot down by the hundred in cold blood? Well may we grieve in the words of the Persian Poet—

(Our country is flooded with sorrow and woe.

O, for our land woe!

Arise and for coffin and cerements glow!

O, for our land woe!

With the blood of our men killed in this pursuit

The moon shines red;

Hill, plain, and garden blood-red glow :
O, for our land woe !)

The facts of this incident are before you, they have largely been admitted by the authorities. But I am not aware of any condemnation from the authorities. I do not know of any high official who has protested against this grim occurrence. That is a revelation of official mentality which staggers me. General Dyer, the author of the deed has almost boasted of his achievement. He had sought to justify it. To him it was a "merciful act" to fire without warning on an inoffensive crowd because it might have made fun of him if he had refrained from doing so. He admits that he could have dispersed it without firing but that would have been derogatory to his dignity as a defender of law and order. And so, in order to maintain his self-respect, he thought it his duty to "fire and fire well" till his ammunition was exhausted and 2,000 persons lay dead and wounded. There ended his duty. It was none of his business, he tells us, to look after the dead and wounded. It was no one's business. The defenders of law and order had won a great victory, they had crushed the great rebellion. What more was needed ?

This is the deed which received the benedictions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. This is the deed which has been defended by official after official before Lord Hunter's Committee. The plea of necessity is raised, the plea that the massacre produced a good effect on the surrounding districts. We have heard of these excuses before when Louvain was razed to the ground, when atrocities were committed at Dinant and Tarmonde. For these crimes against humanity the late Kaiser and his underlings are going to be tried. But General Dyer is secure. His late chief has blessed him and his colleagues in the civil and military administration of this country stand by him and applaud his deed.

Crawling.

The shooting in the Jallianwala Bagh was not the only feats which General Dyer performed. His subsequent conduct was no less revealing of his perverted state of mind. He tells us that he "searched his brain" for a new punishment, a new terror for the people—something, as General Hudson put at in the Imperial Council, to "strike the imagination". And the punishment that was devised did credit to General Dyer's ingenuity and ferocity. It was worthy of the days of the Inquisition. All Indians who happened to pass through a certain lane were forced to crawl on their bellies like worms. This was the punishment meted out to all

innocent and peaceful men who went that way because some hooligans had attacked Miss Sherwood in the lane some days before. No better method could have been devised to humble the people to the dust.

Of the other measures taken in Amritsar by General Dyer—the flogging in public places, the enforced salaaming, the cruel treatment of the best and most respected citizens—I shall not say much. They all tell the same tale of brutal terrorism, the attempt to crush the spirit of the people.

Lahore.

General Dyer was not the only apostle of this cult. There were many others who tried to rival his exploits in the other districts under Martial Law. Lt. Col. Frank Johnson, the expert from Bechuanaland, pursued the policy of “thoroughness” in the Lahore area. A “false and malicious” rumour that the Government intended to interfere with the marriage customs of the people was contradicted by the official “communiqué” from Smla and the contradiction was given due publicity. The rumour was set down as a base lie and a Muhammadan marriage was arranged in a village not far from Lahore. It so happened that the whole marriage party, including the bridegroom, the priests and the guests, were flogged for having dared to assemble together during the Martial Law days. Col. Johnson has now been pleased to express his regret for this flogging and to tell us that it was due to the absence of tact in the official concerned. He himself exercised this “blessed virtue” by arresting 500 students and the professors of the Sanatani Dharma College and confining them in the fort because a Martial Law notice was damaged by some unknown person. He welcomed the opportunity of doing so, he “was looking for it.” He tells us that he was waiting for an opportunity to bring home to the people the power of Martial Law. To him a walk of 16 miles daily for the students for three weeks in the scorching Lahore sun of April and May was no hardship. It was “ordinary physical training of a mild form.” But perhaps the most noticeable example of the tact and mentality of Col. Johnson was his order prohibiting more than two Indians from walking abreast. He tells us:—

“If more than two natives come and do not give way to a European, that is likely to lead to breach of the peace.”

Question.—Who would commit the breach of the peace, European?

Answer—Undoubtedly.

Question—You think he would be justified in doing so?

Answer—Certainly.

And yet we are told of equal partnership in the Empire and are asked to rejoice over the peace which has given this to us !

Gujranwala and Bombing.

In Gujranwala Col. O'Brien held sway, serene in the knowledge that he could do what he wished without let or hindrance. The Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government had assured him, even prior to Martial Law, that his actions would be subsequently validated. This simple fact furnishes a more illuminating commentary on the new Indemnity Act than all the learned arguments of Sir George Lowndes in the Imperial Council. We can now understand the whole-hearted support given to the measure by the Hon'ble the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government and appreciate the wisdom of the provision in the Act which throws on the complainant the burden of proving want of good faith in the accused official when he is armed with a certificate from a Secretary to the Government.

One of the steps taken by Col. O'Brien on the assurance of the Chief Secretary was to arrest Gauhar Singh, a lambardar, aged 60 years. Col. O'Brien states: "Gauhar Singh himself had committed no offence but his two sons were wanted by the police and they were not forthcoming and that was why their old father was arrested. He told us that he did not know where his sons had gone. An order was also passed confiscating his property. The order stated that until the arrest of Gauhar Singh's sons his property would be confiscated, that he be dismissed from the post of lambardar, and any one touching his property or cutting his crops would be shot." No comment from me is necessary.

In Gujranwalla, as you are all aware, the gentle art of bombing from aeroplanes was practised, a bomb being actually dropped on a school boarding-house full of boys. The manner in which bombs were dropped may be gathered from Lt. Dodkin's statement. He says: "I saw twenty or 30 people in a field talking to one another and dropped bombs on them. I did not know who they were, whether they had assembled for an unlawful purpose, but I bombed as my orders were to disperse crowds."

Another part of this district has come to be known as the Bosworth Smith area in memory of the horrors it underwent under the rule of a member of the Indian Civil Service who for years past was in disgrace with the Punjab Government but was selected

as specially qualified to administer Martial Law justice, and has since been rewarded by promotion.

Kasur.

In Kasur Capt. Doveton evolved fancy and novel punishments for the people and sought to teach them how to observe the ancient customs of India by touching the ground with their foreheads. He also had men stripped and flogged in the presence of prostitutes. His brother officer Lt. Col. Macrae meanwhile amused himself by having school boys flogged in public in order to set an example to all evil doers. The bigger boys were picked out at random, perhaps they could bear the whipping better. They were not guilty of any offence, "It was their misfortune" Col. MacIrne tells us, and I take it that the punishment he awarded was in good faith. All the male inhabitants, boys and men, ten thousand in number, had to present themselves for the identification parade. The men arrested, 150 in number, were put in a cage placed on the station platform, and a public gallows was erected, entirely at the instance of the Punjab Government, before any one was tried or condemned to death—as Col. Macrae informs us.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

Besides the attempt to terrorize the people, the Punjab officials aimed a blow at the most valuable asset of our political life, the union between Hindus and Mahomedans. You are aware, fellow delegates, of the pathetic scenes of fraternization between Hindus and Muslims which took place during the recent disturbances at Delhi, Lahore and other places accompanied with shouts of "Hindu Musalman ki Jai. These expressions of fellowship in a common trouble were treated by the Punjab officials as heinous crimes amounting to open rebellion and waging war against the King, and a new offence was created which was defined as "fraternisation of Hindus and Mohammadans against the Government by law established." One of the most shameful acts of the Martial Law authorities was to ridicule the Hindu-Muslim entente publicly in various ways. The admission of Hindus to the Mahomedan mosques and of Mahomedans to the Hindu temples, the drinking of water, of 'sherbet', from out of the same glass by Hindu and Mahomedan were unmistakable signs of a far deeper union of the two than could be looked upon with equanimity by those who were interested in keeping them apart. And an attempt was made under official inspiration during the closing days of Martial Law to found separate political

associations or 'Sabhas' for Hindus, Mahomedans and Sikhs. I do not know what progress has been made in this direction but I trust that my fellow countrymen of all communities will refrain from swallowing this fatal bait.

I have referred you, fellow delegates, to a very few of the admitted facts. It is not possible for me here to go into all the harrowing details of the numerous atrocities committed in the name of law and order. For these you will have to wait for the report of your Commissioners and the evidence they are collecting. Meanwhile I would beg of you to read carefully the evidence which has been tendered before Lord Hunter's Committee. I would request you to note the overbearing attitude of the official witnesses and their arrogance to the Indian members of the committee. That will give you a greater insight into the official mind than any words of mine can convey. That will give you some idea of what our brethren in the Punjab have had to go through. And I would have you remember that these were the officers who presided over the Martial Law Summary Courts, who dispensed justice and inflicted heavy punishments and flogging.

Necessity for Martial Law.

The question of the necessity or otherwise of the application of Martial Law to the situation which arose in April last is a question on which also we must await the considered opinion of our Commissioners on all the evidence taken by them and that tendered before Lord Hunter's Committee. The Government case has been put as high as it possibly could be before the latter so far as the opinion of the authorities as to the real nature of the disturbances, and their apprehensions at the time as to what they might eventually lead to, are concerned. The point is whether their opinion and apprehensions were based on facts or were the result of panic. I shall abstain from embarrassing either our own Commissioners or Lord Hunter's Committee by offering at this stage any definite opinion of my own for your acceptance. But I think I am fully within my rights in pointing out that the question is not so much whether there was necessity for the application of Martial Law at any time as whether it was necessary when it was actually applied. It may be that Martial Law could be justified if it had been introduced at the time when the disturbances were actually going on, but it is an admitted fact that it was not so applied. What was done was to call on the military to help the civil administration, which is well within the discretion of every Magistrate under our Criminal Law, but is very different from Martial Law. Whether or not it was necessary to hand over the entire civil administration to the military on the dates on which the

Martial Law Ordinances and notifications relating to each district were issued is the next question before your Commissioners as well as Lord Hunter's Committee. I shall content myself with laying before you the official view. Mr. Kitchin, the Commissioner of Lahore Division, has stated that Martial Law was not wanted for the purpose of recovering control but in order to prevent the spread of infection, and specially for the speedy trial of the numerous persons who had been arrested. Mr. Miles Irving tells us that the necessity for the continuance of Martial Law did not depend on anything that happened in his district. It depended on outside factors, on the situation on the frontier. General Dyer tells us that the city of Amritsar was a "model of law and order" after the 13th April.

Whatever the finding of your Commissioners and Lord Hunter's Committee as to the initial necessity for martial law may be, there is not the slightest doubt, on the admissions made by the official witnesses before Lord Hunter's Committee, that there was absolutely no justification for keeping it in force for the unconscionable length of time during which its horrors continued to be perpetrated. Admittedly it was not required to maintain law and order and the only justification pleaded, besides the old story of the dangers arising from the proximity of the frontier, is that it enabled the offenders to be brought to speedy justice. But the Government had ample powers under the statute law to constitute special tribunals for the trial of offenders and these would not have taken much longer to dispose of the cases than the Martial Law Commissions and Summary Courts did. The only difference would have been that people would have been saved the sufferings and indignities to which they were subjected under cover of Martial Law and that the accused would have had the advantage of defending themselves by counsel of their choice. The trend of the whole official evidence before Lord Hunter's Committee is that Martial Law was not required to meet the immediate necessities of the administration but merely for the purpose of striking terror into the hearts of the people, so as to avoid possible trouble in the future. I am of course not aware what secrets of state have been imparted to the Hunter Committee in camera by the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government and General Hudson. But so far as the open proceedings before the Committee go I can affirm with confidence that it was a gross abuse of Martial Law for which all concerned are liable to answer.

Martial Law Death Sentences.

I do not intend discussing any of the hundreds of cases disposed of by the Martial Law Commissions and the Summary

and Area Courts. They have caused the greatest misery to the people, the suffering which endures. Hundreds still lie in jail, many for having done what no honest man need be ashamed of. You will have some idea of the sentences inflicted when I tell you that 108 persons were sentenced to death and the aggregate sentences of imprisonment amounted to the stupendous total of 7371 years and 5 months (allowing 20 years for a sentence of transportation for life.) The figures for whippings, forfeitures, fines and impositions on villages and towns are not yet fully available. Those I have given for imprisonments have been compiled from the official statements presented to the Imperial Council. I am told that even these figures are incomplete and that the official statements do not contain many cases. Many of these sentences have been largely reduced by the present Lieutenant Governor. Clemency has been shown where justice was needed. Injustice cannot be tempered with mercy. Sir Edward Maclagan is a kindly gentleman who has tried to mitigate the rigours of his predecessor's regime but he has not had the courage or the wisdom to break through the evil traditions he has inherited.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Responsibility

Such in briefest outline is the story of the Punjab. The responsibility of Sir Michael O'Dwyer for much that occurred here is admitted and established beyond doubt. I have endeavoured to show you the whole trend of his administration. It would appear that he was striving to make the Punjab a kind of Ulster in relation to the rest of India, a bulwark of reaction against all reform. "We now seem to be drifting into what is known as Birrellism in Ireland," he complained, "truckling to the extremists, encouraging the idea that we are going to hand over the administration to them." And even in his memorandum on the Reforms he could not help lamenting that the Punjab politicians, "hitherto quiescent, were encouraged to assert themselves, and to come into line with other Provinces". To him there was little difference between a constitutional agitator and an anarchist. For both he had the same remedy—repression. But the remedy failed him and but increased the disease. And then he played his master card and brought in Martial Law to kill once for all the breed that agitates. He has failed again in his endeavour, but his policy has resulted in death for many and in utmost misery for thousands. For that he is fully responsible. He is responsible for the actions of General Dyer and his military colleagues in Amritsar; he is

also responsible for the doings of his subordinates in the other districts under Martial Law.

Lord Chelmsford's Responsibility.

But what shall we say of Lord Chelmsford? He must have known, or ought to have known, what was happening in the Punjab. The Congress Committee repeatedly drew his attention to it. Did he seek to interfere or cut short the agony? Has he received or considered any representation from this affected province, presented to him from any sources, which are not strictly official? Was he shown us any sympathy? Has he even been into the heart of the province to acquaint himself by personal enquiry on the spot concerning the tragedies which have taken place? We have not even heard that his "heart has bled for Amritsar." Lord Chelmsford occupies a very exalted position. He has received that position at the hands of his King and as a trust from the English people. How has he served his King and fulfilled this trust? Has he faithfully and adequately discharged his duty to his King and to his fellow countrymen by his persistent refusal to listen or to interfere, by his aloofness and by his absence from the scene of these happenings, when hundreds of His Majesty's subjects were done to death by the military and thousands put to shameful indignity?

Englishmen are, I believe, proud of the justice of British rule and zealous of their reputation. May I not ask them to consider whether Lord Chelmsford has shown himself an active guardian of their honour and worthy of the trust which they had reposed in him? Indians seek for justice at the hands of the British Democracy. Will they tolerate this "frightfulness" in India and shield the authors of it? That is the acid test to British policy in India. On the answer to that depends the future goodwill of the Indian people.

The Lesson of the Punjab.

Fellow delegates, I have ventured to trespass on your time to a considerable extent in dealing with the Punjab and the other matters which have acquired a special significance on account of the recent disturbances. Much has of late been said and written about the Punjab, much still remains. But the lessons which the crowded events of the year have to teach us and the English people are clear. To us they point to the path of steadfast endeavour, the path of sacrifice and patient ordeal. That is the only way to reach our goal. To Englishmen they teach the

oft-repeated truth that tyranny degrades those who exercise it as much as those who suffer under it. And so it is that England, of old the champion of liberty, assumes a different guise in parts of her own dominions. England went to war to fight for the freedom of small nationalities, and yet a big nation under her sway continues to be unfree. In Belgium the German doings were condemned, but in India we still have the pure milk of Prussianism. And the man governed by the Prussian idea is much the same whether he is in the west or in the east. The logic of force is the only argument which appeals to him; military necessity justifies all severities. The object is always to stike terror and an act however "frightful" appears to him "merciful." Ordinary morality and humanity do not influence him and cruelty itself becomes laudable. It is for England to learn the lesson and put an end to conditions which permit these occurrences in her own dominions. If our lives and honour are to remain at the mercy of an irresponsible executive and military, if the ordinary rights of human beings are denied to us, then all talk of reform is a mockery. Constitutional reform without free citizenship is like rich attire on a dead body. Better to breathe God's free air in rags than be a corpse in the finest raiment.

The Government of India Act.

I shall now proceed to consider the new Reforms Act which has just been ushered into an expectant world after much travail and bitter controversy. We have been told by its sponsors in Parliament that it is a great measure, unique in English history, and that it gives us extensive powers. Some of our countrymen have welcomed it with open arms, others have condemned it. It is for this Congress now to consider it and formulate the country's verdict.

It has to be remembered that the situation which this Congress has to deal with is very different to what it was when the Special and Delhi Congresses met last year. Those Congresses had various schemes and proposals before them and it was open to them to accept such as appealed to them in the best interests of the country and reject others. The Montagu-Chelmsford proposals have now blossomed into an Act of Parliament and we must approach its provisions with all the respect due to the expressed will of Parliament which has been assented to by the Sovereign. The passing of the Act and the prospect of its being put into operation at an early date impose upon us here assembled the duty of examining its provisions with a view to laying down the policy

for the country and the working of the electoral, political and administrative machinery, old and new. It does not however impose upon the Congress the duty, to accept, nor does it confer upon the Congress the power to reject the measures which Parliament has decided to introduce and carry out. In my humble opinion neither the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee nor the proceedings of Parliament which enacted the Bill into law furnish any reason for the Congress to reconsider and revise the verdict it gave last year on the true requirements of the country. In certain respects those requirements have been partially met, in others they have not been given the weight due to them, either for reasons which do not appeal to us or for no reasons at all. The Act is not based on the wishes of the people of India and its provisions fall short of the minimum demands made by the Congress. But let us not belittle the good that the Act does us. We must recognise that it gives us some power and opens out new avenues of service for us which had hitherto been closed to Indians. I venture to think that our clear duty in these circumstances is to make the most of what we have got and at the same time to continue to press for what is our due. As Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has said : "take advantage of whatever reforms are introduced into the Government of the country, lay down a fuller and a juster programme for the nation, and let every one concerned know that you consider yourselves bound by none of the provisions to which you have taken exception, and go on using your influence to get what you want." Mr. Montagu has laboured strenuously for us and we must express our appreciation of his work and his sincere desire to advance our national aspirations. He has expressed the apprehension that agitation would not hasten the transference of power but might delay it. Lord Middleton in the House of Lords has gone further and declared that the continuance of agitation in order to obtain further concessions would be absolutely fatal to the future of India." We cannot share Mr. Montagu's apprehensions because of the faith in us, and as for Lord Middleton's warning we may ignore it in the assurance that the future of India does not rest in his Lordship's hands. In the course of the same debate Lord Meston was able from his own personal experience to assure the House of Lords that the "agitation in India was only evidence of something deeper. The spirit of nationalism bred in the soul and nurtured by our methods and our example lay below the whole political movement in India to-day. That spirit was spreading rapidly through all classes." This spirit of nationalism cannot rest content unless

all our demands are acceded to. Therefore I would beg of you to work the new reforms, utilise them for the betterment of the country and continue to press and agitate for our full demands.

The Declaration of Rights.

The Act, as I have said, gives us some power, but it does not give us free citizenship or the power to check the misuse by the executive of the functions of law and order. It ignores the insistent demand of the country for a Declaration of Rights. This demand was clearly formulated by the Special Congress at Bombay and it was reiterated at Delhi last year. Subsequent events have but emphasised the necessity for it. No constitution can meet our needs unless it is accompanied with a guarantee and a clear declaration of our elementary rights which have recently been so ruthlessly violated in the Punjab. No Indian can be blind to the fact that the protection of our fundamental civic liberties is a matter of the most urgent consequence. No statesman can shut his eyes to the supreme moral necessity of securing the faith of the Indian people in the inviolability of their rights of citizenship.

Our demand for a Declaration of Rights was placed before the Parliamentary Joint Committee. It was ably pressed before them by our deputation, but the committee did not give it even the courtesy of a brief notice in their report. We are thus left in the dark as to the reasons why this most natural demand has not been acceded to.

Without these rights, as some of the most distinguished publicists in England have stated recently in a manifesto, "British freedom is a mockery." It is obvious that all these traditional rights have been set at nought in India by the combined operation of the Indian D. O. R. A., the numerous repressive measures on our statute book and the cult of Martial Law.

History teaches us that wherever the liberties of a people have been placed at the mercy of an executive possessing the power to enact all the laws it wanted, the advent of self-government has been preceded or accompanied by a statutory declaration of rights. This is what we find in most of the continental constitutions of Europe and in the American constitution. Even in respect of India, the British Parliament has in the past expressed a desire to protect the fundamental liberties of the people. As early as 1833 when Parliament first set itself to reconstitute the Indian legislature, it specifically limited the powers of this body by a historic clause, the full meaning of which has often been ignored by the Indian Government and the Indian courts. The Indian legislature, it

declared, is to have no power "to make any law affecting the authority of Parliament or any part of the ancient laws of the constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown of the United Kingdom". But notwithstanding this the steady tendency of the executive in India has been to ignore the implications of this limitation of the Indian legislature. The Congress has rightly therefore been on its guard against this danger which lay in the proposals for reform. In considering these proposals and in suggesting modifications to them, it has rested upon one essential condition, that whatever the scheme of reforms may be, it should include as an indispensable part thereof a Declaration of Indian Rights. Judging from Indian conditions alone, it is imperative for this Congress to state that without a repeal of the existing repressive law and a guarantee of the future inviolability of our civic rights, no reforms in the constitutional machinery of the country can be regarded as satisfying our immediate requirements. They will not lessen the risks or the rigours of any future reign of terror that might at any time be inaugurated in the country by a panic-stricken executive.

It has been said that a demand for the declaration of Indian rights is unsupported by constitutional precedent within the Empire and inconsistent with a demand for full Home Rule. But we are still very far from full Home Rule, even under the new dispensation, and the bureaucratic agents of Parliament in India would still be in practically uncontrolled exercise of the power to suspend and suppress civic liberties. But even if India gets full Home Rule within the Empire, it is difficult to see why a declaration of Indian rights should necessarily be considered inconsistent with the demand for full legislative powers for the Indian assemblies. It is true that in many British constitutions conferring full responsible government, the need of specific guarantees has not been felt owing to the protection afforded by the great principles flowing from the rule of Common Law I have referred to above. But in cases where it was found that the tendency of the executive to encroach upon fundamental liberties was pronounced, the necessity of imposing limitations on the powers of even such responsible legislatures has been recognised and acted upon. I shall here only cite the latest example of this kind which occurred when the late Liberal Government passed the Irish Home Rule Act. Section 4 of this Act provides, among other things :

"The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any new law....."

"Whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation.

Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void."

It may be stated in this connection that the American Commonwealth has made a special feature of this Declaration of Rights both in the Federal and in the State Constitutions. At the time when the Federal Constitution was originally framed, at the conclusion of the War of Independence, the proposal to embody a Declaration of Rights in the Constitution was discussed. This was given up owing to the delay involved in settling its terms in time for the Convention, but within a few years the necessity for doing so became apparent and the constitution was so amended as to include the Declaration of Rights. The terms of the declaration are far wider than those asked for by the Indian National Congress which, in fact, has only adopted some of the important clauses of that section in the American Constitution.

The latest and the most instructive instance is that of the Philippines. The United States have not only conferred self-government on them at the earliest possible opportunity but have granted to them, under the constitution established by the Jones Law, a Declaration of Rights similar to their own.

General.

Coming to the provisions of the new Act, we find that a considerable part of this measure is in the nature of a blank cheque. The filling up of this cheque is left to the Executive Government of India subject to the supervision of the Secretary of State. This process may make or mar whatever benefits are intended to be conferred by the very large number of proposals which are subject to the extensive rule-making powers provided under the Act. There are yet further commissions or committees to come, and further investigations to be made in order to settle details. It is on the completion of this work that the Act will be fully put into operation.

Announcement of August 20th.

The Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament have, no doubt, made improvements in some of the provisions of the original Bill. But as they themselves declare, they have definitely accepted the substantial parts of the Bill and of the scheme of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which it embodied, as conceived in

the spirit and as interpreting with "scrupulous accuracy" the policy of His Majesty's Government announced on the 20th August, 1917. The Congress at Calcutta in 1917 pronounced the country's view on the policy of this announcement, the Special Congress in Bombay in August 1918 voiced our opinion on the Reform Report Scheme, while the Delhi Congress in December last, at the conclusion of the great war, declared the demands of the country for freedom, justice and self-determination. But at every stage of evolution of this constitutional enactment, the right of the people of India or of the Congress, to have the guiding voice in the settlement of their own self-governing institutions has not only been ignored, but has been definitely declared not to exist.

The Joint Committee of Parliament who, it was hoped, would improve the spirit of the Bill, took as narrow a view of the scope and policy of the Bill as the Government of India desired them to do in their latest representations. They have no doubt endorsed cordially the policy of the eventual realisation of responsible self-government in India, but they have denied that India is at present fit for it and they have declared that the announcement did not give any promise of even "the grant of partial responsibility" at present. They have also repudiated our demand for the application of the principle of self-determination. The Bill seeks to provide according to the Joint Committee, the solution for the problem enunciated in the declaration of His Majesty's Government of the 20th August, 1917, which is described to be "to design the first stage in a measured progress towards responsible government." The nature and scope of this first stage, they say, have been misunderstood by the critics of the scheme. "Its critics forget," we are told, "that the announcement spoke of a substantial step in the direction of the gradual development of self-governing institutions, not of the partial introduction of responsible government; and it is this distinction which justifies the method by which the Bill imposes responsibility both on Ministers to the Legislative Council and on the members of the Legislative Council to their constituents, for the results of that part of the administration which is transferred to their charge." The hesitation and the reserve, the suspicion and caution that have thus characterised their report, seriously impair the value of their final proposals, which otherwise could have been improved and liberalised by them without risk to the peace, safety or tranquillity of India. The extent to which this narrow spirit has pervaded their report is clearly indicated in its initial paragraphs.

The Joint Committee, evidently under Lord Selborne's guidance, set to expand the preamble to the Act so as to bring all the qualifying clauses and restrictive conditions of the 20th August announcement within its compass in order to give "equal value" to all the parts thereof. This expansion, however, has had one good effect, evidently due, as paragraph 7 of the report indicates but does not admit, to the strong presentation of the Congress case by our deputation before the Committee. The preamble has substituted Parliament in place of the Indian and the British Government as the authority upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people. The Joint Committee have acted on the assumption that the Bill is only intended to give the Indian people an opportunity, "a generous opportunity"—whatever that may mean—"of learning the actual business of Government." Their constant anxiety has been to preserve as the essential feature of the Bill the guardianship of the peace and the responsibility for the duties of administration during this period in the hands of the Governor-General in Council. This has seriously affected the attempts which they have in other ways made to remove defects in the original scheme of the Bill. I shall refer only to a few examples in this connection.

Grand Committees and Legislation by Ordinance.

The plan proposed in the original Bill was to empower the Governor or Governor-General to certify what he deemed essential proposals of legislation or essential supplies and to get them enacted or passed through the machinery of an official "bloc". This machinery was to consist of a Grand Committee in the provinces and of the Council of State in the Central Legislature. This plan was found so reactionary and objectionable that the Joint Committee rightly decided on finally abandoning it. This is a matter of some satisfaction to the Congress and its deputation who laid stress on the positively retrogressive character of this part of the scheme. Lord Meston had finally to acknowledge that the institution of Grand Committees would, in fact, reduce in certain respects some of the existing powers of the present Provincial Councils. It was indeed believed, until the Joint Committee's Report was actually published that the alternative machinery which would be set up for the purpose of securing emergency or essential legislation or supplies would be a somewhat extended variation of what the Congress actually proposed at the Special Session in Bombay in 1918, viz., that of making temporary Ordinances. The Moderate deputation had, however,

expressed their willingness to support the original Grand Committee and the Council of State scheme. The London "Times" which made a forecast of the report before it was issued stated the position in the following terms :—

"The alternative in contemplation is to give a wider range to the power residing in the Governor-General, in cases of emergency, to make ordinances which have the force of law for a period of not more than six months. During this time, if permanence were deemed necessary, the Bill would again come before the Provincial Legislature, and in the event of a second rejection the question would be referred to the Secretary of State, who would take the advice thereon of the Parliamentary Select Committee. This would mean much coming to London of Indian deputations to give evidence or influence opinion, and would operate in a sense against the principle, at the root of self-government, that Indian affairs should be decided as far as possible in India. But the politicians tell us that that principle can not be too dogmatically applied so long as the Executive can on occasion disregard the Legislature. It is desirable to see the detail of the plan before definite opinions are formed as to its merits compared with the Grand Committee method. But this, at least may be said : wherever in the British Dominions the Executive is in a permanent minority in the Legislature, essential laws are secured through ordinance making powers, and the final decision as to their permanence rests with His Majesty's Government in London, usually through the agency of the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

In spite of such considerations, the Joint Committee finally decided to give power to the head of the Indian executive to enact prior to sanction by the Secretary of State and subject only to his subsequent ratification or disallowance. The final proposals in this behalf that have now received Parliamentary assent are bound to cause disappointment over the whole country.

Fellow delegates, much as I appreciate the abandonment of the Grand Committee and of the original plan for the constitution of the Council of State, much as I value the passing away of the fictitious and unreal procedure therein involved, I cannot reconcile myself to the idea that a single individual, be he the wisest and most responsible man on earth, should be invested even in an emergency with the power to enact laws affecting a fifth of the human race. We have had only too bitter an experience of the truth which Lord Morley has crystallized in one of his aphorisms, that "Public Safety, Social Order and similar phrases easily become but fair names for a Reign of Terror" I do not ignore the

fact that assurances were given by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons and recommendations have been made by the Joint Committee, that the exercise of this power by the Governor or Governor-General would be subject to the scrutiny both of the Secretary of State and of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. I am aware that Mr. Montagu has stated that all important cases would be brought up before the House by the Indian Secretary and would be made, whenever he deemed it needful, matter of debate or resolution by the House. But we know what all such invitations for the voluntary interest of Parliament amount to. There is no statutory guarantee that only the Parliament or the House of Commons—not the Minister of the Crown, who is usually and necessarily the mouthpiece of the Governor-General—shall, during the transition period, sanction laws which the Indian Legislature may have wrongly refused to enact. Unless this is provided, the risk of the abuse of what are called reserved powers will remain very real. It has also been argued that the very magnitude of the powers thus lodged in the hands of the Governors and Governor-General would operate as a check against their frequent exercise, and it is also contended that the tension that may be produced by its abuse may develop situations which would result in its disuse or abolition. If the power thus given is not to be exercised or if its exercise will lead to its abolition, there is no necessity whatever to provide for it. However this may be, so far as our present situation goes, our experience of the Government of India's responsibility or responsiveness to public opinion is most disheartening. Verbal assurances by well-meaning politicians have not availed against the wilful misapplication of existing powers, nor have understandings and conventions availed us against the determination of obstinate bureaucrats to over-ride them. Weapons of repression which had been in disuse and had rusted for a century, have been taken out of their ancient armoury and employed with a rigour of which the Punjab has borne the brunt. Coercive powers intended for war purposes have been deliberately perverted for suppressing normal and legitimate political activity or agitation. We have known how even resolutions of the House of Commons have been treated as inconsequential 'ipse dixits' of a far-off assembly. It is indeed surprising that with his intimate knowledge of the past record of the Indian Government Mr. Montagu should have seriously contended that the statutory protection of Parliament on this most important matter should be left to understandings, especially when some other matters of less consequence have been made to depend

for their validity or their continuance on a vote of either House of Parliament under this very Act. It was possible in 1913 for a reactionary House of Lords to protect the interests of the bureaucracy and veto the over-due reform of providing the United Provinces with an executive Council. Even a most liberal House of Commons may find it very difficult, except with the consent of the Indian Secretary, to veto as of right under the present statute an obnoxious repressive measure which the Indian executive may have carried over the head of the representative legislative authority in the land.

Powers of Governors and the Governor-General.

The sum total of the reserved powers in the hands of the Government or Governor-General in respect of legislation is indeed enormous. In the first place, he has the usual power of vetoing a law passed by the legislature. He has also another power given to him under the new Reform Act to stop the progress of a Bill in the Legislature and even prevent the discussion of the whole or any part of a Bill, if he thinks that it affects the safety or tranquility of any part of a province. And then, in addition to all this, he has the power to enact affirmatively, over-riding the opposition of the Legislature, any law on the same ground subject to the subsequent sanction of the Secretary of State. We are deeply grateful to Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Ben Spoor and other British friends, who put forward the Congress case before the House of Commons, in this and in other respects. The amendment proposed by Colonel Wedgwood, to permit at least a free discussion of Bills and motions in all cases by the legislature concerned, was opposed by Mr. Montagu and rejected by the House. In the result, we have only to trust to the extra good sense and statesmanship of the new race of governors we are promised, and to the increased interest in Indian affairs which the House of Commons is expected to evince in future.

The Budget.

If the powers of the Governors and the Governor-General in legislation are so wide and unrestricted, their powers in regard to the Budget appear to me on close examination nearly as wide and far-reaching. The decision of the Joint Committee to reject the scheme of separate purses in the provinces is no doubt a just and correct one, based on the practical unworkability and unsoundness of the proposals made, but I cannot say that the alternative procedure they have now settled with the approval of Parliament is in

any way consistent with the existence of a really effective budget right in the Legislative Council. The operative part of the new scheme is as follows :—

“They advise that, if the Governor in the course of preparing either his first or any subsequent budget finds that there is likely to be a serious or protracted difference of opinion between the Executive Council and his Ministers on this subject, he should be empowered at once to make an allocation of revenue and balance between the reserved and transferred subjects, which would continue for at least the whole life of the existing legislative council.”

It will be remembered that it is the power not to “direct” but to influence and eventually to control the policy of reserved subjects, through the Budget, that was all along demanded by us and was believed to have been conceded by the Reform scheme. In this matter there existed no difference of opinion whatever between several sections of progressive Indians. In the Bombay Moderates’ memorandum this was the position expected to result from the Budget proposals in the original Reform scheme. The Government of India were alarmed at this possibility and in consequence propounded their separate purses scheme, which has now been abandoned. It was at this time that Sir Sankaran Nair wrote his masterly dissenting minutes for which, and for the courageous attitude he took up on the Punjab question, the country will ever remain grateful. In the course of one of these minutes he accurately described the popular attitude towards the Budget proposals in the following words :—

“Notwithstanding much that could be said against the Reforms Report scheme, a number of critics rallied to its support for the reason, among others, that it provided for a unified budget and for its being voted by the Legislature.....The control by the Legislature must in any event be regarded as indispensable if the Reforms are to be worth anything in the eye of even the supporters of the scheme.”

It is exactly this right and power in respect of reserved subjects that the Joint-Committee have definitely negatived. They say :—

“The budget should not be capable of being used as a means for enabling ministers or a majority of the Legislative Council to direct the policy of reserved subjects: but on the other hand the Executive Council should be helpful to ministers in their desire to develop the departments entrusted to their care.”

Thus, not only can the Governor settle the Budget of a province

for three years if he anticipates trouble, not only can he prevent the minister or the legislature from making any attempt to direct the policy of reserved subjects, even if they involve extra expenditure or taxation, but in regard to all financial matters the authority of the Governor or Governor-General has been made by the Committee as complete and unfettered as it might be. Their report says : "The Committee desire it to be made perfectly clear that this power is real and that its exercise should not be regarded as unusual or arbitrary."

Some Improvements.

It must in fairness be admitted that the scheme has been improved in several directions by the Joint Committee. Of these improvements the addition of two more Indian members to the Viceroy's Executive Council is an appreciable one.

I would also draw special attention to the recommendations which relate to the revision of the existing Land Revenue assessments and policy in India. The declaration of policy by the Joint Committee on this sore and vexed question in the following words will, I sincerely hope, soon lead to some appreciable alleviation of the arbitrary and so often unbearable burdens which the present system imposes on the poverty-stricken Indian ryot :—

"The Committee are impressed by the objections raised by many witnesses to the manner in which certain classes of taxation can be laid upon the people of India by executive action without, in some cases, any statutory limitation of rates and, in other cases, any adequate prescription by statute of the methods of assessment. They consider that the imposition of new burdens should be gradually brought more within the purview of the legislature."

Division of Function.

I do not propose to weary you by going through the lists of reserved and transferred subjects as finally settled by the Joint Committee, which we may presume will be incorporated in the regulations soon to be laid before Parliament under the new Act. I am convinced that the Congress was fully justified in pressing on Parliament the demand of the country for immediate full provincial autonomy, and that it would have failed in its duty if it had refrained from so doing. But as dyarchy has come to stay in our Provincial Governments, until we are able to supersede it by full provincial autonomy, I may just as well refer to two subjects in which the so-called transference of increased power has been hailed in some quarters as a great concession in itself. Thanks to the

report of the Featham Committee and the dissenting minute of Sir Sankaran Nair, the Government of India's retrogressive proposals about Education and Industry have been vetoed. But in spite of this the amount of popular initiative or control in either of these departments is not in the result so very great as might be supposed. Education, for instance, is a transferred subject, but it is subject to the condition that all new universities, the old universities of Benares and Calcutta, Chiefs' Colleges, and European schools, secondary education in Bengal and the Central Scientific and Industrial Research Institutes are not to be transferred. All this constitutes a diminution in the area of control of a subject admitted to be eminently fit for transference to ministerial responsibility and popular control. Again, that part of educational administration which would involve the odious duties of compulsion and taxation, viz., free primary education, is severely left to the minister to manage without the slightest prospect of his hoping for financial relief from the reserved departments or their ample revenues.

Similarly though agriculture is a transferred subject the benefit derivable from the transfer is substantially lessened by the fact that irrigation, water storage as well as Land Revenue will be reserved. Again, the development of Industries is to be a transferred subject, but factories and mines, railways, shipping and navigation including waterways, ports and coinage, are to be reserved subjects. It must tax the brains of all ordinary men to find what discernable development of industries can exist without factories and the facilities provided by the departments not transferred.

Fiscal Autonomy.

A connected subject with that of industries, on which some of us are prone to over-rate the concession made, is what is claimed to be the partial grant of fiscal autonomy. Fiscal autonomy in its strict sense has reference to the tariff and customs arrangements by which the Government regulates the commerce of the country and also raises revenue out of the country's trade. It is in respect of this that we have long claimed our right to levy duties or impose restrictions in the interests of India's well being and to be free from the dictation of the Imperial Government so often made in the interests of British capital and commerce. Whether anything approaching this right is likely to be secured by the recommendations of the Joint Committee has to be judged by the following passage of their report :—

"Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy

is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear.....In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement and they think that his intervention when it does take place should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party".

Anxious as I am to commend the just and generous spirit in which the Joint Committee have tried to solve this question, I am unable to regard their recommendation as anything more than a pious hope. It is clear that unless and until we get responsible government real fiscal autonomy cannot exist.

Periodical Parliamentary Inquiry.

The Congress demand for the realisation of responsible government within a definite time-limit was not acceded to when the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was framed, and in its place there was provided a series of enquiries at the end of 5 and 10 years respectively for the further transference of provincial subjects to popular control. Some of our countrymen welcomed these enquiries, because they looked like the old periodical Parliamentary enquiries into Indian affairs which the Congress had asked to be revived in its earlier years. They also hoped successfully to survive the test and investigation that would be made and, like *Oliver Twist*, to go forward again and ask for more. The injustice of submitting a nation's birth-right to the jurisdiction and decision of an outside body or committee was on the other hand deeply resented by many others who felt that any such submission to jurisdiction and consequent acceptance of verdict would be essentially wrong and unworthy of the self-respect of Indians. India's national self-realisation became so evident and overwhelming during the anti-Rowlatt Bill agitation that the Government of India was greatly alarmed and instructed Lord Meston to ask for the withdrawal of the promise of the 5 years revisions. Lord Meston fixed the period for the next revision at the minimum of ten years, and it is a matter for disappointment that the Joint Committee have accepted this view. They have omitted the clause in the Bill relating to the 5 years revision and have provided only for an enquiry after ten years. I do not attach much importance to these periodical examinations, so wounding to our

self-respect and so susceptible of being used by the bureaucracy for its own purposes. But the fixing of the ten years limit is significant as showing the temper of those who finally shaped the scheme.

Central Government.

Perhaps the most serious omission in the Act, as finally passed by both houses, is that it fails to provide for any transference of administrative or political powers to the representatives of the people in the Central Government. Except for the addition of two Indian members to the Viceroy's Executive Council and an expansion of the Central Legislature into chambers with a preponderance of elected members, the powers and functions of the Governor-General-in-Council in all matters are maintained as effectively as they have been till now. Even on the narrow principles laid down by the Joint Committee, there existed no ground to withhold the grant of some powers to the Central Legislature in respect of the Budget and in some spheres of administration. It is remarkable and significant too that their report has neither endorsed nor rejected any of the untenable grounds on which the Government of India repeatedly urged that the Central Government should be left entirely untouched. Nor have they dealt with the repeated demand pressed before them by nearly all the Indian deputations that the element of responsibility, the keystone of the new fabric, should be introduced in the Central Government also if the scheme is to have a fair trial.

Woman Suffrage.

A feature of the Act which has disappointed me much is the failure to do justice to the political rights of Indian women. I had hoped that Parliament would profit by the lesson of the woman suffrage agitation in England, but they have repeated the mistake of the Franchise Committee. The justice of the claim was recognised and the flimsiest of argument were advanced in favour of delay. I trust that Indian men will come to the rescue of their sisters and hasten the day of their enfranchisement.

The Enfranchisement of Labour and the Masses.

Another unsatisfactory feature of the Act is the attitude shown towards the enfranchisement of the masses and the wage-earning classes. The Joint Committee have limited the total number of people enfranchised to about 1.5 per cent of the population. Mr. Montagu welcomed trade unionism in India but added that industrial labour had as yet attained a very small development. He did

not choose to tell us how India's industrial development has been obstructed by the British Indian Government. Nor did he refer to the 80 per cent of our people who depend on agriculture. To the 'kisan' delegates, present here I am glad to see in their hundreds, who represent the great agricultural proleteriat of this country, and to the labour delegates, this Congress owes a special duty. We have to see to their enfranchisement and to the improvement of their hard conditions of life.

These, fellow delegates, are the reforms which have been granted to us. There is little reason for us to be enthusiastic over them but we must take them for what they are worth. We shall not lag behind others in extracting all the good there is in them but we are not prepared to surrender our demand in consideration for the enforced schooling and periodical examinations provided for us. We cannot and we will not rest content till we gain the full measure of that demand.

Commissions in the Army and Navy.

But what would reforms, however substantial, avail us if they are confined to the civil administration of the country. The most perfect machinery of self-government cannot endure for a day if it does not rest the solid foundation of self-defence. The most generous Parliamentary grant of full responsible government cannot subsist without the corresponding grant to us of the power to defend ourselves, of the right to bear arms in defence of our motherland, of the right to possess our own army and navy, manned, officered and controlled by our own countrymen. Theories of a world peace, of a League of Nations and the rights of small nationalities, are all attractive in their way, though they seem now to recede further away than ever from practical realisation. But they cannot justify the continued emasculation of an ancient nation which her political subjection has brought upon her. Notwithstanding the activity displayed in the starting of political reforms, the delay and reluctance shown in the recognition and the grant of India's right to enlist her youth and manhood in the service of her army and navy, in the highest as in the lowest ranks, is indeed deplorable. We are all thankful in this connection to our distinguished fellow-countrymen, Sir Abbas Ali Baig and Sir K. G. Gupta, who have pointedly noticed this serious deficiency in the scheme for the speedy grant of self-government to India. It is also gratifying to note that Mr. Montagu has shown a readier tendency to recognize the importance of urgent reform in this respect than he was disposed to show either in the Reform Report, or in the most disappointing steps that he

has taken in regard to military and naval commissions for Indians. "We must not deny to India," he said in his concluding speech on the Bill in Parliament, "self-government because she cannot take her proper share in her own defence and then deny Indians the opportunity of learning to defend themselves. These are problems of which Parliament assumes responsibility by the passage of this Bill." Will Parliament then, take immediate steps to fulfil this responsibility?

The Khilafat Question.

I now turn to a question of supreme importance to our Mahomedan brothers and for that reason of equal importance to all Indians. I mean the Khilafat question. It is impossible for one part of the nation to stand aloof while the other part is suffering from a serious grievance. This was clearly shown when the vast majority of non-Muslims made common cause with the Muslims and abstained from participating in the recent peace celebrations in India. No words of mine are necessary to emphasize the obvious duty of this Congress to give the question its best consideration.

The entry of Turkey in the war was a most momentous event from the Indian Muslim's point of view. They felt no inconsiderable misgivings about their attitude when they saw that an issue had arisen which seemed to involve a conflict between their loyalty to their King and country and duty to the religious head of the Islamic world: But these doubts were happily short-lived and the Indian Mahomedans cheerfully cast in their lot with the British Empire when the memorable announcement of the 2nd November, 1914, was made by Lord Hardinge, securing to the Mahomedans complete immunity from any interference with their religious feelings. This announcement was followed by similar assurances from other British statesmen. Mr. Lloyd George in his famous speech of the 5th January, 1918, said, "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race."

The war has ended in complete victory for the allied arms. Moslem India, nay United India, demands that full effect be given to these assurances.

Apart from the promises and pledges given to His Majesty's Muslim subjects they have the right to demand the application of the principle of self-determination to the component parts of the Turkish Empire in the same way as it has been applied to Poland and the Yugo-Slavs. What reason is there for a different treatment of Mesopotamia and Syria, where the population is almost entirely

Muslim in faith, or of Palestine and Armenia, where Muslims are more numerous than the followers of any other religion?

As to who is the rightful Khalifat-ul-Islam it is unnecessary for me to enter into historical or religious considerations. Lord Robert Cecil has admitted in the House of Commons that "His Majesty's Government have never departed from the attitude that the question of Khilafat is one for Muslim opinion alone to decide." Muslim opinion has now decided it, in a manner which leaves no possible doubt, in favour of the Sultan of Turkey. With Arabia independent, with foreign Powers governing Mesopotamia, Syria and Armenia in the guise of mandatories, with Palestine restored to the Jews, with the Greeks securely lodged in Smyrna and the hinterland, with Constantinople itself internationalized, what, I ask, is the position of the Khalifat-ul-Islam? Fellow delegates, it is a serious question demanding your most earnest attention.

Indian Over-Seas.

It has been our unfortunate duty from year to year of late to discuss the questions affecting the status of our countrymen who, trusting to the protection that British citizenship should ensure to them, have gone to the different parts of the British Dominions in pursuit of trade or employment.

Among these South Africa has claimed the largest part of public attention. There, our countrymen have exhibited in the face of heavy odds, qualities of ordinary and constitutional resistance, endurance and pluck which make us feel proud as a nation. We had hoped that after the struggle they carried on for eight years involving great sacrifice and entailing imprisonment of thousands of innocent men, there would be honourable peace for them. But it was not to be. Their European rivals in trade have set up a vehement and virulent agitation against them which may end in disaster to them if we do not do our duty. Fortunately both the Government of India and the Secretary of State are on the alert. And we may hope that at the very least the new Act just passed by the South African Legislature will be early repealed or so amended as not to diminish the rights existing at the time of the Smuts-Gandhi settlement. All India will anxiously await the result of Sir Benjamin Robertson's mission to South Africa. We may derive further consolation from the fact that our good friend Mr. C. F. Andrews is on his way to South Africa to assist our countrymen there. The Imperial Citizenship Association deserves our congratulations for arranging Mr. Andrews' visit. As you are aware Mr. Andrews was requested on his way to visit East Africa. His cable to Mr. Gandhi

from East Africa is alarming and shows that the greed and the prejudice of the European trader and speculator will make him compass the ruin of the Indian settlers in East Africa even by employing dishonest means. The history of East Africa is a history of peaceful development by our countrymen without the gun and the brandy bottle. The Indian trader who has gone to East Africa has been on the friendliest terms with the Africans and has raised their culture without making any boast of civilizing them. It is a libel to say that our traders have brought about moral depravity. Let us hope that the Government of India will tell the anti-Indian agitators in unmistakable language that the rights of the Indians in East Africa are not to be interfered with in any way whatsoever. In your name I assure our countrymen of our warm sympathy and support in their struggle to defeat this utterly unscrupulous and interested agitation.

Then there remains the question of indentured labour. We may congratulate the Government of India and ourselves that on this question there is no division of opinion. The system of indentured labour is gone for ever. I trust that Lord Chelmsford's assurance that the Fiji indentures will be cancelled in the beginning of the new year will be fulfilled and that an announcement to that effect will be made before the year is out. It would be wrong of me not to mention Sir George Barries' name in this connection. These questions come under his department. And thanks to Mr. Andrews' exposure and Sir George Barnes' sympathetic attitude we shall soon see our countrymen in Fiji freed from the curse. The natural corollary to this must be the termination of Indian indentures in the other parts of the dominions also.

Swadeshi.

From matters which require political action I come to that which in its one aspect requires no political or legal action, yet which is one that is fraught with the greatest consequences for good. I refer to Swadeshi. Mr. Gandhi has made this question his own. He would, if he could, revive the ancient industry of hand-spinning and make the country self-supporting. Modern economists may doubt the success of the scheme in this stage of machinery. But Mr. Gandhi's scheme is one in which there is no waste and if it becomes popular it bids fair to solve the problem of finding a subsidiary occupation to agriculture. Seventy-three per cent of our population is agricultural. No agricultural population can exist without a supplementary industry. If our women were to take to hand-spinning and if hand weaving became fashionable as before

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without a big organisation and without a large outlay of money we can not only produce sufficient cloth for our wants but provide the peasantry with an auxiliary industry. I commend the scheme to the attention of the delegates.

Other Subjects.

I have trespassed enough on your indulgence. Yet I have not touched many important problems which vitally affect the future of our country. I have not considered the question of education with which is bound up all hope of future progress, nor have I dealt with industries or the terrible poverty of the people. The Universities and the Industries Commissions have done good work in their respective spheres but true reform can only be effected when the full control of these departments is put in the hands of the representatives of the people who alone can understand and supply the needs of the country. Resolutions on these subjects will, I doubt not, be laid before you for your acceptance. They will be moved by eminent speakers far more competent to deal with their special subjects than I can presume to be.

Mr. B. G. Horniman.

But, by your leave, I shall say a few words about a friend of India who has suffered because of the love he bore our country. This Congress needs no words of mine to inform it of the many and varied services which Mr. B. G. Horniman has rendered to our cause. We are a grateful nation and our friends are not so many that we can afford to forget or lose any of them. Mr. Horniman, as you are aware, was removed from a bed of sickness and without any respite made to leave the country. That is the way of the bureaucracy. Charges of a gross nature have been made against him in the House of Commons and elsewhere. They have been contradicted and proved to be false but there has been no withdrawal of them, nor has Mr. Horniman been permitted to return. In England he is devoting himself to our cause, but that is poor consolation for us who miss his wise counsel and his sturdy independence.

Conclusion.

Fellow delegates, I have had my say. It is for you now to deliberate on the many problems which await solution. Yours is a tremendous responsibility. India is entering upon a new phase of her existence and her future is in your keeping. It is for you to decide what is the best and the quickest way for us to reach our goal.

Indian National Congress

Amritsar, Dec. 1919.

RESOLUTIONS.

I. PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT TO INDIA.

The President moved :—" This Congress tenders its respectful thanks to His Majesty the King Emperor for his gracious Proclamation dated the 23rd of December, 1919 and welcomes the announcement that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will visit India next winter and assures him a warm reception by the people of this country."

2. INDIAN SETTLERS IN S. AFRICA.

Mahatma Gandhi moved :—"This Congress protests against the attempt being made in South Africa and particularly the Transvaal to deprive the Indian settlers of the rights of property and trade hitherto enjoyed by them and trusts that the Government of India will secure the repeal of the recently enacted legislation and otherwise ensure the protection of the status of the Indian settlers in South Africa. This Congress is of opinion that the Anti-Indian agitation now going on in East Africa is utterly unscrupulous and trusts the Government of India will safeguard the right of free and unrestricted emigration from India to East Africa and the full civic and political rights of the Indian settlers in East Africa including the East African territory conquered from Germany.

3. INDENTURES IN FIJI.

"This Congress views with grateful satisfaction the Viceregal declaration that the existing indentures in Fiji are likely to be cancelled at the end of the current year and hopes that a final declaration to that effect will be made by the Government of India before the end of the year and this congress further hopes that indentured emigration in any form whatsoever, whether under the same or other name, will never be renewed. This congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable and selfless services render by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the afflicted in the Punjab, to the cause of indentured Indians in Fiji and elsewhere, and the services being rendered to the Indian settlers in East and South Africa."

The resolution was seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sharma. He said " I am glad that the Indian National Congress has given the subject of inter-imperial and inter-National problems pre-eminent place in its programme. It is but just that this parliament of the people of India (hear, hear) should discharge the primary function which will be its chief concern in the coming years, for until we are given Self-Government and until the council of the Government of India becomes the Parliament of the Indian people, nowhere else could this subject be discussed with that freedom, with that fullness and with that dispassionate candour which the subject deserves. Friends, we are a component part of the League of Nations. (A voice ; we are not). We are, and until we have full responsibility we must urge members who represent us in the League of Nations to do their duty by Indian people even though such members be selected by Government of India or His Majesty's Secretary of State. The first part of the resolution expresses satisfaction that the Government of India have seen their way to acknowledge the correctness of our claim that no one shall be allowed to proceed from India to Fiji or any other Colony until and unless he is given exactly the same social and political footings as any White settlers in that Colony or protectorate. In this respect our thanks are also due to Mr. Andrews and Mahatma Gandhi and I also wish to add the name of Pandit Malaviya. I know some of the history during the last three years of how Mr. Andrews and Mahatma Gandhi have been able to convert the Government of India and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford. When Mr. Andrews approached the viceregal throne on this subject he was treated very coldly but his adherence to right converted Lord Chelmsford"

Continuing Mr. Sharma said they have had many quarrels with Lord Chelmsford and it was but right that they should appreciate him when he had done right and it was one of the subjects on which he had done right.

The British Parliament and the members of the League of Nations, the speaker said, should remember that Indian money and Indian soldiers had been employed in winning the last victory and they must also remember that without India's help they cannot protect their possessions in South Africa, in East Africa, in Australia and in Canada. Indian money is lavishly spent and Indian army kept on a war footing not so much for the defence of India as for Imperial purposes.

4. RECALL OF THE VICEROY.

Mr. Syed Hassain moved: "In view of the fact that Lord Chelmsford has completely forfeited the confidence of the people of this country, this Congress humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to be graciously pleased immediately to recall His Excellency." Mr. Hussain declared that Lord Chelmsford had brought this country to the verge of desperation so far as the continuance of British connection was concerned.

Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar seconded the resolution. A very hot debate followed, majority demanding recall of H. E.

The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma said he felt on the eve of the introduction of responsible Government they should look at the question dispassionately. He could understand if the resolution was based on the Punjab but by passing the resolution they would be condemning the whole administration. He demurred to the suggestion that Lord Chelmsford had been a failure throughout. If on taking a balance they arrived at that conclusion he would not quarrel. They must realise Lord Chelmsford had mostly to face a troublous time. War was on. He had pestilence to fight, famine to fight, and monetary and currency problems to face. He was there not to defend Lord Chelmsford but he wanted to present both sides. Did not the Viceroy oppose the vested interests and fight the Cabinet regarding the excise policy and impose import duty on cotton? He defended the Indian interests in industrial matter and in case of railway policy. Although Government had not completely succeeded, the E. I. Railway might have been handed over completely to company management for good. In financial question he had always fought for India. Whether he succeeded or not was a different matter. In industrial and university problems he had done his best. He had tried to get Indians commissions in the army in spite of War Office opposition. As to Lord Chelmsford's attitude towards Reforms he was conservative and liberal, wanting to do good but terribly afraid where it would lead to. When Mr. Montagu was here the Viceroy agreed with him but other counsels subsequently prevailed with him. The moment the committee's recommendations were published, did he not telegraph congratulations and undertake to carry them out? This showed the vicissitudes of his mind, showing he meant to do well. When five provincial governments were against the introduction of responsibility, he and the Government of India went against them. These were things that could be said in the Viceroy's favour. With regard to the Punjab, Mr. Sarma

said, at no other time during the British administration had the administration of justice been brought into such contempt. He personally asked the Viceroy for sympathy but the Viceroy had told him he believed in deeds and not words and said he would appoint an impartial commission and await their report.

Mr. S. R. Bomanjee said Mr. Sarma was the only man who was opposed to the resolution. The good done in connection with the excise duty was done by Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford merely signed the papers. The preferential treatment within the empire regarding leather export was for the benefit of England and not India.

Dr. Kitchlew said he never expected that he would be present before this vast gathering to speak, but as he was now present and had heard Mr. Sarma speaking in favour of Lord Chelmsford's administration, he thought he should come forward and speak out the truth that Lord Chelmsford should not only be recalled, but impeached before Parliament. Lord Chelmsford had not an iota of sympathy for the people of India. He had taken away all the liberties of the people and tried to kill political life in India. He would, however, ask them to pass the resolution for his impeachment; but if they could not do that they must accept the resolution.

Mr. Jitendralal Banerjee said while Mr. Sarma thought the resolution too strong he was of opinion that it was too mild. Lord Chelmsford ought to be prosecuted for high crimes and misdemeanours.

Mr. Satyamurti, after pointing out Lord Chelmsford's failures in other directions, said that in regard to the Punjab he introduced martial law without justification, extended Sir Michael O'Dwyers period of office while the people were asking for his removal and did not visit the Punjab during the disturbances.

The resolution was put to vote and carried by a huge majority.

5. HUNTER COMMITTEE AND CONGRESS.

Mr. B. Chakarbarty moved :—

"That having regard to the correspondence between the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. M. K. Gandhi, and between Lord Hunter and the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mr. M. K. Gandhi, and between Lord Hunter and the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, this Congress is of opinion that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's action in

not permitting Martial Law prisoners even in the committee room, even as prisoners under custody, to assist and instruct counsel in the same manner as Government counsel was instructed by officials whose conduct was under investigation of the Disorders Inquiry Committee, constitutes a serious injustice and that it left no other course open to the sub-committee of the Congress to take than the one taken by it, this Congress therefore, endorses and approves of the firm and dignified action taken by the sub-committee in appointing commissioners to make an investigation and submit report.'

6. EXCESSES BY MOB REGRETTED.

Mr. Gandhi moved :—

' This Congress, while fully recognizing the grave provocation that led to a sudden outburst of mob frenzy, deeply regrets and condemns the excesses committed in certain parts of the Punjab and Gujrat resulting in the loss of lives and injury to person and property during the month of April last.'

In moving the resolution Mr. Gandhi first addressed the Congress in Hindi and then speaking in English said : I have explained in the national tongue of India the solemnity of the occasion and the gravity of the situation that faces us. I daresay before this assembly and before those who occupy the seat of prominence on the platform, I daresay to them that there is no greater resolution before this Congress than this resolution. The whole key to success in future lies in your hearty acceptance of this resolution, hearty recognition of the truths underlying it and acting up to it. I say that if there had been no violence on our part we could have achieved our end. I can quote before you chapter and verse from Viramgam, Ahmedabad, Bombay, etc., to show that there was violence on our part intended and committed. I agree that there was grave provocation given by the Government in arresting Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew and in arresting me who was bent on a mission of peace at the invitation of Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, but the Government went mad at the time and we went mad also at the time. Don't return madness with madness, but return madness with sanity, and the whole situation will be cleared up.

Mr. Gandhi, speaking in Hindi, said :—Only by accepting the resolution can we discharge the greater responsibility and only then can we obtain our rights. Some of my friends have said that in placing the resolution before the public there is a danger

of hurting our cause, but I totally disassociate myself from this view. If no excesses had been committed on our side the Rowlatt Act would have been removed from the statute book. There were no doubt provoking causes, but even then I think people should have kept perfect control over their feelings. I am not a believer in the European methods of violence and I refuse to believe that by burning churches or committing any acts of violence we have obtained our rights. The acceptance of the resolution is an act of some purification. Some of us have suggested that some acts of violence were committed at the instigation of the C. I. D., but I do not apportion all blame to the people but I do say that many of us in several places acted madly and I want to condemn all acts of madness. By controlling ourselves we shall acquire power which will gain anything and everything for us. We were excited, because when two innocent persons, Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, the two eyes of Amritsar, were arrested. In other parts they were excited, because I was arrested whilst I was on an errand of peace. I appeal to you to control your anger, because only then you will save India.

Swami Shradhanand in seconding the resolution in Hindi said that the foundation of a new era had been laid by acknowledging their own mistakes. So far they had not been accustomed to apportion blame on themselves.

The Resolution was passed.

7. PUNISHMENT OF GEN. DYER URGED.

Mrs. Besant moved :—

"That in view of the fact that neither the Hunter Committee nor the Congress Commission has finished its examination of witnesses and issued its report, this Congress, while expressing its horror and indignation at the revelations already made and condemnation of the atrocities admitted, refrains from urging any definite steps to be taken against the offenders ; yet having regard to the cold-blooded and calculated massacre of innocent men and children, an act without parallel in modern times, it urges upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State that as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him General Dyer should be immediately relieved of his command.

"Resolved further that this Congress desires to place it on record that in its opinion the Government of India and the Punjab Government must in any event be held responsible for the inexcusable delay in placing an authoritative statement of the

massacre of the Jallianwala Bagh before the public and his Majesty's Government."

Mrs. Besant, in moving the resolution, said:—In England they heard nothing of the massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh until Sir William Vincent said in the Imperial Council that about 1000 people were killed. It was only due to the hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the officers of the Seva Saniti that they were able to ascertain the wide extent of the loss of lives in the Jallianwala Bagh and Pandit Malaviya's searching questions threw some light on the horrors perpetrated in the Punjab, and certainly people had the right to blame the Government of India and the Punjab Government for the indignities inflicted on the Punjab. They had also to remember that in indicting General Dyer they were not relying on the testimonies of others, but his own utterances. They were criminals who did a public wrong. General Dyer's evidence showed the shameless and utter lack of the realization of things he had done. On his own confession horrors have been perpetrated. There were two kinds of wrongs, public and private. If offences were committed against an individual, that individual had a right to forget and forgive the wrong done, but when it has been done against harmless unarmed and unresisting people and where the massacre was stopped simply because ammunition ran short and the general commanding directed firing within the closed space until the people were charged with bullets and lay dead and dying, they had the right to appeal to the British public to try and punish those criminals.

Continuing, Mrs. Besant said, she appealed to India with her spiritual traditions to forgive the frightful wrong done to the Punjab so that the blood-shed in the Jallianwala Bagh might not cry to heaven for vengeance but instead turn into a river of immortality uniting all into common brotherhood. As long as anger reigned in the heart of the people there would be no real peace. She asked the people to leave the task of the punishment of the official criminals of the Punjab and to remember that the King-Emperor had given the message of peace followed by a guarantee in the form of the release of political prisoners.

Mrs. Besant added she dared not appeal to any country but India which gave birth to a Budha and others to forgive the wrongs done in the Punjab, for they were difficult to forgive and formed a stain on the name of Great Britain, the land of her birth. She appealed to Indians and India, her land of adoption, to purge it from their hearts, while demanding the justice of Great Britain.

Mr. Tilak's speech.

Mr. Tilak seconding the resolution said :—I was in England when a strong sentiment of anger and rage was prevalent for the trial of the Kaiser whose actions were interpreted to mean the murder of innocent women and children and there was such a strong feeling against him that the people of England demanded his trial in England, and, I read in one of the papers, by a jury consisting of the widows of those slain in the war. Compared to that feeling this resolution before you is very mild, indeed. It points out, I think, the difference between the mental conditions and the spiritual conditions that prevail in England and in India. We are simply asking for the recall of General Dyer, not trial as yet, not impeachment as yet. And why? because our enquiries are yet incomplete, as stated in the first para of the resolution, but it does not mean that our indignation is less than what the English people felt in those days against the Kaiser. My indignation and sentiment at present is very great and I had a mind to speak a good deal and I must say that we should curb our rage and anger until the report of the Hunter Committee and of your own commissioners are out. Probably you will accuse me of moderation I know, but our raged anger has sometimes to be curbed until we are able to let them out with greater effect. That is my excuse for asking you to adopt this resolution as it stands, not that I feel less than any one of you about the outrages committed here. They are unparalleled in the history of the world. The King is for the protection of his subjects and not for the massacre of subjects. Where the individual is entrusted with the charge over his subjects, the greater his power over the subjects the greater is his responsibility, the greater his position and the greater is his pay. If they betray their trust it is but meet that we should ask for their impeachment, not in London but in the Jallianwalla Bagh itself, and if need be they must be punished in the same Bagh. They ought to be allowed to come to India for their trial and for suffering the punishment here. My sentiment is very strong on the point and I compare it to the sentiment which was in England about the Kaiser whose acts may be compared with the atrocious acts committed under martial law. The Kaiser was at war with the world. Government professes that it was at war with the people, because people were in rebellion. Nothing of that kind. It is absolutely wrong to say that the people of the Punjab were in open rebellion. I do not admit it for a moment and I do not think any one of you admits it. (Cries of

No. no.'). People have been massacred in cold blood in order to terrify them as my friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in the Legislative Council. If such actions were allowed by civilized Governments I must say that this civilization deserves to be condemned. It has never been practised in other countries. Those atrocities if they had been committed in England, the English people would not have waited for nine months to bring the offenders to trial. No ministry would have considered its existence safe without bringing the culprits to trial. Unfortunately, our Government is not democratic and are 6,000 miles off from our King Emperor, thus encouraging those in power here to be despotic.

8. SIR MICHAEL AND ARMY COMMISSION.

Rai Saheb Ruchi Ram Sahani moved :—

'In view of the oppressive regime of Sir Michael O'Dowyer in the Punjab and the admitted fact brought out before the Hunter Committee that he approved of and endorsed General Dyer's massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh, this Congress calls upon His Majesty's Government to relieve Sir Michael O'Dowyer of his present duties in this country as a member of the Army Commission as a preliminary to necessary legal action being taking against him.'

Next day the Congress was timed to begin at 11 o'clock (31 Dec.) Half an hour after the appointed time Mrs. Besant announced that the President had sent word that he would be a little late and had proposed that Mr. Abbas Tyabji should take the chair which was agreed.

9. Dr. Satyapal moved : that this Congress records its grateful appreciation of the action taken by Sir Sankaran Nair in resigning his office as member, Executive Council, of the Governor-General of India, as a protest again at the policy pursued by the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab in maintaining martial law administration in the Punjab in supersession of ordinary courts of justice in the province''.

10. Pandit Gokarannath Misra moved: (a) This Congress offers its respectful condolence to the relatives of those persons, whether English or Indian who were killed, and sympathy to those wounded or incapacitated during April disturbances. (b) This Congress further resolves that the site known as Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar be acquired for the nation and be registered in the names of Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon. Pandit Motilal

Nehru as trustees and that it be used as a memorial to perpetuate the memory of those who were killed or wounded on the 13th day of April last during the massacre by General Dyer and in order to give effect to the intention of the Congress the following are appointed a committee :—

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Swami Sraddhanand, Dr. Kitchlew and Lala Harkishan Lall: with power to devise the best method of perpetuating the memory of the dead, to have a proper scheme of trust prepared and to collect subscriptions for the purpose and otherwise to carry out the object of the trust.

Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra in proposing the resolution said after two days work in the Congress, his speech on Jallianwala Bagh was unnecessary. There was no necessity to make a long speech on the question how far General Dyer's action on the 13th April was right and proper. They had come to know already that the people in England and America had strongly condemned the action of the General. The men who were killed on the 13th were still alive in spirit and guarding them round the pandal and helping them in their cause. To show respect to those honourable dead they had decided to buy Jallianwala Bagh in order to build a memorial there. The work of acquirement had already taken a real shape and they would very soon begin to start with the work. He asked them to come forward and help them with money.

11. The following Resolutions were put from the chair and carried. "This Congress is of opinion that it is impossible to have real peace in India until legislation popularly known as the Rowlatt Act which was passed in the face of unanimous opposition in the country is repealed and it therefore respectfully urges upon the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India to advise His Majesty to veto the said act or otherwise to secure its repeal.

12. "This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the action of Government of India in prematurely passing the Indemnity Bill even though the acts in respect of which indemnity was granted are the subjects of investigation by the official Inquiry Commission and in spite of the strong opposition of the press, numerous public bodies, and non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

13. In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the Gracious Proclamation of

His Majesty the King Emperor and that persons in the Punjab tried by martial law commissioners, summary courts, area officers and Tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act and detainees, deportees, and all political prisoners in Bengal and other parts of India including the Andamans have not been released, this Congress expresses its earnest hope and trust that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal Command.

The Congress rassembled, on January 1, at eleven, the proceedings being strictly confined to the delegates as they related entirely to the question of reforms.

14 THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

Mr. C. R. Dass, Calcutta, moved :—

"That this Congress reiterates its declaration of the last year that India is fit for full responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made.

"That this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress regarding the constitutional reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing.

"That this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination."

He said he was aware that some amendments were going to be proposed. He would, therefore, not take up their time by making a speech on the resolution but reserve to himself the right of speaking later on in reply. The first part of the resolution was that which they passed in Calcutta in 1917, in Bombay in 1918 and in Delhi in 1919. The second part merely asked to say of Reforms Act what they said in Bombay and Delhi on the Reform Scheme. It carried them no further than that. The third part of the resolution merely followed from other two parts. It followed from the second proposition that they declared the Reform Act to be unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing.

There was a very strong following under the lead of Lok. Tilak who was at the back of the Resolution.

Mrs. Besant next moved the following amendment :

"That the Congress welcomes the Reforms Act as opening the gateway of freedom to the Indian nation and as giving her power to walk on her own feet along the road to responsible Government, this forming a first and substantial stage on that road.

"And it earnestly begs the people to take the utmost advantage of its provisions so as to reach the goal in the shortest possible time.

"It places also on record its gratitude to Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha for their strenuous work against the greatest difficulties both in India and Great Britain."

Mr. Gandhi moved his amendment, which ran :

Clause (b), omit the word disappointing at the end and add the following clause after clause (c). " Pending such introduction this Congress begs loyally to respond to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation, namely, ' let the new era begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose', and trusts that both the authorities and the people will co-operate so to work the reforms as to secure early establishment of full responsible Government. And this Congress offers its warmest thanks to the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with them."

Mr. Gandhi in moving his amendment said : I want to give you the fullest assurance that nothing could have pleased me more than not to have appeared before you in order to divide this House, but when I found that there was conflict of principle, when I found that duty demanded of me that I should say a word even against the revered countrymen of mine, even against those who have sacrificed themselves for the sake of the country, when I found that they did not make sufficient appeal to my head or to my heart and when I felt that an acceptance of the position that underlay their proposition would mean something not good for the country, I felt, I at least should have my own say and make my own position clear to the country. Throughout my life I have understood the principle of compromises ; I have understood the spirit of democracy. I yield to no one in my regard for both these things, but throughout my life I have also found that there come occasions in a man's life who wants to regulate his life according to the voice of his own conscience, according to immutable laws of God as he understands them. I say there come occasions in the life of such a man when he must grasp and embrace as he would embrace a brother parting with his dearest friends and that time stared me in the face two days ago. It is not a matter of removing a word here and a word there. If I could have managed to have the word "disappointing," believe me, I would not have striven before this audience, wasted your, mine and my nations valuable time in higgling over the word. I say to you it is not right to have

the word 'disappointing.' You saw the amendment yesterday in my name which I have withdrawn. It expressed in more graceful language. I do not claim any better knowledge of English on that account, but I had put my heart into it and that is my estimation of my own phraseology. I contend that that amendment expresses the same thing in more graceful language, but I say to myself and I said to myself yesterday, "never mind grace, if you can get substance in another language you shall take it" I have, therefore, taken three paragraphs. They are the resolutions in its entirety, with the exception of the objective "disappointing," because that also entirely represents my feeling. I do believe with Tilak Maharaj, Mr. Das and all friends that we are fit for responsible Government fully to-day. I do believe that what we are getting falls far short of the Congress ideals. (Hear, hear). I do believe at the earliest possible moment we should have responsible Government. I am in accord with them. But how are we to build our future? That was the question to which they addressed this and I addressed myself. Their conclusion was "let the country go as it will, we shall not give a lead to the country from this platform." What was the meaning of it?

The meaning as I gave to it was 'our policy must be not obstruction, but co-operation. Yes, but in mind and it shall be not in the air.' If there is to be co-operation under definite conditions, then I say, let us lay down those conditions, let us make our point perfectly clear. Their position again was why should we thank a servant of ours? After all, who is Mr. Montagu? He is our servant. If he has done a little bit of his duty, why do you want to thank him? It is an attitude you may sympathise with sometimes, but I say to this great audience that is not an attitude which is worthy of yourselves. If in the heart of hearts you can say that Mr. Montagu throughout his career as the Secretary of State for India has done one thing, namely, he has overborne the opposition led by Lord Sydenham against this Bill and he has resisted all encroachment upon liberal provisions, few enough I admit, but the liberal provisions of that Bill, then I say Mr. Montagu deserves our wholehearted thanks. (Hear, hear and cheers). That is all what my amendment means. My amendment also means that we may not say these reforms are disappointing, disappointing in the sense in which that word is used. Here I suggest to you that if a man comes to me and disappoints me, I do not co-operate with him. If I get a sour loaf I reject it, and I do not take it. But if I get a loaf which is not enough, which has not

sufficient condiments in it, I shall use it, I shall add condiments to it and shall take a bit. Therefore my amendment means nothing more and nothing less than that we should stare the situation in the face as it exists before the country to-day and if Tilak Maharaj tells you that we are going to make use of the Reforms Act as he must and as he already told Mr. Montagu, as he has told the country that we are going to take the fullest advantage of the reforms, then I say, be true to yourself, be true to the country and tell the country that you are going to do it. But if you want to say, after having gone there, you will put any obstruction say that also. But on the question of propriety and obstruction I say Indian culture demands that we shall trust one who extends a hand of fellowship. The King Emperor has extended a hand of fellowship (Hear, hear). Mr. Montagu has extended the hand of fellowship, do not reject the advance. The Indian culture demands trust and full trust, and if you are sufficiently manly we shall not be afraid of the future, but face the future in a manly manner and say 'alright Mr. Montagu, all right, all officials of the bureaucracy, we are going to trust you. We shall put you in a corner and when you resist us and when you resist the advance of the country, then we say, do so at your peril.' That is the manly attitude that I suggest. I therefore say you are bound that if in the heart of hearts you consider that these reforms enable you to advance further to your goal, if you believe that these reforms can be used as a stepping stone to full responsible government, then I say give Mr. Montagu his due and tell him 'we thank you'. But if you say to Mr. Montagu, 'We thank you' the corollary to that is we shall co-operate, with him. If you say to Mr. Montagu 'we do not thank you, let us know what reforms are, we know your intentions, we shall frustrate those intentions by obstructing you at every step.' If that is your position make it clear before the world and ask for it. Then I shall challenge that position and I shall go across from one end of the country to the other and say we shall fail from our culture if we do not do our duty. That culture demands you to respond to the hand that has been extended. As I decline to trust them, I say, we shall co-operate in so far as the country's good is advanced. We shall obstruct you and we shall fail you to defeat your purpose, if your purpose is in any shape or form to diminish the glory of India. That is the amendment I have come to place before you. I again appeal to Tilak Maharaj and I appeal to Mr. Dass and every one of you, not on the strength of my service, it counts for nothing, not on the strength of my experience, but

on the strength of the inexorable logic, if you accept your own civilisation. I ask the author of the commentaries on Bhagawat Gita (Tilak) if he accepts the teachings of Bhagavat Gita then let him extend a hand of fellowship to Mr. Montagu.

Pundit Malaviya.

Hon. Pandit Malaviya accorded his whole-hearted support to Mr. Gandhi's amendments that the word "disappointment" should be removed and also that a paragraph should be added at the end of the resolution thanking Mr. Montagu. The word "disappointing" he said, was used to intensify dissatisfaction. That, of course, was not an essential part of the resolution. The main opposition was to that part which expressed co-operation. Did they in fact desire to co-operate or not? Would they seek election, train the electorate, go about educating, and serve on the councils? Would that not be co-operation which included the fullest and the strongest opposition when necessary? Pandit Malaviya paid generous tribute to Mr. Montagu and said India had reason to be grateful to him. They would start their agitation, they had already started it, but they must frankly and wholeheartedly acknowledge the good that had been done. Pandit Malaviya recognised the importance of the Royal Proclamation and winding up his arguments declared that Mr. Gandhi's amendment stood on a strong and unassailable ground. It would be a calamity—a misfortune, if they had to divide, but he was sure some understanding was being arrived at.

Pandit Malaviya at this stage left the rostrum and after a conference with Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Tilak and others, returned and announced that a compromise had been arrived at.

The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya in announcing the compromise over the Reform Resolution said :—Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a matter of great satisfaction to me, and I am sure it would be to all of you (hear, hear) to know that a compromise has been arrived at. Now you know, when the matter was in the hands of Messrs Gandhi and Tilak you could not expect anything different.

Pandit Malaviya at this stage turning to Mrs. Besant asked, "Have I your permission to include your name?"

Mrs. Besant—"Let me see the resolution."

Pandit Malaviya then went up to Mrs. Besant and the latter evidently having declined to join in the compromise returned to the rostrum and after further discussion a solution was arrived at. Two elements had been inserted in the resolution agreed upon *viz*, promise of co-operation and an expression of

gratitude to Mr. Montagu. These ideas were to be added as a separate paragraph to Mr. Das's original resolution. The following was the paragraph :—

This Congress trusts that so far as may be possible they will work the reforms so as to secure an early establishment of full responsible government and this Congress offers its thanks to the Right Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu for his labours in connection with Reforms. Pandit Malaviya proceeded to speak further, when Mr. Jinnah rose to a point of order and said that Pandit Malaviya should not be allowed to make another speech and the resolution agreed upon ought to be put.

Mr. C. R. Das, who in moving the original proposition had reserved his right to reply said: I want to occupy your time for one minute. The compromise has been arrived at. Pandit Malaviya has told you that there are two points, co-operation and thanks, but so far as co-operation is concerned, the view with which I have compromised is this that co-operation when necessary to advance our cause and obstruction when that is necessary to advance our cause. We would work the Reform Scheme so far as it may be for the early establishment of responsible government. We are not opposed to co-operation, if co-operation helps us to attain our purpose. We are not opposed to obstruction, plain downright obstruction, when that helps to attain our goal. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to accept this compromise of the resolution of the Congress.

Mrs. Besant's amendment was then put to vote and lost, only a handful voting in her favour.

The resolution as settled by compromise was then passed.

15. TURKISH AND KHILAFAT QUESTION.

Mr. B. C. Pal moved that this Congress respectfully protests against the hostile attitude of some of the British Ministers towards the Turkish and Khilafat question as disclosed by their utterances and most earnestly appeal to and urge upon His Majesty's Government to settle Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of Indian Musalmans and the solemn pledges of the Prime Minister without which there will be no content among the people of India.

The resolution was unanimously passed, Mr. Hasrat Mohani being one of the speakers.

16. DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

In the Congress agenda following the Reform resolutions stood a lengthy resolution on the Declaration of Rights over the names of Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. Mahamed Ali as proposer and seconder respectively. When this resolution was reached Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra who was acting as the spokesman for the President announced it would be taken up later as there were differences of opinion in regard to it. Eventually when other resolutions on the agenda had been disposed of by being put one after another from the chair and passed, this resolution on the Declarations of Rights was taken up. The resolution on the agenda paper ran :—

“This Congress is emphatically of opinion that in the immediate and imperative interest of this country as well as of the whole British Empire a statute should be forthwith passed by the Imperial Parliament to guarantee the civil rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects and embodying the following provisions :—(1) British India is one and indivisible and all political power is inherited in the people thereof to the same extent as in any other people or nation of the whole British Empire. (2) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty's and all subjects naturalized or resident in India are equal before law and there shall be no penal or administrative law in force in this country whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature. (3) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, prosperity or in respect of free speech or writing or right of association except by a sentence by an ordinary court of justice and as a result of lawful or open trial. (4) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms subject to the purchase of a license as in Great Britain and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary court of justice. (5) That the press shall be free and that no license or security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or newspaper. (6) That corporeal punishment shall not be inflicted on any subject of His Majesty save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects ; (7) That a militia of His Majesty's Indian subjects be established by law in the cities and towns and in rural parts divided into units for the purpose. No regular force shall be employed for suppression of internal disorders except when militia are found inadequate, and under an Act especially passed for the purpose . In suppressing disorders and restoring order, no armed force shall, unless it is attacked, interfere. They shall not interfere unless the crowd has been

three times summoned in the name of the King-Emperor and of law to disperse and has not done so until after a reasonable time.

(8) That all laws, ordinances and regulations now or hereafter in existence that are anywise inconsistent with the provisions of this statute shall be void and of no validity whatever."

Pandit Gokaran Nath announced that an agreement had been arrived at with regard to this resolution. In clause one it had been agreed to delete the word 'whole' before the British Empire. It had also been agreed to delete clause seven relating to militia. The resolution in its amended form was put from the chair and passed.

Among the other resolutions passed were the following :—

17. EXPRESSION OF THANKS.

"This Congress records its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the Labour party in and outside Parliament through its office-bearers, through its organisation, its prominent members and the daily and weekly press, and specially Mr. Spoor, the accredited representative of the party in Parliament for Indian affairs, by generally supporting the cause of self-government for India and particularly by pressing the Congress view about the Indian Political Reforms on the Joint Select Committee and on the occasion of the passage of the Government of India Bill in Parliament, for its full sympathy with the demands for full responsible government in India and its generous assurance to advance it through its power and influence.

"This Congress urges its provincial committees and other affiliated associations to promote Labour unions throughout this country with view of improving social, economic and political conditions of the labouring classes and securing for them a fair standard of living and a proper place in the body politic of India."

18. 'INDIA.

"This Congress notes with satisfaction that it has been agreed by the Board of Directors of the journal 'India' that it shall represent the views of the Congress and refers the recommendations contained in the report of the Congress deputation for the extension and improvement of the said journal to the All-India Congress Committee."

19. WORK IN ENGLAND.

"This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the time has arrived for establishing a permanent mission for its own propa-

gandist work in England and elsewhere and appoints a committee of the following gentlemen to collect the necessary funds for the purpose and to select the personnel of the mission for the first year:—Mr. B. G. Tilak (convener), Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Mr. Mohammed Ali, Mr. S. R. Bomanji, Lala Lajpat Rai, G. S. Khaparde, and Syed Hasan Imam with power to add 'if necessary.'

20. LALA LAJPAT RAI.

"This Congress thankfully begs to convey its sense of appreciation of the services of Lala Lajpat Rai to the cause of the country by his earnest and self sacrificing efforts of constitutional agitation in the United States of America by representing the view of the Congress before proper authorities in America in the matter of the demand for self-government and self-determination for India and requests Lala Lajpat Rai to continue his efforts as before."

'This Congress conveys its warmest thanks to the members of the Congress deputation for their strenuous labours in the cause of the Congress in England.'

'This Congress thankfully records its appreciation of the assistance given by the British Congress Committee and especially Dr. Clarke, Dr. Rutherford and Mr. J. M. Parikh, to the Congress deputation in its work in England and views with entire satisfaction the reorganization of the committee as an executive body of the Congress, pledged to carry on the Congress propaganda in England.'

21. THANKS TO MUSLIM LEAGUE.

'This Congress places on record its warmest thanks to the All-India Moslem League for passing a resolution recommending the substitution of other animals instead of cows in respect of the sacrifices on the occasion of Bakrid.'

DEWAN BAHADUR V. P. MADHAVA RAO.

Dewan Bahadur V. P. Madhava Rao thanked on behalf of the delegates. Swami Shradhanand and members of the Reception Committee.

The Swami responded in a suitable speech in concluding which, he said was a Sanyasi and as such was resuming his duties and handing over the political reins to the Punjab leaders.'

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

The following is the full text of Pundit Motilal Nehru's concluding address which was read on his behalf by Dr. Kitchlew:

"Fellow Delegates, before I say anything in reply to the flattering words, the over generous terms in which Dr. Satyapal and others have referred to me and my humble services in your cause, I have to apologise to you for not being able to address you myself as I should have liked to have done.....

In this holy land of the Punjab, in the ever memorable year 1919, strange things have come to pass. We have seen on the side of the people the expression of a feeling of unity, a desire to act corporate, a will to serve in a common cause, in the face of tremendous odds. Out of evil cometh good, and out of the hellfire through which this fair land has passed have been formed the iron bonds of unity, which its enemies will try in vain to break. The union among the various communities of this great country which our greatest men and women have been trying to bring about is at last an accomplished fact, and God willing will never again be broken. Our Mahomedan brothers in the Moslem League assembled, have generously, I may say nobly, adopted a resolution calling upon their co-religionists to abandon the sacrifice of cows at the Bakrid festival which has in the past been a fruitful source of trouble and have thus advanced the cause very substantially. The first fruits of the union are already visible on the horizon, the rest will follow in quick succession, if only we take care to concentrate ourselves on the duty that must be done for duty's sake. The fruits will take care of themselves. Fellow-delegates, the outstanding feature of this session has been the great discussion which you have witnessed in the open Congress to-day, a feature which has been conspicuous by its absence in our past deliberations. The work that lies before us is the spreading of this spirit of organised democracy of what I have spoken, throughout the length and breadth of this country, until not an individual is left without an active desire to do his share in the great work of the uplifting of this great and ancient land. It is for you to carry the message of hope in every nook and corner, for in spite of the atmosphere of gloom that has surrounded us in this city of martyrdom, I see a very bright prospect before us. On this New year's Day, let us make this sacred resolution. Work is needed, but I am confident that each and every one of us will do his very best, with single minded devotion to the cause of the country, that is so dear to us. In this confident hope I bid you farewell and trust we shall meet again under happier circumstances. Fellow-delegates, I once again thank you for the courtesy that you have extended to me and all the kindnesses you have shown me.

ALL INDIA MODERATE CONFERENCE

2nd Sessions, Calcuta, 30 Dec. 1919

Presidential Address

(SIR P. SIVASWAMY AIYER)



Let me thank you most heartily for the high honour you have conferred upon me by requesting me to preside at the second session of the All-India Conference of the Moderate party. On the eve of the momentous political changes which are to be initiated in the country, I cannot help wishing that your choice had fallen on some one more worthy of the high office which you have called upon me to assume. When I look back over the roll of the great men who have adorned the presidential chair of the Congress, when I remember that at the first session of the Moderate Conference the chair was occupied by no less a person than our distinguished countryman and veteran political leader Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and when I realise that we are meeting to-day in a city whose position as the intellectual capital of the Empire and as the great centre of learning, culture and oratory has remained unshaken by the transfer of the seat of Government, I am overwhelmed with a sense of my own deficiencies; and if I am found unequal to the responsibilities of my task, I hope you will extend a generous measure of indulgence to my shortcomings. When the Conference met last year, the great war which had been devastating the world for four years and more had taken a decisive turn in favour of the Allies and the armistice was in sight. Since then the war has come to an end, peace has been concluded with the Central Powers and the cause of liberty, humanity and nationality for which the Allies were pouring out their blood and treasure has been gloriously vindicated. The idea of a League of Nations, which when it was first adumbrated by President Wilson was received with considerable scepticism, has now materialised and become an established fact. Though the

peace treaty has not yet been ratified by America, it is not unreasonable to hope that she will soon do so and help to lay the foundation of the peace of the world on a permanent basis. We are proud to reflect that by the loyalty and co-operation of her princes and peoples in the hour of the Empire's trial, and by the prowess and devotion of her armies in various arenas of the war, the claim of India to a share in the counsels of the Imperial War Cabinet and War Conference has secured recognition, that she has been represented at these deliberations by our distinguished countrymen, His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner and Lord Sinha, and that she has been accorded a position of equality with the other great Dominions of the Empire in the Peace Conference and admitted as an original member of the League of Nations. Though the strain and anxiety of the war are over, the world has not yet returned to normal conditions and is now in the throes of birth of a new order of things, of a reconstruction of the whole scheme of life, political, industrial and social.

The Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian Constitutional Reforms was the subject of heated discussion at the time of our first conference. The Government of India Bill which was introduced into Parliament six months ago has just been placed on the Statute Book and we have met to celebrate with heart-felt rejoicing the auspicious event which has started India on the path of Self-Government and is destined within a measurable period of time to lead her to the goal of full responsible government. Our profound gratitude is due to all who have laboured to this end, to the authors of the Joint Report, to the members of the various deputations, who at great personal sacrifice went to England and placed the views of their respective constituents before the Joint Committee and especially the members of the Moderate Deputation headed by our leader, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, to the members of the Joint Committee, who conscientiously endeavoured to remove the defects in the original Bill, to Mr. Montagu for his statesman-like grasp of the situation, his fervid sympathy with Indian aspirations and his wonderful tact, persistency, and powers of Parliamentary management and last but not least to our illustrious countryman Lord Sinha for his wise patriotism, skilful advocacy and devoted labours at the expense of health and under the weight of domestic calamity. The whole of India has cause to be proud of the services of Lord Sinha. No Secretary of State for India will have a more abiding place in the affections and gratitude of the people of India than Mr. Montagu. Our thanks are also due to the members of the Cabinet, who realising the importance of the

measure decided to push it through without delay, to the members of the Labour party for their strong support, and to both Houses of Parliament for their genuine, if cautious, sympathy with the claims of India. We have been deeply moved by the gracious and soul-stirring Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor whose abiding sympathy has ever seen a source of encouragement to us and whose message of exhortation will be an inspiration to all to the fulfilment of his wishes. India is profoundly grateful to His Majesty for the exercise of his Royal Clemency and for his desire to inaugurate the Reforms in an atmosphere of general good-will and harmony.

When at the first conference we expressed our opinion of the scheme embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, we pointed out modifications and improvements which, in our opinion, were needed in the Bill. Many of the defects pointed out have been removed and several of our suggestions have been carried out. One important suggestion which we made related to the simultaneous introduction of the principle of diarchy in a limited sphere of the central government and it is a matter for regret that the Joint Committee and the Cabinet could not see their way to the adoption of this suggestion ; but there can be no doubt that in spite of the refusal of Parliament to introduce the principle of division of functions in the central government, the measure now passed is a substantial fulfilment of the pledges contained in the declaration of the 20th of August 1917. It is now desirable to make a brief survey of the provisions of the statute and see how far it is an advance upon the present constitution and to what extent the proposals in the Congress-Moslem League have been adopted.

Survey of the Reforms.

Taking the constitution of the provincial government first, the strength of the Legislative Council has been expanded, the proportion of the elected element being raised to 70 per cent, and that of the official element restricted to 30 per cent. The franchise has been greatly lowered and widened and provision is to be made on a larger scale than originally intended for the rural population and for the urban wage-earning class. The representation proposed for the depressed classes is to be enlarged. Except the first President of the Council who is to be appointed by the Governor, the presidents and deputy presidents of the Legislative Council are to be elected by the Council itself. The proposal for a Grand Committee and for legislation by recourse to the certification procedure has been discarded and provision is made for necessary legislation on reserved

subjects which may be refused by the Legislative Council by empowering the Governor to act on his own responsibility without recourse to the farce of the official bloc. In cases where the Governor so acts on his own responsibility, the Governor-General has ordinarily to reserve the enactment for His Majesty's pleasure, who will be guided by the Secretary of State acting on the advice of a Standing Committee of Parliament. The system of separate purses for the reserved and transferred departments has been negatived and excepting certain items of fixed charges, all proposals for expenditure will be submitted to the vote of the Council in the form of demands for grants. In cases where the Council refuses to vote for the necessary expenditure on a reserved subject, it is open to the Governor to retain the allotment, if he considers it essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subject. This must be admitted to be a necessary corollary from the principle of dyarchy, but it is seldom likely that the Governor will exercise his power in opposition to the reasonable wishes of the Council. If it is remembered that there is an Indian element in the Executive Council and that the ministers will be consulted on important matters like the framing of the budget, it will be readily realised what great scope there is for influencing the proposals of the Governor in Council in regard to reserved subjects. In the Executive Council the Indian element will be equal in strength to the non-Indian. The ministers in charge of the transferred departments will be responsible to the Council from the start and will have the same status as the Councillors.

In the Government of India the strength of the Legislative Assembly will be enlarged and provision will be made for direct election. The elected element is fixed at a minimum of five-sevenths and of the remaining two-sevenths at least one-third is to consist of non-officials. Except the first president who will be appointed by the Governor-General, the presidents and vice-presidents will be elected by the Assembly. The Council of State is to be radically altered in character and converted into a true revising chamber of which not more than a third will be officials. Any affirmative legislation required by the Governor-General in Council which either Legislative Chamber refuses to pass can be passed by the Governor-General on his own responsibility in a straightforward fashion, if he certifies that it is essential for the safety, tranquility or interests of British India. In such cases the Governor-General has ordinarily to reserve the enactment for His Majesty's pleasure, who will be guided by the Secretary of State acting on the advice of the Standing Committee of Parliament. The only exception to

this procedure is in cases of emergency calling for immediate action in the opinion of the Governor-General, but in such cases the act will be subject to disallowance by His Majesty in Council. In the Executive Council of the Governor-General the Joint Committee recommends that not less than three members of the Executive Council should be Indians. Though the Joint Committee disclaim any intention of introducing any measure of responsible government into the central administration and though the Governor-General in Council has therefore got the power to restore the allotment made by the Government of India, all proposals for expenditure with some exceptions like military, political and ecclesiastical charges and money's required for the service of loans have to be submitted to the Legislative Assembly and its votes taken on the demands for grants.

Turning to the home administration of Indian affairs, all the charges of the India office other than agency charges are recommended to be placed on the British estimates. The minimum and maximum members of the Council are fixed at 8 and 12 and the introduction of more Indians is recommended. The most important recommendation of the Joint Committee in connection with the control of the Secretary of State is that a convention of non-interference should be established in all matters of purely Indian interest, wherever the Government of India and the legislature may be in agreement. This provision will pave the way for the growth of the fiscal autonomy of India which has been the subject of demand by all classes of politicians. The Statutory Commission which is to come into existence after the expiry of 10 years is empowered to examine not merely into the working of responsible Government in the provincial sphere but also to inquire into the working of the Government of India. The Committee have recommended the creation of a Standing Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament with advisory functions by whose advice the Secretary of State will be guided in his approval of legislation or rules which may be sent up to him by the Government of India.

Congress Demands.

Comparing these provisions with the substance of the proposals made by the Congress, it will be seen that in some respects, as in regard to the removability of the executive, they are a great improvement on those proposals and that the only important matters in which the proposals of the Congress have been departed from are (1) the omission to grant full provincial autonomy (2) the omission to introduce the principle of diarchy in the Government of India

(3) the omission to give a statutory guarantee that full responsible Government shall be established in the whole of British India within a period of 15 years and (4) the omission to provide for a declaration of rights. With regard to the demand for a declaration of rights, it may be pointed out that any such declaration is unknown to the British constitution, that the proper line of progress is in the direction of the development of the powers of the Indian legislature and the introduction of the responsibility of the central government towards the Indian legislature and that the enactment of a fundamental law by a superior authority restricting the powers of the Indian legislature is inconsistent with the true goal and bound to be embarrassing in practice. Under the new constitution the central government will by influence, if not control, be daily brought more and more into consonance with the wishes of the public; exceptional or discriminative legislation is bound to disappear; and the obligation which will be imposed on the Secretary of State by convention to consult the Joint Standing Committee will prove a most valuable safeguard against any improper encroachment of the liberty of the subject.

Decided Advance on the Present.

Taking the Act as now passed, is it not obvious that it represents a decided advance upon existing conditions and that it gives us great opportunities for acquiring a practical knowledge of the art of responsible government. The Act provides for a ten years' period of apprenticeship in the provincial administration and is only intended as a transitional measure. In spite of the fact that it has fallen short of the demands of the Congress, it must be conceded that it provides in the language of the Joint Committee "a generous measure of opportunity of learning the actual business of the government of demonstrating by our conduct of the administration to the first statutory commission that the time has come for further extensions of power." If we remember the conditions under which the scheme has been carried through and the fact that a Coalition Government representing different parties and shades of opinion has been in power all the time, we shall be able to realise the difficulties with which Mr. Montagu had to contend and the statesmanship which he has brought to bear upon the elaboration of a measure acceptable to all parties and upon steering it through a Parliament which included conservative and reactionary elements opposed to any bold or venturesome experiment. It would have been quite easy to frame an ideally perfect scheme which would meet the largest demands of the Congress; but the scheme would

have had no chance of passing through and the fulfilment of our aspirations would have been indefinitely delayed, if not retarded. It was the height of political sagacity on Mr. Montagu's part to have perceived how far he could carry the Government and Parliament with him and frame his proposals in accordance with his practical limitations.

Reception by Extremists.

While the reforms call for the largest measure of grateful appreciation, they have been hailed by several extremist organs and leaders with expressions of unmitigated contempt and dissatisfaction. I shall give a few instances :—Speaking of the recommendations of the Joint Committee the 'Independent' of Allahabad described them as "a colossal sham calculated to perpetuate our unmitigated probation under the British Rule as the hewers of wood and drawers of water. They do not vouchsafe a particle of hope and they fail to transfer an iota of real responsibility to the people of India." The leader of the Congress deputation from Madras expressed the hope that "the people of India would with one voice vote against the reform scheme at the next meeting of the Indian National Congress" He observed that "Indians required no training in the art of government, that the bill was not an improvement on the existing state of things and that if it did anything, it increased the powers of the autocracy." The President of the Nationalists' Conference recently held at Madras remarked that "it would not be a national disaster, if by the mutations of party-conflict in the House of Commons the present Cabinet went down and with it the present Reform Bill." You will remember the description of the bill as "a little thing" by the Congress Secretary in England. Persons who do not regard the measure as going sufficiently far may be entitled to ask for further concessions, but there is neither justification nor need for belittling what has been granted. Inability to perceive the merits of the scheme can only be ascribed to intellectual obliquity.

Opinions of Competent Judges.

Let us now turn to the views expressed by some of our sincere friends and well-wishers in England and by distinguished Indians whose patriotism and judgment are beyond all question. Lord Carmichael, Lord Crewe, Lord Clayd, Lord Islington, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Stanley Reed. Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Polak, His Highness the Aga Khan, Lord Sinha, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir M. Visveswarayya, Sir P. D. Pattani and Mr. Basu. They all consider that appreciation of the

present measure of reform and an honest endeavour on our part to co-operate in the successful carrying out of the first instalment of responsible government would go a great way to convince the British people of the desirability and expediency of granting a greater measure of responsible government. Major Ormsby-Gore considers the revised reform bill as the most remarkable and epoch-making advance ever made at one bound in the history of British India. Our extremist friends attach more weight to the opinions of Labour Leaders than to those of any other party in England. Mr. Ben Spoor has expressed the opinion that it is important that the Bill should become law without further delay. In the face of the unanimous advice expressed by those who are best entitled to pronounce an opinion, it is idle to suppose that any further concessions could have been obtained from Parliament at this juncture or that the postponement or abandonment of the Bill would have been of no consequence to this country. The fact that the Reforms have been passed by a Coalition Government is an advantage to this country rather than otherwise, for the members of every party have given their support to the policy adopted in the Bill and it will not be possible for any party to repudiate the policy hereafter on the ground that it was adopted against their wishes. It is imagined by our extremist friends that if the bill had been thrown out the Labour Party would soon come into power and introduce a much more spacious measure of Reform and grant India all that she asks for. But, is not this belief based upon a number of assumptions of a very unreliable character? Is it known when the next election will come off, or when the Labour Party will come into power? Even if they do come into power, is there any certainty that they will not be too preoccupied with their own domestic questions to devote their attention to Indian Reforms? And even if they were willing to do so, do we know that any measure introduced by them will successfully run the gauntlet of the House of Lords or that if it fails to do so, the Labour Party will be prepared to make it a party issue and appeal to the country on it and return to power? Instead of making these wild calculations, is it not prudent in the interests of the country to accept with gratitude the first generous instalment of reform and devote our efforts to the successful working of the scheme, so that we may be able to convince the Parliament and the first Statutory Commission that we have not merely the capacity for self-government but that we have acquired the necessary training. Remember that there is nothing in the Bill to prevent the transfer of additional subjects within the ten years' period of training. Even the Delhi

Congress was willing to leave the departments of Law, police and justice for a period of six years as reserved subjects in the hands of the Executive Government. Can it be said that a period of apprenticeship in the art of responsible administration is really unnecessary? Self-assertion however loud or persistent does not amount to training. We, of the Moderate Party, do not hold the view that because it has taken centuries of political experience for Englishmen to acquire their present constitution, we must go through the same period of training. The world is now moving much quicker and it is because statesmen in England have recognised it, that they propose a short course of apprenticeship for a decade or two to acquire the necessary training. The success of any scheme of democratic government does not merely depend upon the fitness of a number of gifted individuals, but involves the education and training of the electorate. There is an immense field of constructive work before us, more than enough to occupy all our energies and if we only turn our attention to the constructive task that lies before us and work for the success of the Reforms, we need have no fears that the next instalment will be delayed by the British Nation.

Party Difference.

The success of the scheme requires the fullest co-operation between the people and the government with mutual good-will and forbearance and a spirit of compromise and conciliation. On the last occasion our veteran leader Mr. Surendranath Banerjee dealt with the events which led to the split between us and the party now in the ascendant in the Congress. It is not necessary for me now to go over that ground again. Let me briefly advert to the differences which have merged between the two parties. As already pointed out, we regard the Reform Act as a substantial advance in the direction of responsible government, while the other party looks upon it as altogether disappointing and unsatisfactory. The next instalment of reform is, in our opinion, to be won by wholeheartedly working for the success of the new scheme and endeavouring to make the best of its merits and opportunities rather than by agitation. The practical demonstration of our fitness by actual work will be a far more effective means of attaining the end than incessant agitation, which will have the effect of diverting the energies of the people from action to talking. Believing that the fullest co-operation between the two halves of the government is necessary for the success of the principle of dyarchy, our policy is to co-operate with the government and support them in all measures

for the good of the people and to criticise them without flinching whenever their measures require to be opposed while stoutly opposing all improper measures of repressive legislation, we shall not seek to fetter the powers of the Indian legislature. We recognize no antagonism between the interests of reserved and transferred departments and consider the maintenance of all these departments in efficiency as necessary for the well being of the State. There is no subject of administration, whether reserved or transferred, in which the people are not interested and our attitude towards the budget proposals will be determined by a comprehensive view of the requirements of all departments in the interests of the public and of orderly progress. While endeavouring to get rid of any defects in the reconstructed machinery which experience may disclose, it will not be our aim to exploit the defects for the purpose of wrecking the scheme or creating a dead-lock in the hope of Parliament coming to our rescue and granting us full autonomy. While the pursuit of ideals by the members of the other party seems little likely to be tempered by a perception of practical limitations and hard facts, ours will be a practical idealism based upon a knowledge of existing conditions, a sense of proportion and perspective and a comprehensive view of progress in all directions. It will be our endeavour to consolidate our gains so that our march to the final goal may be firm and sure and we may not lose the ground we are about to occupy. While it would be hazardous to prophesy about the future of parties under untried conditions, it is hardly likely that the differences of opinion which have emerged between the two parties in connection with the Reform Scheme will disappear shortly. Nor is this tendency towards the formation of distinct parties a matter for regret, so long as party organizations are based upon principles and not upon ill-will and rancour between persons and classes. One may go the length of saying that sound party organizations are an indispensable condition of healthy political life and especially so in the working of any constitution based upon the British model. So long as the people had no voice in the administration and it was only a question of wresting privileges from the bureaucracy, the policy of a united front was indispensable. But it is less so, when responsibility for administration has to be assumed by the people, and differences spring up as to aims and methods and it serves no purpose to conceal radical differences of opinion and maintain the semblance of a single political organization when its capacity for action must necessarily be impaired by lack of agreement and cohesion among its constituents. As regards our relation with parties in Britain,

it would be a mistake for us to enter into any exclusive alliance with any particular party, instead of cultivating friendly relations with all.

Nomenclature.

The name to be adopted by our party is a matter which may perhaps be considered here. At the last session of our Conference our President expressed his dislike of the term 'Moderate' and suggested the name "the centre group of the Nationalist party." If I may be allowed to offer a remark, it seems too long an expression for the purpose of nomenclature and the word 'group' is suggestive of an undesirable fissiparous tendency. I have no particular predilections. We may call ourselves "Liberals" or 'Progressives' or 'National Liberals' or by any other name you like. I would only respectfully suggest a much shorter and handier name than the one suggested last year.

The Punjab occurrences.

I shall now pass on to a subject which has been engrossing the mind of the public even more than the subject of constitutional reforms. The disturbances in the Punjab in April last and the measures taken by the authorities to deal with them attracted the keenest and most wide-spread interest at the time. While the acts of lawlessness committed by the mobs were duly published at the time, the public were not kept equally informed of the doings of the authorities and the nature and extent of the measures adopted by them in the restoration of order. The movements of people to and from the Punjab were prohibited or restricted. Accused persons were deprived of the services of counsel from outside the province. A rigorous censorship was exercised over the press and security was demanded from papers which had the temerity to publish accounts of the manner in which martial law was administered. Such information, however, as leaked out and was published sent a thrill of horror over the land. While all political organisations expressed their detestation of the wanton destruction of life and property and communications and all the other outrages committed by the mobs and their approval of all measures reasonably necessary for the suppression of disorder, they felt it their duty to condemn the excesses of the authorities administering martial law and press for the prompt withdrawal of martial law. After a delay of several months the promised Committee of Enquiry has been appointed and the inquiry has been going on for two months. It is to be deeply regretted that the

government should not have seen their way to suspend the sentences of the leading citizens who were convicted in Lahore and Amritsar and enable them to be present when evidence affecting them was being given at the inquiry and to give instructions to counsel for the cross-examination of the witnesses. It is also unfortunate that for this reason the Congress Committee to whose patriotic labours we owe an ungrudging tribute of praise should have decided to withhold their assistance from the Committee and let in no evidence on behalf of the people. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the evidence tendered by the government and especially the evidence of the European officers who were charged with the duty of restoring order, has thrown a flood of light upon the administration of the Punjab during those eventful months. The disclosures now made have confirmed the worst suspicions of the public as to the ruthless and inexcusable barbarity of the administration and have created a feeling of intense indignation throughout the country. In view of the fact that the inquiry is not yet concluded, a considerable measure of reserve is called for in expressing an opinion on the matters pending before them. It is neither possible, nor desirable at this stage to express any opinion as to the causes of the disturbances or as to the necessity for the employment of military force or for the introduction of martial law; but the evidence of the European officers which has been already taken has made it abundantly clear that martial law was continued long after the necessity for it, if any, had ceased. that the means adopted by the military authorities to put them down were far in excess of the requirements of the situation and that the proceedings of the officers concerned were not guided by any considerations of common sense, humanity or decency, whether the disturbances in the various localities amounted only to riots or rebellion is a matter which may be left, for the present, to the decision of the Committee. It is well settled that necessity is the sole measure of the duration and extent of the force to be employed for putting down an insurrection and restoring order and that it is only when it is impossible for the ordinary courts of law to sit or enforce the execution of their judgments, that martial law can be indulged. There is nothing to show that except perhaps during the few days immediately following the disturbances the ordinary civil courts could not sit. Apart from any question of the legality of the ordinance providing for the trial of offences by special or martial law tribunals, there was no moral justification for the continuance of martial law or for the continuance of the special tribunals after the disturbances had been put down. The fact that

trial by courts-martial is bound to be quicker or would serve as an example of terror to others and help to keep them in due awe and obedience is no justification whatever for the establishment or continuance of martial law. It is also clear that the martial law officers had no right to treat contraventions of their own orders as offences and proceed to try and punish people for infringement of their orders. Let us turn our eyes to some of the facts disclosed in the evidence of the principal European witnesses. The wholesale slaughter of hundreds of unarmed men at Jallian Walla Bagh without giving the crowd an opportunity to disperse, the indifference of General Dyer to the condition of the hundreds of people who were wounded in the firing, the firing of machine-guns into crowds who had dispersed and taken to their heels, the flogging of men in public, the order compelling thousands of students to walk 16 miles a day for roll-calls, the arrest and detention of 500 students and professors, the compelling of school children of 5 to 7 to attend on parade to salute the flag, the order imposing upon owners of property the responsibility for the safety of the martial law posters stuck on their properties, the flogging of a marriage party, the censorship of mails, the closure of the Badshahi mosque for six weeks, the arrest and detention of people without any substantial reason and especially of people who had rendered services to the State in connection with the War Fund or otherwise, the flogging of six of the biggest boys in the Islamiyah school simply because they happened to be school boys and to be big boys, the construction of an open cage for the confinement of arrested persons, the invention of novel punishments like the crawling order, the skipping order and others unknown to any system of law, civil or military, the hand-cuffing and roping together of persons and keeping them in open trucks for 15 hours, the use of aeroplanes and Lewis guns and the latest paraphernalia of scientific warfare against unarmed citizens, the taking of hostages and the confiscation and destruction of property for the purpose of securing the attendance of absentees, the handcuffing of Hindus and Mohammadans in pairs with the object of demonstrating the consequences of Hindu-Muslim unity, the cutting off of electric and water supplies from Indian houses, the removal of fans from Indian houses and giving them for use by Europeans, the commandeering of all vehicles owned by Indians and giving them to Europeans for use, the feverish disposal of cases with the object of forestalling the termination of martial law, are some of the many incidents of the administration of martial law which created a reign of terror in the Punjab and have shocked the public. It is a strange feature of the mental constitution of those

military officers that they should have imagined that the steps they took were a remedy for the sullenness of the people and a means for promoting the popularity of the government. We are naively told by General Sir William Beynon that instead of being unduly severe, the administration erred on the side of leniency and that he and Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved of General Dyer's exploit. It is inconceivable that such things can ever happen under the name of martial law in Ireland. That they could have happened in India shows the ineptitude of the present system of government. It is obvious that the Government of India must have regarded the opposition to the Rowlatt Bill as a direct challenge of their authority and as a trial of strength between the people and the government and that having given their promise of support to the local authorities, they were prevented by panic and love of prestige from listening to the representations of Indian leaders, or making any attempt to see things for themselves. It is no wonder that the hearts of our people have been stirred by these doings to their inmost depths. The indecent haste with which the Indemnity Bill was rushed through the Imperial Council is now intelligible. It will also be clear how well-founded the objection of the people was to the provisions of the Rowlatt Bill which entrust the liberties of the subject to the mercy of the executive.

We do not know what the findings of the Enquiry Committee may be ; but if we may be allowed to voice the wishes of the people we should ask, (1) for reparation for all serious hardship and suffering caused by unwarranted acts of severity, (2) for steps being taken to bring to justice any officials, high or low, civil or military, who may be found to have acted unreasonably and in excess of their powers or authorised such acts, (3) for the provision of safeguards against the recurrence of such things in the future and (4) for the abolition of flogging in the Indian Army. Let us see what reasonable safeguards it is possible to suggest. One remedy which may perhaps be thought of is that in dealing with internal out-breaks the civil authorities should only invoke the aid of military forces, but should not allow the introduction of martial law. This suggestion raises a very large issue and in view of the incidents of the martial law regime in Ireland, Egypt, India and Ceylon may deserve consideration, but it seems to me doubtful whether it is likely to be entertained as a practical proposition. No enactment of any Declaration of Rights as suggested by our friends in the Congress can avert the possibility of the introduction of martial law ; for, by the very nature of the case martial law is a creature of necessity and transcends all law. Martial law is

a state of no law where the will of the General who commands the army prevails ; but if, as is only too likely, the abolition of martial law for the purpose of suppressing internal outbreaks is put aside as an impracticable suggestion, we are entitled to ask that the constitutional limitations to which its exercise and duration are subject according to the opinions of eminent English jurists shall be authoritatively set forth either in a statute or in a memorandum of instructions to be issued to the Governor-General. It should be made clear that martial law should not be introduced, unless it is impossible for the civil courts to sit and exercise their functions. It is further necessary that the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties therefor should not be delegated to Military Officers and that if courts-martial and civil courts are both sitting, any person not subject to the Naval Discipline Act or to Military Law, who is alleged to be guilty of the contravention of any regulation should be allowed to claim to be tried by a Civil Court instead of by a Court Martial.

The happenings in the Punjab have emphasised the necessity for providing that the Indian element in the Executive Council of the Viceroy shall be at least equal to the European element. They point to the urgent need for the cheapening and quickening of cable communications with England. They have also demonstrated the evil effects of a prolonged exodus to the hills and the consequent isolation of the government from the world of humanity beneath.

Press Act.

The manner in which the Press Act has been administered has brought into prominence the necessity for a revision of it on radical lines. While I am prepared to concede that the provisions for security and forfeiture would serve a useful purpose in dealing with sedition and more especially with Bolshevism at our frontier, I am inclined to think that the deposit of security should not be demanded in the first instance and should be called for only upon its being shown to the satisfaction of a court that the liberty of the press has been abused. Forfeiture also should be made consequential upon an order of the court to be obtained by the Local Government on proof of publication of objectionable matter. The conditions in the Press Act entailing forfeiture are expressed in such wide terms that it has been found that the safeguard of an application to the High Court is practically illusory. An amendment of the Act on the lines here suggested would remove a keenly felt grievance and is especially necessary in view of the

need for encouraging the growth of a vigorous and honest press under the new conditions of administration.

National Defence.

Even more than the subject of constitutional reform the question of the re-organisation of the military system of the country is vitally connected with the growth of our nationhood within the empire. It is unfortunate that the scope of the reference to the Indian Army Re-organisation Committee recently appointed with Lord Esher as its President should have been so restricted, and that it should have included only one real representative of Indian public opinion. It is also a cruel irony of fate that Sir Michael O'Dwyer whose repressive measures have provoked a storm of indignation throughout India should not merely be a member but the President of the Committee during its inquiry in India. For years past we have been asking that the commissioned ranks in the regular army shall be thrown open to Indians on a liberal scale under conditions which will be compatible with military efficiency. The contention that Indians are only fit to be employed as sepoy under the leadership of British officers and are not qualified for the highest ranks is too hollow to be put forward with any show of plausibility. Even under the existing conditions men who have risen from the ranks to Indian commissions have acquitted themselves with credit. Modern wars are becoming more and more scientific and a country which does not employ the best brains and talents in its army is bound to go to the wall in any conflict with the forces of any of the modern powers. One possible objection to the employment of the educated classes in the army is that they may use their military knowledge, training and influence against the government. But are not the educated classes those who can most clearly realize the manifold advantages of membership of the British Empire and has not their loyalty been amply demonstrated by their conduct during the war and by their sincere solicitude for partnership within the British Empire? To adopt the language of the Joint Report, "we believe profoundly that the time has now come when the sheltered existence which we have enjoyed in India can not be prolonged without damage to our national life." The war has painfully brought home to the mind of every Indian his military helplessness and inutility and has quickened the desire for self-reliance for all purposes of national life. We wish to have the fullest scope for the cultivation of the manly virtue and for attainment of the full stature of our manhood so that we may be able to defend ourselves against any external

aggression or internal disorder. In the words of His Majesty, the progress of a country cannot be consummated without the right of her people to manage her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty, an Imperial interest and pride. As a preparation for the goal of responsible government which has been definitely announced as the objective of British rule and in fulfilment of the pledge of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration we are entitled to demand that the policy which has hitherto guided the administration of the army in India shall be changed, and that the pledges contained in the great proclamation of Queen Victoria should be fulfilled. The continuance of our exclusion from the commissioned rank is a slur upon our capacity and loyalty. The problem of commissions is stated in the Joint Report to bristle with difficulties, the most serious difficulty probably being the one created by the prejudice of Military Officers against the possibility of service under Indian officers. But the beginning of an attempt has been made towards breaking down the barrier and let us hope that the change in the angle of vision of the British public and of British statesmen which is alleged to have been brought about by comradeship in arms and by participation in the perils, hardships and sacrifices of the war may overcome the prejudice and opposition of the military authorities, and promote a sympathetic view of our aspirations. Our desire to take the same part in the military organisation of our own country as is enjoyed by the subjects of British colonies in theirs will not be satisfied by the grant of commissions alone. We claim that Indians shall be freely admitted to employment in all arms of the defensive organisation of the country including the artillery, the navy and the air-force and that no time should be lost in taking steps for the organisation of a territorial army which will serve as an auxiliary force to the Indian army. We do not know anything of the contents of the report which must have been presented to the Imperial Government by Lord Jellicoe with reference to the naval defence of India, but costly as any scheme of naval defence must be, we shall be prepared to cheerfully shoulder our burdens on the condition that the Indian section of the navy is manned and officered by Indians. The Indians employed on board the mercantile marine have given ample proofs of their capacity, pluck, sense of duty and discipline and there can be no doubt that we have sufficient material in our sea-faring population for the manning of naval crews. Knowing as you do how the two young Bengalees who were admitted into the Royal

air force and those who were sent to the front in various other capacities distinguished themselves, do you have any reasonable doubt that if the opportunities are given the necessary personnel required for the air service will be forthcoming? Provision should be made in India for giving the highest standard of instruction in military and naval engineering, in the construction and management of aircraft and submarines, in the knowledge of tactics and in all the technical and administrative subjects required for members of the general staff. It is possible that our demands may not be readily granted, but we must make up our minds to carry on a strenuous agitation in England till we gain our object.

You will probably have noticed the announcement in the papers that the Government of India intend to introduce during the next Delhi session of the Viceregal Council a bill for the constitution of an auxilliary force of European subjects. Is it not significant that there is no mention of any intention to introduce a similar measure for the voluntary training of Indians? We must of course recognise that the question of universal service is for some time to come put out of the pale of practical politics by the immensity of our population. But there is no reason why the formation of an auxiliary Indian force on a voluntary basis and in sufficiently large numbers and at least on a scale which will bear the same proportion to the European Auxiliary Force as the Indian army bears to the British units in India, should not be taken in hand. I have heard it said that the response which was made in the year 1917 to the call for voluntary enlistment in the Indian Defence Force was not satisfactory. This is not the time or place to go into the history of this question, nor am I in a position to speak with reference to the response in the other provinces, but having been connected with recruitment to the Indian branch of the Indian Defence Force in the Madras Presidency I am in a position to contradict, so far as Madras is concerned, the statements that have appeared in the Viceregal Legislative Council and in influential journals on this subject. Notwithstanding the fact that the Indian section was treated as the Cinderella of the Indian Defence Force and the numerous difficulties we had to contend against, the establishment of the First Madras Infantry was brought up to full strength and the question of augmenting this branch of the Indian Defence Force was being considered by the Army Headquarters. I may add that the military authorities who from time to time inspected our recruits were satisfied with their progress and attainments.

Arms Act.

The invidious racial distinctions underlying the rules framed under the Arms Act used to be the subject of complaint in Congress after Congress and it is a matter of satisfaction that the Government of India have at least taken action by their resolution of the 21st of March 1919 to abolish all distinctions of a racial character and to provide facilities for the taking out of licenses.

Indians in Africa.

While the sisterhood of India in the nations of the British Empire has been acknowledged in the War and Peace Conferences and in the League of Nations, the treatment accorded to our citizens in the self-governing dominions of the Empire is calculated, not merely to wound our sense of self-respect, but to bring about the expulsion of the Indian settlers by a steady policy of humiliation and persecution. The subject was mooted at the Imperial War Conference by Sir S. P. Sinha (now Lord Sinha) and the views of the Indian representatives were embodied in a memorandum prepared by him. The resolution passed at the War Conference of 1918 recognised that it was an inherent function of the governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth including India that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restrictions on immigration from any of the other communities. As regards the questions raised with reference to the position of immigrants who were already settled in the self-governing dominions, the Conference recommended them for early consideration to the various governments concerned and Sir S. P. Sinha expressed the hope that on the return of General Smuts he might be able in process of time to remove all or at any rate some of the grievances. The news, however, we have received from South Africa are of a very disquieting character. The Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act which has been passed this year extends the restrictions of the Boer Law III of 1885 by prohibiting Indians from acquiring property either by way of transfer to a company or by means of mortgage except as security for a "bona fide" loan. A telegram received about a week ago from Bloemfontein stated that in the course of a speech General Smuts referring to the Asiatic question declared that a fresh invasion had been stopped but a new danger had arisen especially in connection with trade and that steps would have to be taken. We are not informed what exactly the danger referred to is, or what steps are contemplated by General Smuts. In view however of the broad-minded statesmanship of General Smuts it is to be hoped that he may exercise his

influence in favour of justice to the Indian settlers. We are glad to be able to acknowledge the efforts of the Government of India to protect the interests of the Indian settlers. The Union Government have agreed to the representation of Indian interests before the Committee by Sir Benjamin Robertson and an Indian representative and we have to await the result of the investigations of this Committee which has been appointed in response to the demands of the Anti-Asiatic League. It has sometimes been suggested that the objection to the Indian settler is based not upon racial prejudice but upon economic grounds and that by unfair competition he injures the interests of the white labourer or tradesman. We can appreciate the force of economic objections but the remedy in such a case would be rather to prescribe minimum rates of wages and admit the Indian workman to membership of Working Men's Unions and if necessary to prescribe that the Indian workman or tradesman should live in houses conforming to the same standard of sanitary or other conditions as may be reasonably prescribed for the corresponding classes of white settlers. The economic objection however, is merely a cloak for the deeper objection based on racial prejudice. The colour prejudice of the white races and the commercial greed which tempts them to mark off vast regions of the surface of the earth for their exploitation threaten to be the most disruptive force of humanity and are an abiding menace of the peace of the world.

Equally disconcerting news has been cabled to us by Mr. Andrews from East Africa, where a united attempt is being made by the European associations to close the door against future immigration and to stop Indian franchise. Moral depravity is said to have been the result of Indian contact and the South African exclusion policy is approved.

We know what value to attach to these allegations against our countrymen. Mr. Gandhi has pointed out that it is the Indian who was the pioneer settler in East Africa long before a single European set foot on East African soil and who developed the uplands of East Africa. The crusade against our countrymen is impaired by the same feelings of racial prejudice and trade jealousy that have actuated the white settlers in their relations with our countrymen in other parts of the world. The significance of the agitation of the European associations is not confined to British East Africa alone. Under the terms of article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which provides for a mandate to advanced nations for the administration of the former German Colonies, it is

distinctly provided that the mandatory power must secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all other members of the League. It was pointed out some time ago by the Paris correspondent of the "Times" that the mandate drafted for the administration of German East Africa which was typical of the mandates for the German Colonies in central Africa included provisions establishing absolute equality of trade for the subjects and citizens of all the high contracting parties. The correspondent observed that complete equality of trade had for many years existed in such British protectorates as Nigeria and East Africa and that the same practice and policy would be carried out by Great Britain in German East Africa. The threatened interference with the right of our countrymen in British East Africa is bound to be the precursor of a similar policy of injustice in German East Africa. As India is an original member of the League of Nations, Great Britain is bound to protect our rights and strictly maintain the policy of the open door to His Majesty's Indian subjects and citizens. It is our duty to support our countrymen in their claim to the exercise of civil, municipal and political rights and to appeal to the Imperial Government to discharge their obligations under the mandate.

Education.

The reform and improvement of our educational system is an essential condition of our national progress. The subject has been most carefully examined by the Calcutta University Commission which was fortunate in its personnel and especially in securing the services of Sir Michael Sadler as its President. No commission that has ever sat in this country has brought to bear a greater wealth of experience, sympathy and wisdom upon the discharge of its task. Where can we find a more generous appreciation of the merits and aptitudes of Indian students, a more sympathetic understanding of the defects and requirements of students and of the limitations and difficulties under which the vast army of teachers has to work, or a keener perception of the needs of an awakened nation? The dissatisfaction with our system of education which has been felt by the public for years has been proved to be well-founded. They have found defects in our educational organisation from top to bottom and pointed out how the primary school system is out of touch with the actual needs of the community, how extremely inefficient the secondary school system is and how it renders the pupils unfit for useful occupations and how the arts college have failed to realise the aims of university education. They have recommended a comprehensive scheme of reforms covering the whole field of

education and the new machinery which they have proposed for enlisting the active co-operation of the public, for co-ordinating all educational agencies and for the reorganisation of the teaching profession must command general acceptance. It is a matter for satisfaction that the subject of education as a whole is to be transferred to popular control, a result to which Sir Michael Sadler largely contributed by his evidence before the Joint Committee. It will rest with our new legislatures and ministers to set about at once to carry out as far as may be the recommendations of the Sadler Commission subject to any modifications that may be suggested by special local conditions. The provision of facilities for the preparation of our youth for callings in agriculture, commerce, engineering and other walks of life, the extension of facilities for the education of the backward and the depressed classes and the expansion of primary education must engage the unremitting attention of our reformed councils. Care has to be taken also that in the inrush of new ideas which will follow the introduction of the reforms, the preservation of what is precious and vital in Indian thought and culture is not neglected.

Economic Development.

In view of the extreme poverty of our country compared with the standard of any other civilized country, the want of suitable openings in life for our youth, and the need for making the country as self-contained as possible, the problems of economic development are of tremendous importance. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission presided over by Sir Thomas Holland makes a wide survey of the situation and offers recommendations calculated to achieve the ends we all have so much at heart. Some of the recommendations have been the subject of adverse criticism and it is not for laymen to pronounce an opinion on matters where experts differ. Among other things referred to in the report of the Commission I should like to draw your special attention to the need for the encouragement of ship-building in our waters and for the creation of a mercantile marine. It is one of the gratifying results of the war that a change has come in the angle of vision of the government in regard to the policy to be adopted for the encouragement of industries. It is also a matter for satisfaction that the subject of industries has been proposed by the Joint Committee for transfer to popular control, but in view of the discussion in the House of Lords we have to see to it that this proposal is not modified or abandoned in the rules to be made under the statute. The question of tariffs which was excluded from the scope of the inquiry

by the Commission will have to be carefully considered by our public men in the light of the experience of progressive countries like Japan and the United States, and with due regard to the interests of the country as a whole and especially of the poorer consuming classes. Apart from any question of the bearing of tariffs upon the encouragement of industries, it is also worthy of consideration whether the customs duties which form an imperial source of revenue may not be raised to some extent as a matter of pure fiscal policy so as to relieve the provincial governments of a considerable part of the burden of contribution to the Central Government. In connection with the subject of economic regeneration, the treatment of labour is bound to come into prominence and will require to be solved with the fullest sympathy. No economic progress can be considered satisfactory which is not accompanied by an amelioration of the conditions of the labouring classes, by securing to them a fair subsistence which will enable them to secure healthy and clean conditions of living and some share of the amenities of life. It is only by a timely attention to these problems and their wise solution that it will be possible to avert the class conflicts which are threatening to break up and destroy society in the west.

The subjects now proposed to be transferred include the most important and growing departments of public administration, Education, Industries, Local self-government, medical administration and public health, agriculture, co-operation and excise. They are the subjects which are most vitally connected with the health, well-being and prosperity of the people and in which the stimulus of popular control will be most fruitful of results. The field of work is as large as it is interesting. But there is another task which is even more arduous and that is the training of the electorates who will be our masters. In several respects government by a responsible ministry is more difficult than government by bureaucratic methods. You have not merely to persuade the masses to appreciate the blessings of a progressive administration but to convince them that they are worth paying for. The system of administration which has been labouriously built up is efficient, though costly, and a report of efficiency is bound to react on the interests of the public. The margin for retrenchment of expenditure will be found to be small and the necessity for additional taxation will have to be squarely faced by the new councils and ministry. The electorates will have to be educated to an appreciation of the needs of the whole body-politic and to a sense of just proportion between the various objects of expenditure. With the experience of other countries behind us, we have to learn to avoid the vices and pitfalls of democracy.

The temptation to appeal to ignorance or to sectional interests, to hold out promises that are incapable of fulfilment, has to be resisted. The preparation of a programme of constructive work is one of the tasks that lie immediately before us. It may not be possible for us here and now to chalk out a detailed programme of constructive work in all the departments which are to come under popular control and it may have to be entrusted to a committee and carried out in consultation with the provincial organisations. The ultimate aims of the different parties may not differ very much. It is with regard to the methods of approach and the means to be adopted that differences are more likely to arise. Our guiding principle must be "orderly progress" in every department and our organisations must be multiplied and strengthened to carry on the work of propaganda effectively.

Every one of the deputations which has recently gone to England has been struck with the ignorance of Indian matters which prevails in England. In addition to the work of educating the electorates, it will be necessary for us to send out deputations of competent representatives every year to England to create an interest among public men in Indian affairs and to educate public opinion there. A living and watchful interest in the administration of India on the part of the British public and Parliament, is a necessary condition of the further fruition of our hopes. The eyes of the world will be fixed upon the Imperial Government, and if we only make a wise use of our powers and opportunities I am sanguine enough to believe that the next instalments of reform are bound to follow quickly and as surely as noon follows dawn. I am confident that full provincial autonomy will be reached in 10 years and that a considerable measure of responsibility will be granted at the end of the first decade. The goal of full responsible government may not improbably be attained within 20 years. The Declaration of Rights of the 20th of August 1917, the Reports of the Joint Committee, the Statute, and the ever memorable Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor, will together constitute the Charter of our liberties and by far the most momentous Charter in our history. The fulfilment of our hopes will be mainly dependent upon our own achievement in carrying out the reforms. Let us hope that the appeal of His Majesty for co-operation will be loyally responded to alike by the officers of government and by the people and their representatives. It must be our loyal duty so to promote mutual good-will and confidence among all classes so that when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales returns to England after

inaugurating the new constitution, he may be able to report to His Majesty that his exhortation has not been in vain and that his elevating message has inspired the princes and people of India and officers of government to enthusiastic co-operation for the fulfilment of the noble destiny that lies before this land. I trust that from this day forward India will be described as a "Dominion" and not a Dependency of the Empire, and I look forward to the day when India will walk proud and erect among the nations of the earth conscious of a partnership on equal terms in the greatest Empire which the world has seen, and of a right of British citizenship which will connote equal privileges for all members in all lands over which the British flag waves proud of the glorious contributions she can make to the strength of the Empire, to the thought and culture of the world and to the moral forces that will tend to make this world a better and a happier one for all. May God grant us the wisdom and enthusiasm which with high purpose and steady effort will help us to safely accomplish the journey to the goal

Khalifat.

Although I have not mentioned the "Khalifat" question in my printed address. I beg to mention here that the Hindus have the fullest sympathy with the Mahomedans upon that matter. A resolution will be moved on this subject after discussion with the Mahomedan leaders and will be discussed at the Conference.

The Moderate Conference, Calcutta,

30th December, 1919.

The second session of the All-India Moderates' Conference met at Calcutta in the Town Hall on December 30th 1919. Sir B. C. Mitter was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer was the President. About 500 delegates collected from all over India and about an equal number of local visitors attended. The proceedings opened with Sir B. C. Mitter's welcome address after which Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea proposed Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer to be president. The President then read his address.

The Conference met next day to pass resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. "This Conference begs to convey to His Majesty the King Emperor its profound homage and sense of deep gratitude for the Proclamation of the 23rd December 1919, which opens a new era in the history of British India by inaugurating the beginnings of responsible Government. By the exercise of his Royal clemency in favour of political prisoners, by his deep sympathy with our political aspirations and by his confidence in our future, His Majesty has ensured an atmosphere of harmony and good will which is bound to contribute to the successful working of the reforms."

2. "This Conference desires to express its profound satisfaction at the announcement of the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to India next winter to inaugurate the Constitutional Reforms and to assure him of a loyal and most hearty welcome."

3. (a) This Conference desires to convey to the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu its heartfelt appreciation of the statesmanship, courage and single-minded devotion displayed by him in initiating and carrying the reform proposals and setting India firmly on the road to responsible government.

(b) This Conference desires to record its proud appreciation of the Right Honourable Lord Sinha's services to the country in his

capacity as a member of the War Cabinet, as a representative of India at the Peace Conference and in his conduct of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords.

(c) This Conference desires to thank the Joint Committee for removing several defects in the original Reform Bill and improving it.

4. "While regretting the omission to introduce some measure of responsibility in the central government, this Conference welcomes the Government of India Act of 1919 as a definite and substantial step towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. This Conference appeals to all sections of the community, European and Indian, officials and non-officials, whole-heartedly to co-operate for the successful working of the Act."

Khalifat Question.

5. Mr. C. P. Ramswami Iyer moved :—
"This Conference deeply regrets the long delay in the settlement of satisfactory peace terms with Turkey and views with grave concern any political action which may tend to affect the position or dignity of the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa or the guardian of the holy place of Islam. This Conference earnestly calls the attention of His Majesty's Government to the depth and intensity of the feelings of His Majesty's subjects on this question and strongly pleads for an early and satisfactory settlement in consultation with the allies. This Conference emphatically urges that any settlement which disregards the sentiments of the Muslem world with which it is in agreement will create widespread discontent and may be detrimental to peaceful progress. No settlement of the Turkish question can in the opinion of this Conference be satisfactory which contravenes the principles of justice and national integrity and even fails to redeem the solemn pledges made during the war."

The Press Act.

6. Rao Saheb A. P. Patro moved :—
"This Conference is opinion that the Indian Press Act should be repealed or at least that the Act should be radically revised so that no security or forfeiture should be called for except on satisfactory proof by the Government before a judicial tribunal that the liberty of the Press has been abused and that the condition entailing forfeiture or deposit of security should be so defined as not to render an application to the High Court an illusory safeguard as shown in practice."

7. "This Conference wishes to record its emphatic condemnation of the outrages committed by the mobs at several places in the Punjab and elsewhere and its deep sympathy with the victims and their families. This Conference while in no way wishing to anticipate the decision of the Hunter Committee must express its sense of profound horror and indignation at the manner in which the situation which arose in the Punjab in April and May last was dealt with by the officials concerned as disclosed in their own evidence. This Conference is of opinion that it is imperatively necessary—(1) make amends for the outraged feeling of the Indian nation and that British honour and justice should be vindicated by taking step to bring to justice any officials high or low, civil or military, who may be found to have acted unreasonably and in excess of their powers or to have authorised such acts ; (2) that reparation should be made for all serious hardships caused by unwarranted acts of severity ; (3) that safeguards should be provided against the recurrence of such things in future. This Conference authorises its All-India Committee—(1) to take such action as may be necessary on the publication of the Report of the Hunter Committee ; (2) to consider the necessity of the following safeguards among others and taking such further action as may be necessary :—(a) that the introduction, exercise and duration of martial law should be subject to the same constitutional limitations as in England ; (b) that martial law should not be introduced unless it is impossible for the civil courts to sit and exercise their functions ; (c) that the power of creating new offences for breach of regulations and providing penalties therefor should not be delegated to military officers ; (d) that if courts martial are allowed to sit when civil courts are sitting any person not subject to Naval Discipline Act or to Military law who is charged with the contravention of any Regulation should be allowed the option of a trial by the civil court ; (e) that the remedy in the nature of Habeas Corpus should be made available in all parts of British India ; (3) to further the object of the Resolution by arranging for a deputation to England or otherwise."

8. (a) This Conference strongly protests against the attempt made in South Africa to deprive the Indian Settlers of rights hitherto enjoyed by them by means of the Asiatic Trading and Land Amendment Act and by other Legislation of a similar character calculated to drive them out of the country. (b) This Conference appeals to the Imperial Government to affirm and protect the unrestricted rights of Indians to emigrate to British East Africa and the African Colonies which have been taken from Germany and

th support the Indian settlers in these Colonies and all future Indian immigrants in the unrestricted exercise of their civil, municipal and political rights."

9. "This Conference is of opinion that the punishment of flogging which was abolished in the British Army nearly 50 years ago should be immediately abolished from the Indian Army."

10. Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhicary moved a resolution urging the recognition of the claims of Indians to bear arms in the defence of their country. It was also urged to take early steps to place the defensive organisation of the country on a national basis by throwing open the King's Commissions to the Indians on a liberal scale, by throwing open to the Indians all arms of the regular defensive organisation, by taking steps for the organisation of the Territorial Army and by providing adequate military training and instructors in India to the highest standard possible.

Other Resolutions.

Resolutions urging support of Indian Boy Scout movement, the political franchise of the subjects of Indian States in British India and thanking Sir Rash Behari Ghose for his munificent gift for the cause of higher scientific education were then adopted.

Organisation of the Liberal Party.

The Chairman moved a resolution for the organisation of the Liberal Party. The resolution ran thus:—(1) The Liberal Party of India will work for the success of the constitutional reforms by following a policy of co-operation and of promoting good understanding among the different communities and interests in the country. It will aim at a higher standard of national efficiency by means of administrative reforms, a wider spread of education, improvement of public health, economic development and amelioration of the condition of the backward classes of population. The organisation of the Liberal Party shall be known as the National Liberal Federation of India and the future sessions of the All India Moderate Conference shall be designated the annual sessions of the National Liberal Federation. The work of the Federation shall be carried on between one annual session and another by a Council consisting of not more than fifteen members from each province in addition to the office bearers elected at the annual session.

The Work of the League.

The President also moved the following resolutions about the work of the League:—(1) That the Council be instructed to do all

that is necessary and possible in connection with all action that has to be taken under the Government of India Act of 1919 and reports of the Panjab Enquiry Commission and the Indian Army Commission, as well as to bring about the repeal or a radical amendment of the Indian Press Act and also the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

Deputation to England.

(2) That the Council be further instructed to organise a Deputation to proceed to England to urge before the statesmen and publicists there the views of the Conference on the aforesaid subjects and do such other work as the Council may decide.

Programme of Constructive Work

This Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that various provincial organisations of the National Liberal Federation should consider the following subjects and frame suitable programmes of constructive work in connection therewith: (1) Placing of the principles of land revenue settlements on a Legislative basis, (2) a definite programme of development of irrigation, if necessary by borrowed capital (3) development of provincial railways and reforms of present method of railway administration and of Railway tariff so far as it affects each province, (4) an immediate expansion of free elementary education with the ultimate goal of introduction of compulsory education at an early date, (5) reforms connected with elementary secondary and higher education, collegiate and technical, (6) development of agriculture and improvement of economic condition of agriculturists, (7) reform of the excise administration with a view to minimise gradually the consumption of liquor and with a view to the ultimate introduction of total prohibition, (8) development and expansion of industries and organisation of better credit for the rural classes, (9) amelioration of the condition of the backward classes, the improvement of the present condition of Labour and the housing of the poorer classes, (10) retrenchment of public expenditure and reform of the existing methods of administration with specific reference to the improvement of the district administration, (11) organisation of medical relief and sanitation.

Conference Invited to Madras

After resolutions were adopted the Conference was invited to meet next year in Madras.

The President's Concluding Remarks

The President in his concluding speech thanked them for their overwhelming kindness. He said that the year which had

opened had begun under the happiest auspices for the political future of this country. They had entered upon a new era in political life. The era could not have been heralded by a more auspicious announcement than the gracious Proclamation of His Majesty. That Proclamation had been described as the most momentous charter in the history of this land. He might further say that the charter was not simply associated with the idea of right and privileges to be conferred, but it seemed to him to partake of the character of a royal edict compatible in loftiness and inspiration to the edict of that great Emperor of India, Asoka, to be inscribed not in stone pillars but in their hearts. It also called upon them to discharge their duties, to serve the cause of the country and to practise self sacrifice. He considered the Proclamation not merely the character of a Royal Edict but that it went still further. He was not given to language of extravagance, but if they only reflected carefully and examined the language of the Proclamation he felt sure that he would be considerably justified if he said that the Proclamation would be their political Bible for a long time to come. It enunciated the principles which ought to guide them in the shaping of the destiny of their country. It contained many solemn injunctions and wise exhortations to do their duty in such a manner that they should be able to reach the goal in as short a space of time as might be possible. More than all other precepts contained in that Proclamation, he admired the appeal which His Majesty had made for co-operation and harmony, not only between all classes of his subjects but also between the people and the officials of the Government. Unless they adopted that principle of ungrudging co-operation and good will they would not be able to carry on the work before them or achieve the success which they all had at heart. In the minds of many of their people there was a deep rooted distrust of the official world whether European or Indian. It seemed to him that distrust was hardly justifiable in a large majority of cases. A great majority of the officials who took part in the administration of the country were our countrymen and let them not believe that because they were officials their interest was quite different from that of our own. He himself had the good or bad fortune to have a brief spell of office and he ventured to believe that that brief spell of office which he had in no way affected his life. On the other hand he considered that his official experience had been of the highest value to him in enabling him to take a wider outlook, to judge of things with a greater fullness of material information and enabling him to perceive that there were many other sides of the question than that which occurred to the mind of the man in the street in the first flush. He then asked them to co-operate with all, whether officials or non-

officials, who were prepared to work for the good of the country in a sincere, honest and patriotic spirit. The outlook for their party was certainly far from gloomy. He would say it was most encouraging. Temporary discomfiture or temporary lack of number need not in any way dishearten them. If they only carried out the programme chalked out, if they only took steps to strengthen their organisation, to extend, to increase their influence in all parts of the country, if they moved about with enthusiasm — it might be their enthusiasm was regulated—he had no doubt that their party was bound to succeed and to attain the ascendancy sooner or later not merely amongst the silent, but even among the local classes. Before he concluded he would like to remind the officials who would be entrusted with the duty of the carrying out the reform scheme of the wise words which was uttered by Mr. Montagu in the speech which he made upon the conclusion of the third reading of the Reforms Bill. Those officials who had to take part in the carrying out of the reforms had to remember that they had to co-operate with the people, a people whose sense of nationality was daily growing. If those wise words of exhortation which had been uttered by Mr. Montagu were borne in mind by those officials whose privilege it would be to carry out the reforms and if the appeal of His Majesty sank into the hearts of all classes of people, the president said, he had no doubt whatever that their further progress was insured.

TWELFTH SESSION

All India Muslim League

Presidential Address

**(Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Mohd). Ajmal Khan
Amritsar 30th Dec. 1919**

Members of the All-India Muslim League, Ladies and Gentlemen.

(After referring to the Delhi incidents the president said :—)

Amritsar, where we are now holding the annual gatherings of the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, has been the scene of incidents which shall ever remain indelible and ugly blots of the history of British Raj in India. But the fact that inspite of the most depressing and dispiriting happenings, the citizens of Amritsar have made it possible for the Congress and the League to hold their sessions here, calls for our admiration for these spirited patriots, and while fully appreciating their courage, perseverance, and manliness we must testify that they have, by their behaviour, furnished an ocular demonstration of the fact that Martial Law and its tyrannies are as powerless to silence the voice of Truth as they ever deserve to remain. But the responsibility for the occurrences whether of Lahore, Amritsar or Kasur must primarily be placed at the door of the Government who have so far been ruling India without the least regard for the desires of their fellow subjects, and the passage of the Rowlatt Act is a concrete illustration of that disregard. This legislation was unanimously opposed by all the elected Indian members of the Legislative Council, and every section of Indian population raised its voice against it, but the Government turned a deaf ear to all these voices out of tender regard for the fetish of prestige, making it possible for all the woeful events of Delhi and the Punjab to follow, which we and our coming generations are never likely to forget. It is not given to any common individual to appreciate the particular necessity for enacting the Rowlatt Act. It is generally asked why the legislation of the Rowlatt Act was deemed essential, while such effective weapons as the prevention of seditious meetings

Act, the Press Act and the D. I. A. were available in the armoury of repressive enactments and more especially when rightly or wrongly the proclamation of Martial Law, by means of an ordinance was fully within the limits of Government's competence. If, however, the question of prestige is alone responsible for the passage of the obnoxious legislation, then I fear the consequences of the enactment have been more deleterious to the Government's prestige than the other state of affairs might possibly have been.

Passing now from this initial blunder of the Government of India we come to the Punjab where we meet with an abundant store of mistakes. To begin with, the late Lieut. Governor of this province speaking from his privileged place in the provincial legislative council said that drastic proceedings would be taken against the opponents of the Rowlatt Bill. I am not sure how far such a threat, coming as it did from the representative of a constitutional Government, could be regarded as proper: for the entire activity in the Punjab involved in the struggle against the Rowlatt Act, was strictly within constitutional limits. The pronouncement by the Exsatrip of the minatory words referred to above was tantamount to declaring the mere protest against any legislation undertaken by the Government as criminal. One, however, does not know under what law such an offence would fall. A possible rejoinder may be that under the D. I. A. whose elasticity in obedience to the official will have become notorious, any constitutional activity of this kind may become punishable. Enthusiastic protests and demonstrations took place in other provinces as well but the heads of those provinces did not feel the necessity of resorting to minatory declamations, nor did it become necessary for them to have recourse to shooting and killing people, and delivering their provinces over to military authorities for Martial Law. It was this flagrantly misguided and repressive activity which on the 3rd and the 5th April last took the form of muzzling Drs Satyapal and Kitchlew, the two popular leaders of Amritsar. Not content with this blunder, the pace of mistaken activity was accelerated, and on the 10th of the same month these leaders were deported from Amritsar. This deportation was undertaken at a time when responsible officials fully anticipated disturbing consequences—"a fact" elicited by Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad in his cross-examination of Mr. Miles Irving, who admitted having anticipated agitation as the result of the deportation of Drs Kitchlew and Satyapal.

In view of these circumstances the responsibility for all that followed the flagrantly unwise order of deportation must necessarily be laid at the door of the authority from whom the order emanated,

particularly when we know that there existed no trace of any public excitement of the kind anticipated, previous to the blunder. A Hartal followed as an inevitable result, but according to Mr. Jarman, the Municipal Engineer of Amritsar, there were no signs of disorder notwithstanding the cessation of business. In fact, Mr. Miles Irving himself admits in his statement that previous to the firing at the bridge, the crowd did not seem disposed to rioting but wanted to make a representation to the head of the district for the restoration of the deported leaders. So far from there being any testimony in the official evidence to the crowd's disorderly tendency, the facts that the crowd passed Europeans and Government buildings on its way to the D. C.'s bungalow without signifying any inclination to interfere with them, their desire to petition the D. C. for the restoration of their leaders, their not being in possession of sticks or lathis at the time are evident proofs of their peaceful disposition. But the atrocity of opening fire on them was perpetrated in spite of all this which resulted in the regrettable occurrences at the railway station, the banks and other places involving the loss of European lives (which I deplore as deeply as any other man) and once again the Deputy Commissioner had recourse to firing. All was quiet from the 10th to the 12th.

The next day was the well-known 'Baisakhi' festival and a considerable assemblage of men took place in the Jallianwalla Bagh which was gallantly and courageously attacked by General Dyer, who had previous to reaching the spot decided to open fire on them. In his evidence before the Hunter Committee, he proudly boasted that he "fired and fired well" for "little firing" was, in his opinion, "bad." He further admitted that he had made no medical arrangements for the wounded, as all the hospitals were open to them. Finally, replying to Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan he affirmed that there was no difference between mere civil disorder and rebellion. It is to be profoundly deplored that the lives of His Majesty's subjects are entrusted to the care of men, who are capable of boastfully proclaiming that they "fired and fired well," who are ignorant of the difference between the menial offence of ordinarily riotous disorder and the heinous crime of rebellion, and who are incapable of realising that the wounded cannot attend hospitals without somebody's aid. The Commander-in-Chief may profitably open some institutions for teaching such men the difference between ordinary disorders and grave rebellions, the common sense about the inability of the wounded to walk to the hospitals without any help and finally to instruct them in the elementary principles of humanity which require that human life should be treated as valuable and should not

be taken without the profoundest consideration. For a member of a fair and democratic people to have the wantonness to set his heart on firing on fellow beings without taking adequate thought, is a revoltingly execrable atrocity. It deserves to be mentioned with poignant anguish that Indian blood was recklessly made to flow in Jallianwala, with the outrageous result that so far over 500 dead have been traced. In reply to the Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya's interpellation in the Council, official admission went up to 390, but Amritsar's Deputy Commissioner's evidence has unmasked the reality in the amusing statement admitting the number of person killed as 3, 4, or 5 hundred—the uncertainty of hundreds deserves marked attention. This figure has been corroborated by General Dyer himself who admitted having fired 1650 rounds which according to him may have killed 400 to 500 men. This firing becomes all the more indefensible and deplorable when we are told that it was quite possible to disperse the crowd in Jallianwala without recourse to firing, as admitted by General Dyer in the course of his cross-examination. Another matter which deserves to be specially mentioned is the operation of Martial Law before it had been actually proclaimed on the night between the 15th, and the 16th, April last. On the 15th April the administrative control of the District was delivered up to General Dyer, and punishments and orders began to emanate from him. One is, however, left wondering what legal sanction these proceedings had behind them! Do these evidently unconstitutional proceedings resulting as they did in the loss of more than 500 lives of His Majesty's subjects, not entitle one to expect that at least the persons who are directly liable for these deeds of violence will receive the punishment which they richly deserve?

Who can forget the outrageous crawling order of General Dyer, by which human beings were compelled, under pain of punishment, to degrade themselves to the level of animals, and who can ever forget infamous floggings? Did not this very General assert in the course of his examination by the Hunter Committee, that India was the "land of Salaams," where Indians "understood and ought to understand Salaaming." Indians owe it to the honour of their country now to fully grasp the lesson of this assertion and to demonstrate, by their behavior in future what they have learnt by it. Amritsar occurrences reacted on Lahore and elsewhere in the Punjab, and a wave of indignation, caused by these wrongs, swept over the province. The Hartal of the 6th April last peacefully passed off at Lahore, but the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, effected under orders of the ex-satrap of the Punjab, soon had

its effect on the people of Lahore, who assembled in a large crowd to go to the Government House with the object of appealing to the L. G. for the cancellation of his order. This crowd was stopped on the mall and turned back and it is stated that the crowd was first fired on while returning and again, while it was nearing the Lahori Gate. On the 11th people were busy with the obsequies of the dead and on the 13th they held a meeting in the Badashi Mosque to express their sorrow. Some people, however, stripped and burnt the clothes of a C. I. D. officer, which at all events, was a regrettable act. As the people came out of the mosque on the termination of the meeting, they were fired on by the military at some neighbouring place. Then came the arrests of some of the well-known and able leaders of the people such as Lala Harkishan Lal, Pandit Ram Bhuj Dutt, Mr. Duni Chand, Bar-at-Law, and others, who could under no circumstances be suspected of countenancing any kind of disorder, and who had made every possible effort to maintain peace and order in the town. But we are all painfully familiar with the treatment they received in return for their civic labours and I advisedly refrain from dilating on this painful topic.

It seems that the late Lieut. Governor, Sir Michael O'Dower, desired to benefit not only his own province by his "Nadirshahi" reign but wanted to extend its blessing to other parts of India as well. He had proposed to penalize "the Independent" newspaper from his seat in Lahore, but the Government of the United Provinces did not prove amenable to the wisdom of undertaking the duty of carrying out each and every whim of his late Honour. It is, however, regrettable that this newspaper's office could not escape the distinction of a police search. It is understood that he was also instigating the Delhi authorities to proclaim Martial Law and desired to have other provinces in the same boat with his "Satrapy", so that it might evade being marked out as a solitary example, but he failed to achieve his end. He had Mr. Goverdhan Das arrested in the Madras Presidency solely on the ground that the latter had dared to furnish a correct account of all the events of the Punjab and its ruler to the press, also that the wires which Pt. Rambhujdutt could not, on account of his arrest, send to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy were despatched by him. He was ultimately prosecuted and has not yet been restored to us. All the occurrences of the Punjab were almost wholly due to reactionery methods. Had wiser counsels prevailed, there is ample reason to believe that not a single life would have been lost. If fire had not been opened on the unarmed crowd, in Amritsar, if Mr. Gandhi had not been arrested

and if the advice of the leaders had been listened to, it can be stated without fear of contradiction that, so far as the Punjab was concerned, no untoward incident would have taken place.

The late Lieut. Governor did not content himself with proclaiming martial Law in some cities, but gave a "carte blanche" to men of such pronounced 'competence' as General Dyer, in Amritsar, and Col. Frank Johnson, in Lahore. The latter, in his evidence before the Hunter Committee, has said that 277 persons were tried by the Summary Courts, out of whom 207 were convicted and 66 were whipped, the total number of stripes amounting to 800. The latter figure included men who were publicly flogged. The Colonel has also opined if not in so many words, that this method of punishment was full of the milk of human kindness. Further, he is responsible for the statement that the people liked the Martial Law and were grateful to him for maintaining peace and order. It seems that the people who manifested such remarkable admiration for Martial Law were not lucky enough to have a taste of the punishment which was brimful of kindness, otherwise they would have been less eager to express their partiality for such a "regime." He has further stated that on the 10th when fire was opened on a crowd of about eight thousand men on the Mall, it resulted in the loss of one human life and five or six wounded, which was due to the fact that the firing of the Police force was very much below third class. It is a pity that none of the members of the Hunter Committee appears to have asked the gallant Colonel what in his opinion would have been the result of firing by one, who had hardly ever shouldered a gun, on a crowd of eight thousand. The only answer according to Frank Johnsonian logic could be that none would have been injured at all. It is noteworthy that Col. Frank Johnson likes the jails immensely, and seems to regard them as unusually comfortable. If jail is really the place of such comforts it would have been the most proper thing for the Colonel to send there those of his admirers who expressed their deep appreciation of the Martial Law.

Lieut. Col. Frank Johnson, who holds a high rank in the army, and who can unmistakably be considered an expert in military matters, has further observed that "whipping is equal to a thousand soldiers" in military equation, of course. Col. Johnson should certainly be sent to the front on some future occasion, so that in an actual engagement he may by dispersing with soldiers, prove the striking effectiveness of the weapon he has discovered—alas, at the conclusion of the late war—and vanquish the enemy with "its" aid. The credit of the discovery must ever belong to this renowned and

gallant soldier. Later on, he has also deposed that the order to shoot any person who stood in the way of opening shops emanated from him, and again he has affirmed that as peace in the city depend upon the cessation of the Hartal, no punishment could be too severe. It is alleged that the Martial Law notice which was posted on the Sanatan Dharm College building was torn down by some unknown person and led the Col. to detain the five hundred men belonging to the College, who were made to march long distances in the heat of summer. They were let go after two days' detention. On this point, Sir C. Sitalvad asked him if he considered it the proper discharge of his duty to march five hundred students to the fort under the burning sun of Lahore, and the reply of the merciful and justice-loving Colonel was that he was prepared to do it again, if necessary. We learn from this gallant officer that he was responsible for punishing one thousand and eleven students. These punishments are in addition to those inflicted by the Police. In answer to a question on this point the chivalrous Colonel is reported to have stated that information was received that many students were insulting English women and that was why he looked upon his orders, which were undoubtedly severe, as right and just, and he would continue to hold that opinion. It is a pity no one asked him on which dates after the 10th. European women were seen out, and who were the boys complained against. Is it not deeply regrettable that on the strength of baseless and absurd rumours or predelictions, poor students were subjected to the subtle torture which are truly barbarous, and shall ever continue to be regarded so.

He admitted his responsibility for a ridiculous order, before the Hunter Committee, according to which no two "natives" could walk abreast in front of an European, lest the latter should be provoked to commit a breach of the King's peace.

And again, I feel a certain commiseration for this colonel, within whom burnt the fire of conscience with a steady flame, when he confesses his weakness in having punished a Magistrate for interfering with a marriage procession and having the offenders, including a priest, flogged. The reason why I feel compassion for the Colonel is that in my opinion this order of the Magistrate did nothing to offend against justice, but perhaps necessity and expediency required it, for it brought out the real character of the likely ends which came within the operation of Martial Law. If two "natives" could not walk together in front of an European lest the latter should be provoked to commit a breach of peace, in the case of a marriage procession the fear of a graver disturbance would be thoroughly justified.

In this instance, by arresting a marriage party which was supposed to be defying the Martial Law, in so far as it carried with it the potentialities of a breach of the peace, and flogging it, the one beneficial result which followed was that the whole city came to know of the incident and the Colonel was saved the inconvenience of administering this punishment to others, as the example must have terrorised the whole city. I am, therefore, truly grieved that Col. Johnson during his "strong administration," betrayed the weakness, induced by qualms of conscience, of dismissing a Magistrate who, keeping the maintenance of peace and order in view, had, all in a bona fide way, ordered this supremely merciful and sublimely kind mode of chastisement. I wonder if this Magistrate would care to bring the matter to the notice of Sir Michael O'Dower (for it was during his Ex-Honour's term of office that an honest maintainer of peace was so unjustly treated; and prefer Colonel's order of dismissal! It would be unjust to overlook the incident of the Badan appeal against the noble and gallant shahi Mosque and the closing of its doors upon Mohammadan Mosquegoers, for it constitutes the most illustrious episode of the O'Dwyrian rule, never likely to be efaced from our memories. It would be an act of folly for the Mussalmans to complain against this outrage. They should see it for themselves that it was here that a C.I.D. Officer was stripped of his clothes, and the only merciful punishment for so wanton a disregard of the all too fine susceptibilities of the department could be the closing of the Mosque altogether for the time being. If it had remained open and the same incident had been repeated the consequences for the Musalmans would have been indeed very grave. It was also possible that the people might congregate there on the pretext of saying prayers but really to conspire against the Govt. and, then, Col. Johnson or the civil authorities, would have been obliged to adopt severe measures. Moreover, the Mussalmans should remember that if the Colonel closed the Langar Khana, meant for distributing food among the poor and the hungry, because "rebellion also could be promoted there" (against which grave contingency the city had to be guarded), the closing of the mosque must have been dictated by tender regard for the benefit of the Mohammedans themselves. It was apparent that their not congregating there for prayers would insure them against the catastrophe, resulting from fanning the flame of rebellion. This mosque may have been closed on another possible ground. On the 12th when a number of Mussalmans were returning from it, the Colonel's guard was attacked in the rear (the Colonel is silent as to how and with what weapon) and perhaps

an accidental but vigorous dead-set was made at the Col. himself with the help of a big or trifling brickbat. Placed in such a helpless situation, if the Col. ordered firing and some lives were lost, the matter should not assume the magnitude of a complaint; for according to the recently propounded principle already referred to while dealing with the evidence produced before the Hunter Committee in Delhi only "a trifling number of men were killed to save a large number from decimation. If the Colonel had refrained from firing, it was quite within the pale of possibility that the centre of the army would have been rushed, which would have led to more deaths among the crowd than actually took place on the 12th.

He also had 4 aeroplanes to hover over the city which was an act of foresight. For, endowed with a rare genius, this war-lord anticipated, that if the citizens threw bombs the lives of his soldiers would be lost in vain and to provide against such a contingency he had kept two aeroplanes in readiness to go up at once at a given signal and drop bombs on the city. This wisdom-propelled precaution achieved a remarkable end, namely, that the citizens were (according to the perverse imagination of the gallant Colonel) prevented from using their hand grenades and the Colonel's army through his foresight and God's grace, remained intact and quite safe.

Kasur.

After describing the incidents at Lahore we come to Kasur. The following is a bare statement of facts gathered from the evidence of official witness who appeared before the Hunter Committee :—

On the 11th. April last, a public meeting was held at Kasur, at which speeches were delivered about the Rowlatt Act.

—A Hartal followed the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and continued till the 12th.

On the 12th a procession of people carrying black flags proceeded towards the station, when according to the evidence of Mr. P. Marsden, the Subdivisional officer, the leaders declared that the British Raj had come to an end. The people attacked the railway station, godown goods, waggons, and passenger trains, and looted all the cash which they found there. Similar incidents took place at Khan Karan and the station was damaged at Patti.

At the Kasur Railway station a train was stopped. Two soldiers who were travelling on this train fired one or two shots on the crowd, after which they were attacked and killed. The crowd

was shouting that two of their men had been killed (which meant that they meant to avenge their death).

On the same day, three hundred Indian and fifty British soldiers reached Kasur, under the command of Captain Macray, and on the 16th April he declared Martial Law before a public meeting held at the Town Hall.

The total number of arrests made was 172, out of which fifty-one persons were convicted, and the rest were discharged or acquitted.

In addition to these, two persons were shot by the sentry, because they failed to reply when challenged, and one of them was a deaf mute !

During this period the people were subjected to various punishments which must be mentioned :—

A cage was put up in which people were imprisoned, and they were obliged to answer the calls of nature where they were.

Some persons were made to draw lines on the ground with their nose, as vouched by some reliable persons.

But the military officer, responsible for this punishment, stated, that he did not make such an order, but had only ordered men to prostrate themselves on the ground which was a form of Salaaming.

The Head Master of a high school, and an aged man were flogged.

On the 3rd May a public gallows was erected but was subsequently removed by the order of the Punjab Govt.

The Head Master of the Municipal Board School complained that the boys disobeyed his orders. He was, therefore, asked to send any three boys for punishment. As the three boys sent by the Head Master were physically weak, a second order was sent to him to furnish three robust boys who were selected and sent and were punished for the misfortune of being physically strong.

The Head Master of the Islamia School had made no complaint against his boys but three lads from this school too were similarly punished.

The entire male population of Kasur, numbering some eight to ten thousand, were summoned for identification several times, and were ordered to bare their heads.

The police searched the houses of eight pleaders, and arrested several others, including those who had helped the Government to maintain peace and order. Mr. Dhanpat Rai, pleader, was arrested without any evidence of any kind against him.

Persons were flogged before prostitutes, who were collected to witness the punishment.

Forty persons were flogged, each receiving 18 stripes on an average, and some students were publicly flogged.

From twenty to twenty-five persons were given the fancy punishment of "skipping," which was said to be good for their health.

A poet who had been arrested was asked by Capt Doveton, the Martial Law administrator, to write an ode in his honour and was released in reward for it.

How can one characterise these punishments except as being a leaf out of mediaeval history. In the present age inflicting such punishments and proudly boasting about them can only come of individuals wholly devoid of human attributes.

Gujranwala.

The occurrences of Gujranwala were still worse. Here the unarmed civil populace was bombed from aeroplanes for the first, and let us hope, for the last time in India.

On the 6th April, hartal was observed. But previous to this, on the 5th April, a public meeting was convened at which people were enjoined to observe Hartal, in speeches, which according to Colonel O'Brien incited the people to acts of lawlessness. On the 14th April, a disturbance took place, as described in official evidence which led to the burning of the station, the cutting of telegraph wires and damage to the court buildings. Government property and railway station were partially damaged in fourteen places other than Gujranwala. Some Europeans were also assaulted at some of these places. But the most heinous crime alleged to have been committed at Ramnagar was the burning of the King's effigy after which some people went to bathe in the river.

On the 14th aeroplanes were sent to Gujranwala where six bombs were thrown. But the damage done by two of these bombs is stated to be six killed and six injured. Colonel O'Brien's evidence is silent about the damage done by the four remaining bombs. He has given the total number of casualties as twenty-seven, including eleven killed, which figure appears astonishingly small, in view of the frequent bombing and machine gunning from the aeroplanes.

Colonel O'Brien then goes on to say that at 11, the same morning the police fired on the people, for the first time when Mr. Heron was assaulted. On the second occasion, a crowd crossing the railway line was fired on, without any reason after which wherever people collected, they were fired on. It does

not require very hard thinking to come to the conclusion that the gallant colonel's memory has played him false in regard to the number of casualties. It is, one might observe with regret, the inferior shooting by the police, which deprived certain persons of the satisfaction of doing justice to Gujranwala.

Colonel O'Brien asserted that order could be restored only with the help of the army, and Martial Law would not have been necessary if Summary Courts had been established. However, according to Col. Macray everything emanated from the Punjab Government, of whose will the District authorities were mere instruments.

A catalogue of all the wrongs committed before or after the announcement of Martial Law, would be rather prolix, but a few concrete illustrations would not be out of place. Enumerated thus are :—

- (1) Flogging publicly,
- (2) Refusal to admit people to bail.
- (3) The arrest of persons, on information supplied by the Police, without due inquiry.
- (4) Handcuffing and marching those under arrest, a distance of two miles through the Bazar, preceded by two Municipal Commissioners, one Hindu and one Mussalman, (most probably to ridicule Hindu-Muslim unity.)
- (5) Sending twenty-three arrested persons of Lahore by cattle trucks, and marching them through the bazars of Lahore.
- (6) Punishing a police sergeant for failing to give evidence as directed.

Gentlemen, this is a brief but deeply sad tale of the inhuman reaction of which the fair Province of Punjab has been the victim. I have refrained from dwelling on all the atrocities in detail for the obvious reason that you yourselves are fully familiar with them.

Conclusion Regarding Delhi and the Punjab.

I have, after carefully weighing all the circumstances, arrived at the conclusion that the Delhi and Punjab occurrences were due to a series of blunders. I see behind all these happenings one mistake after another, like those committed by a physician, who causes endless harm to the patient, by failing to diagnose the disease. Had not the Rowlatt Act been passed in the teeth of the opposition referred to, not the smallest event of an untoward nature would have taken place in Delhi or the Punjab! The enactment of this legislation brought the Satyagraha movement into existence, which was considered the last remedy. It was not translated into

practice in Delhi, but the better part of the country regarded it as an acceptable idea. As I have already said, not a drop of blood would have been shed in Delhi, if better counsels had prevailed. The Chief Commissioner certainly acted with patience, and largely helped to save the situation, but all that occurred in Delhi is traceable to the mistakes of other officials. Had no firing taken place at the Railway Station as none took place in the King Edward Park, the situation would have been peacefully overcome.

Coming to the Punjab, the Amritsar happenings clearly show that the initial blunder consisted in the muzzling and deportation orders, served on Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew, which emanated direct from Lahore, without previous consultation, with the "man on the spot," who had every right of being entrusted with the sole responsibility of keeping order in this district, to be consulted in respect to so delicate a matter. This led to all the sad occurrences which followed. I have a right to ask any right-minded person, if in his opinion any of the gruesome events we all know, and which have been referred to above, would have come to pass, if the initial blunder had not been perpetrated? Similarly, but for Mr. Gandhi's arrest at Palwal, and firing on the crowd at Lahore there was no fear of any untoward event at Lahore. The crowd could easily be dispersed by other means as represented by the leaders to the authorities at the time. The occurrences of Kasur and Gujranwala too, arose out of like blunders, otherwise the demonstrations would have ceased in a short time, as generally happened everywhere.

Lord Hunter's Committee.

The Disorders Enquiry Committee was appointed in response to India's constant demand for a searching inquiry into these occurrences. It commenced its work in November, at Delhi, regarding the Delhi and the Punjab occurrences. We have no right to pronounce any premature judgment and must patiently await its Report. Although our bitter experience of such committees in the past has been abundantly depressing, we must "wait and see" and refrain from expressing any opinion. Considering the fact that the findings of the Hunter Committee will, at most, have a moral effect, we cannot have any very high expectation of it nor can we fail to observe the more or less inconsequential nature of its labours, for has not the Indemnity Act taken the wind out of its sails, by guaranteeing impunity to officials whose appalling infractions would, in a court of law, have assumed the magnitude of grave crimes? This Act also covers the mistakes committed

previous to the operation of Martial Law, and goes as far back as the 30th March last. It is therefore not a matter for wonder that delinquent officials are encouraged to confess their crimes with unseemly audacity, for they feel that they have a right to say and do worse things.

The Non-Official Committee.

As borne out by the procedure adopted at Delhi, it was not originally intended by the Congress Committee to boycott the Hunter Committee. But their modest request for the enlargement of certain Panjab leaders (who are suffering incarceration for no crime other than that of being leaders), with a view to secure the best non-official evidence, was rejected, and they were constrained in the last resort, regretfully, to decide that they should refrain from leading any evidence before the Hunter Committee, but produce the same before the non-official committee, which is also doing its work. The non-official report will, no doubt, present the other side of the picture in bright colours. I am of opinion that General Dyer, Colonel Frank Johnson and some others have greatly lightened the task of the non-official committee. In fact, India may be fully content with reprinting the statements of those witnesses and circulating them widely in England to bring home to the British the real nature of the share of some of their able representatives in ruling India, and also to let them have an idea of the value and worth these men attach to Indian lives. There is however a good deal of work before this Committee, and we hope it will take early steps to publish both in India and England the evidence it has collected.

Result of Repression.

It is India's misfortune that the men at the helm of her affairs, seem to be actuated with the belief that the central principle of Government must ever be repression.

Although the evidence daily accumulating drives one to the conclusion that repression ever leaves a vigorous dynamic force in its wake, yet our Government prefers to adhere to its antiquated political creed, its daily increasing deleterious results notwithstanding.

If Lord Curzon laid India under a debt of gratitude by the partition of Bengal, Sir Michael O'Dower has done nothing less, by his *Nadirshahi* rule in the Panjab, and of which we shall soon begin to be conscious. Sir Michael will have occasion to be proud of his achievement, if political activity is snuffed out in the Punjab.

But, if the real political life of the province begins after his strenuous efforts to stamp it out, the ex-satrap will have occasion to realise the magnitude of his blunder. He will then realise that the bitter poison he ministered to the Panjab, actually proved the elixir of life to her.

The Reforms.

The forthcoming Reforms will, no doubt, go a certain length to affect the anti-diluvian nature of the existing constitution. But, so long as India's share in the Central Government is not of a really satisfactory nature, we cannot hope to have seen the last of the massacre of Jallianwala and the bombing of Gujranwala. We have not the least doubt about the good intentions of the Right Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, who, we fully realise, has not merely taken endless pains to achieve the successful conclusion of his efforts in regard to the reform scheme, but has evinced great perseverance and statesmanship, in winning the goal in spite of the reactionary efforts of certain parties. He has established his claim to be regarded a true well-wisher and benefactor of India. But, we cannot help observing that these reforms fall short even of the minimum demand of India.

Judging the recommendations of the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons relating to the central Government, in the light of the announcement of the 20th August 17, we are constrained to say that they do not fulfil the promise vouchsafed to us. Nor can it be said that increasing the number of Indian members of the Central Executive Council means the devolution of responsibility in the real sense. Such effect as it may possibly have must needs be confined to the moral sphere. It is, however, satisfactory to note that the Joint Committee has rejected the Grand Committee, and recommended the constitution of the Council of State as a true revising chamber, which seems to be free from the defects of the former and curtails our apprehensions. The Joint Committee has offered useful counsel with regard to the selection of the President of the Indian Legislature. It is rightly advised that great deliberation should be exercised in selecting for this office one who apart from being a man of acknowledged ability should also possess experience of Parliamentary principles and procedure. Provincial Governors are invested with power to dismiss ministers, which, in other words, means that the ministers will be subject to the executive pressure which may prove an impediment in the way of the realisation of legitimate and beneficial aims which they may have in view. It will also give rise to a belief in the country

that the possibility of the Indians availing themselves of the modest share allowed to them in the Provincial Councils has been curtailed to a certain extent in this way. Then, who does not know that Bombay, Bengal, and Madras, are the advanced provinces of India, and they are certainly ahead of certain other Provinces in the fields of Education, Commerce and Political activity? Would it not evoke their resentment when they find that they get nothing more than Commerce, Industry and Education in "transferred subjects", although they are, without the least doubt, entitled to much more. To allow provincial legislatures responsible control over commerce, industry and less important subjects, is decidedly a disappointment for India. When we realise that we have no "fiscal autonomy" which is the essence of our demands regarding economic control, without which commerce and industry must needs remain in a static and lifeless condition, we can hardly entertain any hope of developing our commerce and industry. With reference to the subject of education, no opinion can be formed regarding some of the reservations hinted at in the Joint Committee's Report, until they are before us in definite form. But I hope, as authoritatively stated in reliable circles, Education will be a completely "transferred subject." A good step seems to have been taken in respect to the question of franchise. The Joint Committee has liberalised the principle of franchise by recognising the demands of the depressed classes. But, Indian leaders are unable to understand why the rulers and subjects of native states are put on the same footing as British Indian subjects, in regard to the right of "vote" and "election"; and it is difficult for them to extend a warm welcome to this innovation. The Joint Committee does not appear generous in not applying the principle of enfranchisement to women as a whole, although its adoption is left to the choice of different provinces. It can, however, be safely asserted that the right has not been altogether overlooked. It would have been advisable to select some provinces for the operation of the right after it had been even partially recognised by the Joint Committee.

It would be a great injustice to declare those convicted for more than 6 months as ineligible for election for 5 years. Unless a reservation is made in favour of those who are convicted of offences relating to the State, such as S. 124 A, we will be deprived of some of the best men of our country, who have been the victims (from time to time) of executive blunders.

I regret to say that the Bill fixes the period of our political schooling at ten years, which, compared with other courses of

instruction, appears to be long and tedious, especially because we are left in a state of uncertainty. At the conclusion of this period, supposing the Parliamentary Committee does no more than make immaterial recommendations, at the end of ten years, it would not be possible to predict the number of decades for which India may have to wait for the attainment of complete Self Government. This uncertainty could be disposed of, by adhering to the Congress-League Scheme. Unless there is a definite promise that India will get Self Government within 15 or 20 years, it is futile to expect India for ever to continue to value the modest gift of the Reform Scheme. The appointment of a Parliamentary Standing Committee for advising the Government on important Indian matters is satisfactory in as much as it promises to rescue India from the cold indifference which has been her lot so far. It signifies that a welcome beginning of the process of realising India's importance is being made. It is now essential for India to have a permanent organisation in London to co-operate with the Parliamentary Committee when necessary, and to place Indian aspirations before Britain more prominently. It would be quite appropriate to entrust this task to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and the London Branch of the Muslim League, but it is necessary to consider the ways of making them more useful. At present it will be our duty to devote special attention to the rules which are going to be appended to the Reform Act. If we fail to devote to this task the time which it deserves, the few benefits now accruing to us may also dwindle. However, looking at the Reforms as a whole, we should welcome them as the first stone of the foundation of Self Government. We must not allow the occurrences of the Panjab, and the question of Turkey to prevent us from taking that interest in them which as Indians is our duty to do. Although we are not likely to forget the deep agony caused by the occurrences of the Panjab and the events relating to the Holy Places, Khilafat and Turkey, we should, while continuing our constitutional struggle, make a united effort to make the Reforms successful, as on that well depend our future development.

Hindu Muslim-Unity.

The secret of the success, not merely of the Reform Scheme, but of all the work which is being done by Indians in India and abroad, lies in Hindu Muslim unity. There is no need to look back, as both these communities have fully realised it now, that unity alone can be the firm foundation of India's real improvement and future progress. Although war is rightly regarded a calamity, the share

the world war (now happily ended) has had in forging the links of unity between these two great communities, entitles us to say that the war has bequeathed to India a legacy which is likely to prove the key to the success of the national self-realisation of India. I must, however, confess that there are certain matters which at times come in the way of the full realisation of this blessing. Those who are inspired by a genuine desire to serve their country cannot be affected by any differences of race or creed, which are the same to-day as they were before. Hindu-Muslim relations, however, appear to be infinitely more satisfactory than they have been in past years. The question of Government appointments is no longer capable of engaging our attention to any appreciable degree, and although political rights were the subject of much controversy between them before, the Congress League compact of 1916 went a very long way to settle that matter. Such other matters as the League and the Congress may still require to have an understanding about, will I am sure, be easily settled between them on some appropriate occasion.

Preservation of Cows.

I shall, therefore, address myself to the one question, which has an importance quite its own, and which is none other than the preservation of cows. We have, for some time past, been indulging in indirect allusions and vague hints and to my mind it is high time that this question was dealt with in clear and specific terms with a view to reaching a satisfactory conclusion. Some of the methods which some of our Hindu brethren, have at times permitted themselves to adopt for the attainment of their object have, in certain instances, undoubtedly proved highly objectionable, and naturally tending to defeat the very purpose aimed at. But to-day, when both Hindus and Muslims are marching together through a new era, when various differences are gradually, but surely, being transformed into varied phases of unity, the possibility of the resumption of such fruitless efforts is becoming remote. In fact, we are now inspired by that spirit of patriotism which is sure to prove the key to the solution, not merely of the question of the preservation of cows, but also to the final settlement of all other differences. When two sections began to co-operate in a spirit of loving comradeship, sharing one another's burdens, the inevitable result follows and their differences passing through various phases of mutual toleration finally merge in community of interest with circumstances referred to, and the very differences are transformed into the surest basis of united endeavours.

Our Hindu compatriots have for some time past, been making genuine efforts to meet us more than half way, and deserve our sincerest gratitude for their good will. It is indeed, a testimony to their keen realisation of the needs of nation building. It, therefore behoves us, as inheritors of a noble creed, to reciprocate their amiable regard with greater warmth and good will to demonstrate that our faith teaches us that every good act deserves a better return. Our Hindu brethren enthusiastically and spontaneously observed the Khilafat day with us and in closing their business to share our sorrow they evinced remarkably large sympathies. They cheerfully bore great commercial loss only to prove their sincere regard for our sentiments in regard to a matter which was exclusively religious, and could claim their interest in no other way. Can these sincere demonstrations of friendly regard and good will go for nothing? Most certainly not; nor can they possibly fail to evoke the deserving responses from a people not dead to all noble feelings. Again, what but the promotion of commendable reciprocity and co-operation in exclusive religious matters can be a surer guarantee of India's future welfare and progress? Indeed this is the only point on which we are without the least hesitancy unanimously agreed. The matter which is entirely for Muslims to decide, is what practical step they are going to take to demonstrate their appreciation of this principle, to reassure Hindu brethren. Not a soul among Mussalmans would hesitate to vouchsafe the necessary assurance. In fact, they should enthusiastically respond to such a call, and do whatever they legitimately can, to consummate such an object. They should, in so far as it lies in their power refrain from acts calculated to wound the susceptibilities of their compatriots.

We are, and should be, fully cognisant of the fact that cow killing seriously annoys our fellow-countrymen. But before holding out any assurance to them, we must first see in what light our religion views this question. We must also determine the extent in which "Qurbani" is enjoined upon us—irrespective, of course, of the slaughter of cows. According to Islam, "Qurbani" or sacrificial offering is only a Sunati-Muwakkidah a practice observed by the prophet and emphatically enjoined on his followers) which Mussalmans, as Mussalmans, so long as they can afford it, must observe. Now, it is a matter of choice to fulfil this observance by sacrificing camels, sheep, goat or cow, which simply means that any of these animals can be fit offerings. Crores of Indian Muslims must be strangers to the slaughter of camel, for the fulfilment of this observance, but none of them can possibly be accused of the slightest religious omission. On the contrary, Mussalmans of Arabia, Syria, Egypt,

Tripoli and Asiatic Turkey have been faithful to this observance without ever having slaughtered a cow, and I am confident no erudite Mufti can maintain that these Mussalmans have failed to observe the Sunnat (practice of the Prophet) or have been guilty of any religious shortcoming. If any Musalman dares to call a religiously legitimate act illegitimate, he certainly commits a sin. I consider it appropriate at this stage to recount some of the *ahadisee* (religious traditions) according to which the sacrifice of animals other than the cow is entitled to preference. For instance, *Ummat-i Salimah* (the holy Prophet's venerable wife) says that the Prophet once observed "if any of you see the crescent heralding the month of *Zil Hijjah* and desired to sacrifice a goat...." which obviously indicates that the tradition Arabs were in the habit of sacrificing goats. According to another our prophet said that of all sacrificial animals sheep was preferable; if we reserve sheep alone for the offering we will be complying with this tradition. However I would refrain from expatiating on the religious aspect of this subject as, properly speaking, it relates to the domain of the doctors of theology. If having regard to all these circumstances, Mussalmans devoted their attention to this subject, of their own accord, and elected to sacrifice animals other than the cow they would have the proud privilege of being regarded the first to take the initial step towards ensuring the internal peace of the country, and they would also, in this way, be repaying the debt of gratitude, under which they have recently been laid by their Hindu compatriots. I earnestly appeal to my Muslim brothers, to consider calmly, what I have said about this question, and if they arrive at the conclusion at which I have arrived, it will be up to them to show what value they attach to the great principle of unity and what practical response they are ready to make (with particular reference to religious susceptibilities) to the forward step already taken by the Hindus in the direction of that goal. If I am asked to specify the practical step to be taken in this direction, I would recommend that the residents of Kashi, Ajudhia, Muthra and Bindraban (the sacred places of the Hindus) should begin the operation of the principle enunciated above, and efforts should be simultaneously directed to the propagation of the same idea in other places. I must confess that it is a question which belongs to the vast and heterogeneous population of seven crore Musalmans scattered all over India, and our efforts will take to bear fruit but this consideration should not discourage us from making an immediate beginning. I am also of opinion, that unless some organized institution is entrusted with the

propaganda, we must despair of any practical achievement in this respect. The Muslim League, of all the institutions, is by far the most suited for this purpose, and I hope it will offer itself for the sacred work, and perform it with the wisdom and zeal which it deserves. I also hope the Muslim League will receive adequate and willing co-operation from the zealous members of the Khilafat Committees. In the first place, I trust that my views on this subject will evoke no adverse criticism from any quarter, but in view of the fact that the Muslim community like all other communities of the world, is composed of men of varied ways of thinking, I shall not mind any onslaught, for I am conscious that my humble suggestions spring from the depth of honesty and sincerity and are not from any motive to please or annoy anyone.

The Ottoman Empire, Khilafat and the Holy Places.

Gentlemen, I now propose to deal with the question, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Although, Indian Muslims have expressed their views fairly and fully on various occasions, it is my special privilege and duty, as the President of the League, to survey the entire question of the Khilafat, the Holy Places and the Ottoman Empire. In order to let the responsible ministers and the people of Great Britain have the occasion to realise the real bearings and importance of this question, we must clearly state the truth regarding the relations existing between Turkey and the Mussalmans of the world and the Indian Muslims. Islam is not merely a faith, but a system which knows no colour nor race. It teaches its followers the wholesome lesson of muslim brotherhood, which secures for every proselyte, hailing from England America or Africa, that equality of treatment, which is the imperishable heritage of Mussalmans. The ordering of such a peerless Socio-religious system creates inviolable bonds between one Muslim and another. It is not a mere collection of ritual and other religious observances, but is so deeply rooted in organic ethics that any attempt to detach it from politics would amount to laying the foundation of a system wholly unlike it. According to our faith, the Prophet of Arabia, who is an example of perfection to all, presented this system as an ideal for the world, and when Providence, in His boundless Wisdom, took him away from us at the conclusion of his spiritual mission, his worthy successors worked for the success of his teaching in a manner to which the chronicles written by friends and foes, and the vastness of the circle of the followers of Islam, bear adequate witness. I, however, do not feel the necessity of tracing the entire origin and

development of Khilafat at this stage; for, the curious can find ample material in books of history. I shall content myself with affirming that to-day it is the descendants of Osman the great (the Ottomans), who by common acceptance are invested with the responsibility of Khilafat (spiritual sovereignty), and on account of which the entire population of the Muslim world have, ever since the day Khilafat devolved on Ottoman sovereigns, owed them that spiritual allegiance which has manifested itself to day in the acute unrest among Mussalmans all the world over. The Ottoman Sovereigns have for a long time been the custodians of the Holy Places of Islam, protecting them against non-muslim usurpation. It is, therefore, only natural for Mussalmans to wish to see the Ottoman Empire sufficiently powerful to be able to guard the Holy Places against the nefarious designs of covetous or adventurous aliens. Turkey has, in her career in history, been the shield of Islam, having for centuries shed Turkish blood in defence of Mussalmans in various battle-fields, and has, therefore, been specially endeared to Muslims of the world. These are some of the salient reasons which explain the painful anxiety with which the Muslim world is awaiting the last word of the Peace Conference in regard to the Ottoman Empire. The Indian Muslims who have been under the British rule for more than a century, and who have furnished on several occasions undeniable proof of their practical loyalty to the British Crown, were impaled upon the horns of a most painful dilemma when war came to be declared on Turkey. They wanted to be single minded, but while, on the one hand, they had the soundest religious scruples against going to war with or helping any one against Turkey, on the other, the adoption of a neutral position was calculated to expose them to the charge of shirking the fundamental duty they owed to their own state. Lord Hardinge, the Ex-Viceroy of India, realising the acuteness of the Indian Musalmans' predicament, made the famous announcement regarding the protection of the Holy Places with which we are all adequately familiar, and which went a long way to placate and reassure the Indian Muslims. We, then, relied on the assurance that the war between England and Turkey had nothing to do with religion, and regarded the above-stated announcement as a pledge that no attempt would be made to deprive Turkey of her custody of Holy Places, and determined to help the British with men and money. Giving our first thoughts to the allegiance we owed to the crown, we, not merely fought against the Turks, but offered all the pecuniary assistance we possibly could for the successful prosecution of the War. Musalmans did not play so

great a part in the European theatres of War, as in the battle-fields of Syria, and Mesopotamia. They fought shoulder to shoulder with the British and the Australian soldiers in the famous Dardeneles campaign, against the Sultan of Turkey, in defence of the British Crown, and took prominent part in the service which others were rendering to the Empire. In Syria especially, of all sections of Indians, Musalmans seem to have been most in evidence—a fact admitted by responsible persons. The Indian Muslims, who have ever been earnestly desirous to see the improvement of Turko-British relations, are painfully aware that in spite of their devout hopes to the contrary the treatment of the Turks by British statesmen has almost invariably been detrimental to the former's interests.

Anglo Turkish Relations.

Casting a glance at the history of the period of Anglo-Turkish alliance we first find that the vast and fertile country of Egypt passed from the real suzerainty of the Turks into virtual possession of England, after the Island of Cyprus had been ceded to England, in return for her securing lenient terms for Turkey in the treaty of Steffano, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The conclusion of the treaty of Berlin led the Prime Minister of Italy to address the English Premier regarding Italy's designs on Tripoli, when the latter replied that the right opportunity had not then arrived; for "the quarry should be pursued when lame or wounded." In 1911, long after this exchange of views, Italy invaded Tripoli and the Turks wanted to send their troops through Egypt to resist Italy's brigandage. This procedure, however, the friendly Britain successfully vetoed. On the out-break of the last Balkan War, Mr. Asquith, the late Premier, enunciated the principle that whatever the result of the War, it should not effect the boundaries of the belligerent countries. Later on, when the tables seemed to be turning and the Turks had, owing to disorganisation, to retreat, the same upright Premier was pleased to observe that the victor could not be deprived of the fruits of his conquest. In connection with the same war, armistice was concluded just before the Turks' possession of Adrianople, when the delegates of the belligerents met under the presidency of Sir Edward now Viscount Grey (the ex-foreign Secretary of Britain) who fully exerted his influence to secure Adrianople for the Bulgars, a demand the Turks would not concede, and Anwar Pasha followed by a large number of troops proceeded to rescue the besieged Turkish Division with the result that Adrianople fell into Turkish hands. But Turkey's old and

faithfull ally Britain continued to insist on the evacuation of Adrianople. The unnameable atrocities the Greeks and Bulgars perpetrated on Macedonian Musalmans during the Balkan war were such as to horrify any civilised people, and M. Pierr Loti, the famous French writer profoundly moved by them reduced them to a poignantly pathetic and immortal narrative. No voice however was raised, on behalf of England against these atrocities, and no hand was stretched to succour the victims. In fact the indifference displayed on this occasion tended to encourage the appalling intentions of the Balkan tyrants.

Again it is common knowledge that Mr. Gladstone did not merely lack sympathy for the Turks, but devoted life-long endeavours to the extinction of European Turkey, and all his utterances regarding the Turks were hard-hearted and brimming with prejudice. Nor is Viscount Grey, his faithful disciple, free from this accusation, for he too has exercised his powers to the detriment of the Turks. Although British Statesmen's hostile attitude against the only recognised Muslim Power seems to have been more or less consistent, the Indian Musalmans made another effort to let bygones be bygones and placed ready reliance on the present Premier's pledge, contained in his well known speech of the 5th January, 1918. He prefaced this pledge by asserting that his utterance contained not merely the thoughts of the Government, but of the whole nation, and not merely of the nation but "of the entire British Empire" and then proceeded to say "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." No pledge can be more unambiguous or more confident, nor can a clearer utterance be expected from the responsible minister of any other power. But the news which subsequently filtered down from Paris, began to alter the features of this promise, and finally the well-known Sheffield speech of the Premier perpetrated its complete disfigurement, demonstrating to the world the fragile nature of so called "pledges and promises," which seem to be the slaves of circumstances, changing as circumstances change. We were assured that the War would not affect the Holy Places, but we find almost all of them in non-Muslim hands to day, and yet unsophisticated Muslims are expected to detect no violation of the promise, vouchsafed to them, in such a state of things. We Musalmans desire it to be distinctly understood that we regard both Mecca and Medina as being in non-Muslim hands, because the *Sharif* himself appears to be a creature of Christendom. The other Holy Places are situated in similar or even worse circum-

stances. Leaving these two pledges aside we find that some of the war aims and assurances most frequently reiterated by the Allies during the period of the War were (1) that the War was waged in defence of justice and right, (2) that it was being fought for the emancipation of backward and small nations, (3) that it was not a religious struggle, but was meant to secure to all the peoples of the world (irrespective of colour or race) the blessings of justice and freedom; (4) that it was undertaken to end tyranny and aggression and to terminate the usurpation of the rights of others, (5) that the vanquished were not to be dealt with severely, but, would have their legitimate rights duly considered and (6) *that there were to be no territorial annexations!*

Now it is the moral responsibility of those who propounded these aims and vouchsafed these assurances to explain to the world their real meaning as they now appear in the light of current events. Let them explain which of their pledges or aims has been satisfied or violated by permitting Greece to occupy Smyrna and its neighbouring districts and by equipping France, England and Italy with authority to hold away in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Adalia, respectively. Conscious of what they have done, they are in a better position to expound to the world the spirit which has characterised their treatment of the Ottoman Empire and Muslim rights, and they alone can state whether any Muslim nationalities have suffered any aggression and oppression or not. Will they be so good as to explain the people of this world in unequivocal terms which nationalities have been selected (irrespective of race or creed) for the fulfilment of their war aims and assurances? Whether they conclude to justify themselves or not let the world realise the truth of it all. It is to be profoundly deplored that England's responsible minister appear determined to impair the credit which she should do all to maintain in Asia. The Asiatics too now seem prepared to give such specious promises the credit they deserve. Where, indeed, are the famous "Fourteen Points" of President Wilson which the Turks and others accepted as basic principles which led first to the welcome of armistice and then to the conclusion of hostilities. Why has the para referring to Turkey, which repudiated the annexation of territory and promised "secure sovereignty" to the Ottoman Empire over its Turkish possessions now become a dead letter? What has become of the principle of "self-determination?" Let those who read and relied on this principle also peruse the proceedings of the National Association of the Syrians, clamouring for freedom, whose voices fall on deaf ears. The majority of the Syrian population is vociferously

demanding the preservation of its liberty, but tender regard for French ambition required that Syria should be delivered up to France. Is it anything but an undisguised travesty of the principle of Self-Determination ?

Treatment of Turks During Armistice.

The pathetic narrative of the infamous treatment meted out to the Turks does not end here, for they were subjected to trying ordeals even during the period of armistice. Pressure was brought to bear on them after the cessation of hostilities to evacuate the Holy Medina with the object to hand it over to *Husain*, the Sharif, and thus they were forcibly deprived of the last vestige of sovereignty over the Holy land, and the treacherous Greeks were suffered to land their troops at Smyrna and occupy neighbouring districts about the same time. Considering that the Turks had surrendered their arms, and troops had been demobilised, the Greeks met with no resistance whatsoever in achieving their nefarious end, but were encouraged to perpetrate the appalling atrocities. The *Khalifat ul Muslimin* afterwards recounted with poignant anguish in the course of an interview which he granted to an European journalist.

His Imperial Majesty said :—

“.....Why should the faults of the Government be expiated through massacring, sacking and raping thousands of peaceful inhabitants in Asia Minor by Hellenic troops, and Greek hands, whose atrocities are well-known to you ?...cities are burnt, thousands of people are killed unjustly, and with the greatest ferocity. The excitement and despair amongst my people are very great. It looks as though a new war is raging already. But the terms of the armistice indirectly protect the Greeks with whom we are not at war and deprives us of every possibility of defending ourselves against their crimes. At the same time the armistice disarm us. Our troops are demobilised. Before things get worse the Powers must put an end to this butchery.”

What hard-hearted Musalman can read these words of the *Khalifat ul Muslimin* without being visibly moved, and what human being can help being deeply touched by reading the graphic description of the tragic plight of His Imperial Majesty's innocent subjects. The reprisals the Turks visited upon insurgent Armenians are magnified and termed “atrocities” and are widely circulated in Europe to excite indignation and horror against the Turks ; but if the Turks themselves are the victims of barbarous atrocities by Greeks and Armenians, the philanthropic champions of humanity

close their ears against their shrieks of agony. Are we to regard this as the criterion of the superior civilisation which Europe seems to be proudly presenting as an ideal to the world? And is this an illustration of the sublime love of humanity, of which the cultured nations complacently boast? Time and again we are confidently assured that religious prejudice does not weigh with Europe. But the trend of events proves the contrary. Turkey has not committed the slightest breach of the terms of the armistice, and yet she has been subjected to the kind of treatment detailed above, whereas perfidious Italy has defiantly trampled under foot the decision of the Peace Conference regarding Fiume, and still her violent affront is patiently tolerated. Again Roumania, a much smaller State than Italy, in spite of being guilty of unmitigated brigandage in Hungary, has consistently treated the demands of the Council as unworthy of notice, thus behaving with unbridled defiance of international obligations but her audacious recalcitrance is met with dignified toleration, possibly because she is a Christian State. Emphatic claims are being put forward for the "mandatory" control of Turkish provinces, but faithless and backward Bulgaria is considered fit not merely to enjoy full freedom, but to have an "outlet to the Sea," although she, too, threw in her lot with Germany and fought against the Allies along side of the Turks (without the admittedly clean methods of the latter). Nor is this all to complete the melancholy tale of religious prejudice against the Turks, for there are still other events which drive the point home. The Premier while decorating General Allenby with an order commemorating the conquest of Palestine, preferred to call the Palestinian campaign a "*crusade*" reviving the more or less forgotten and centuries old memories of a series of religious hostilities between the Christians and the Muslims. The resuscitation by the Prime Minister of this obsolescent term implies that the Powers of Christendom have not yet allowed the old memories to abate, and it is a mistake to regard the ancient series of *crusades* as terminated, since in winning the latest "*crusade*" General Allenby, the Richard II of his time, has rendered Christendom that distinguished service which even His Royal Predecessor failed to accomplish. Can we ask the minister, who has rescued the centuries old term "*crusade*" from oblivion, if according to him the Indian Muslims and unfortunate Arabs bled and died on the Syrian battlefield to win a battle which this second Richard won with the help of troops, two thirds of which were Moslem, to be called a "*crusade*" afterwards? Let these ministers remember that their present policy, and such flagrant indiscretions as the one just

described are not merely a subtle source of pain to the seven and a half crore of Musalmans of India, but are calculated to sow the seeds of a potential estrangement throughout the Moslem world, which if suffered to grow may not prove conducive to calm contemplation of the undesirable results likely to follow.

In spite of all this the Indian Muslims have not swerved from the path of duty, and have remained firmly loyal. It is confidently hoped that they will continue to display in the future the patience they have so far shown, and unflinchingly adhere to their primary civic duty. But how is the Government discharging the responsibilities with which it is burdened on behalf of the Musalmans? Let us consider the concrete "acts" which answer this query.

The Peace Conference, which undertook the grave duty of pronouncing a final decision regarding not merely some Muslim peoples, but virtually regarding the entire Muslim world, proceeded with its onerous work without consulting a single Muslim representative. It was not considered necessary to observe the elementary principle of hearing the party, the question of whose life and death had to be decided and it has not yet been considered proper to admit a Muslim representative to the Conference with which rests the pronouncement of the final verdict on Islam. We are cognisant that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Mr. Montagu represented the Indian Muslim wishes to the best of their ability before the Peace Conference, and we are deeply grateful to both of them. But may we know what objection there could possibly be to the selection of a Muslim representative? And why, indeed, was so modest and legitimate a demand of Indian Muslims relegated to the scrapheap? The request made to the Prime Minister for receiving a deputation to present the views of Indian Muslims met with a cold reception, for the Premier was not ready to waste his precious time in listening to such useless matters. In the end memorialisation was resorted to, although without securing any satisfactory assurance. We are thankful to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford for the reference he made to this subject in his opening address to the Imperial Council, in its September Session of 1919, when he assured the Indian Muslims that he had done his best to represent the feelings and views of Indian Muslims to the Secretary of State. We must also thankfully acknowledge His Excellency's allusion to Indian Musalman's acute anxiety regarding the question of Turkey, contained in the speech he made on the 24th November last, at Madras. He said "I realise to the full and sympathise most deeply with the anxiety felt by all Muslims in India regarding the result of the negotiation of peace with

Turkey. Knowing how strong those feelings are I took measures to secure that their views should be represented fully to the Home Government and to the authorities assembled at the Peace Conference. Special Muslim representatives were delegated to Paris to attend the Peace Conference, and whatever may be the result of these negotiations, and this must depend on factors which affect interests other than those of India or England, Indian Muslims may rest assured that their feelings have been fully represented. You may have noticed that Mr. Bonar Law speaking in the House of Commons on November 3rd said that the British Government was fully aware of the interest of Indian Muhammadans in the future of Turkey and that they would give as they had already given full weight and consideration to their views." We, however, find no word either in His Excellency's or in Mr. Bonar Law's utterances which may allay the anxiety we feel. In fact no responsible representative of His Majesty either here or in England has yet permitted himself to breathe a word which may even savour of the assurance we Mussalmans of India are awaiting with bated breath. We are fully aware that the result of the peace negotiation with Turkey depends on factors which affect interests other than those of Britain, nor are we blind to French or Italian *Interests* of which the former seem to figure prominently in the considerations likely to determine England's attitude. We are, at the same time, tolerably certain that England's will be the decisive voice in the final settlement with Turkey, and therefore we are constrained to regard what may follow these negotiations as the result of England's strength or weakness. If England realised the true significance and friendly feelings of more than 30 crore Muslims of the world as against the comparatively paltry economic advantages to be derived from Mesopotamia, she would display less solicitude for the interests of France and Italy and secure just and honourable settlement with Turkey ushering in a wholly new era! We are sincerely thankful to Mr. Montagu for undertaking the responsibility of correctly interpreting our views to the Peace Conference. In one of his speeches he was good enough to observe that he and his colleagues (Lord Sinha and H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner) insisted before the Council of the Four that nothing short of a just settlement on the basis of nationality would satisfy the Muslims, nor was any other settlement possible. That indeed, would satisfy the Musalmans, but surely a "settlement on the basis of "nationality" cannot possibly imply that England and France should become the rulers of Arabia under the specious pretext of holding a "mandate", a new fangled invention

bequeathed by the late war. Nor can that principle be said to have been respected by exposing Smyrna to the tyranny of the Greeks. The Muslims will be satisfied only when independence (in the true sense of the term) is secured to the Arabs and other Turkish subjects by assigning to Turkey the "mandate" to administer their provinces subject to the supervision of a League of Nations not swayed by more than one vote of each country. The Muslims know that the right to hold a "mandate" (if mandatory government is at all necessary) in any of the lands previously under the Ottoman rule primarily belongs to Turkey, because the people inhabiting these lands are predominantly Muslim *in faith*, and no non-Muslim power can under any pretext have the right to hold sway over them. The Musalmans cannot be expected to forget that these lands have been the cradle of Islam, where the Holy Places are situated, and where no non-Muslim can ever have even the semblance of the right of mandatory or any other rule. Trampling upon Muslim sentiments in this respect would mean creating not transitory but perennial unrest in the entire Muslim world, which would otherwise mean the deliberate awakening of unfriendly feelings in an otherwise unobtrusive people.

Difference of Muslim and Non-Muslim Conception of *Khilafat*

In his speech already referred to, we find Mr. Montagu assuring his Muslim fellow subjects that no word had been used during the discussions at Paris, officially or otherwise, to show that any one was foolish enough to contemplate meddling with the question of *Khilafat*, which was purely for the Musalmans to determine. Nor did he think the Holy Places or any sacred building were at the time in any danger to require interference. The first portion of this utterance is far from reassuring the Muhammadans. We are not appealing to any one to refrain from interfering with that aspect of the question which is a matter of faith; for we know all the powers of earth are not puissant enough to change the religious convictions of any people. I can imagine no one to be so foolish as to ground his appeal to Britain on so obvious a misconception. On the contrary our representations are based on the ground that "*temporal power*" is the chief factor of *Khilafat*, which it is feared, will be destroyed by dismembering the Ottoman Empire as contemplated. The *Khilafat* must not be reduced to the position of His Holiness the Pope at Rome, with his influence extending to spiritual confines only. And again I am unable to understand the import of the second portion

of his assurance regarding the immunity of the Holy Places. Who, indeed, is the real ruler of Hijaz, (where Mecca and Médina, the cities of the Prophet are situated) behind Husain the Sharif, and who are holding and administering Baitul-Muqqadas (Holy Jerusalem) Karbala, Najaf-i-Ashraf, Kazmain—Sharifain, Baghdad and other places, in fact the whole of *Jasiratul-Arab* (the entire region where the Holy Places are situated) to day? If the occupation of the Holy Places by non Muslims does not spell danger to them, it is difficult to assign any meaning to the word.

Obligations Acknowledged.

It would be rank ingratitude if we failed to acknowledge the eminent services rendered to Islam by some of the high souled Englishmen, who have proved that England is not destitute of men, ready to espouse any cause based on righteousness and justice, and in this connection the names of Mr. Marmaduke Pittball, Captain Aubrey Herbert, M. P., Sir Theodore Morrison and Professor E. G. Browne are worthy of special mention, and the fair and sympathetic attitude of Mr. C. F. Andrews and some other Britishers entitles them to our thanks. I may, at this stage, take the liberty of reproducing below some valuable excerpts from a speech Mr. Pittball recently delivered dealing with this difficult Muslim problem. He said :—

"They say the Turkish Empire has always been abominably mis-governed. Well, I know Turkey pretty well and I declare that there was less discontent per head of the population in the Turkish Empire even in the worst of times than there has been in the British Empire at any time in my remembrance". In reference to Armenian massacres he says : "They talk of horrid massacres from time to time. These massacres have never been on one side only. They were owing to seditious propaganda organised by powers of Europe—chiefly Russia. And I say that any State even the most civilised, subjected to the kind of treatment Turkey has received from Russia and other European Powers for a century would show precisely the same symptoms as Turkey has shown. You cannot thrust claws into a living frame without convulsions." Then dealing with the change that the Turks were pro-German he states in categorical terms :—

.....In 1913, the Young Turks wished that England should assume the instructorship of the whole Ottoman Empire, the army included, for ten years. Their object was, of course, to get protection against the designs of other European Powers during a period of reconstruction and reform. *The mere suggestion was*

refused" (my italics). He continues : "The man, like Ehver Pasha, who had voted for the suggestion as a forlorn hope, said : You see they dare not act alone. England has become the tail of Russia. She has sunk to the position of a third class power. The only chance which now remains to us is Germany.' Further he says : "The pro British part of the Committee (of Union and progress)—the majority—were disappointed, but still persisted. They kept whittling down the offer, seeking to make it acceptable till it amounted to no more than a request that England would provide a certain number of Inspectors for Armenia, to superintend the reforms which the Turks were trying to push forward in those provinces against the whole force of Tsarist intrigue. The force of that intrigue in eastern Anatolia all through 1913-14 amounted to a state of war. The Tsarist agents were using all the means at their disposal, and they had much larger means than the poor Turks possessed, to discredit the Turkish Government. They tried to work up wholesale massacres of Moslems and Armenians quite indifferently—massacres which were to serve as pretext for the Russian occupation of the country—massacres which the Turks did all they could do to prevent ! Western Europe could not be brought to believe that Russian intrigue was what it was—so barefaced, so ruthless,—and the Young Turks thought that if they could get Englishmen in charge of those provinces, England at any rate would be bound to know and believe. England was bound to help them in Armenia by the terms of the Cyprus Convention. Well, that request was granted, as we all believed. It was refused months latter ; suddenly if these English Inspectors had been sent to Eastern Anatolia, if England had not turn up a "Scrap of paper", the last Armenian massacres would not have taken place". A clean consideration of all these matters leads to the one inference, which has been embodied in the foregoing words.

Persia And The Anglo-Persian Agreement.

The plight of Turkey was nearly enough to break the hearts of Indian Muslims, whom news of the Anglo Persian-Agreement (calculated, in our opinion, to seal the doom of another Muslim Power) proved to be the last straw on the load of Indian Muslims' anxiety.

Persia in her palmy days was a source of culture and enlightenment to Indian Muslims and they are deeply indebted to her. Having regard to the lines along which their social, traditional and literary development has proceeded the Indian Mussalmans cannot help entertaining a grateful regard for and calling Persia their "kind,

old teacher." I have already said that "brotherhood" (or the fundamental relationship which knits together the entire Muslim family of the world) is the cardinal principle of Islam, and therefore moved by feelings which suffuse the consciousness of the Musalmans (as a result of the intense realisation of that teaching), they cannot help being gratified or grieved, as the case may be, at the preservation and prosperity or the decay and extinction of Muslim States. These feelings and sentiments, springing from the 'fundamentals' of Islam, remain uneffected by unessential differences of various persuasions. We, therefore, observe that the *Shia* section of Musalmans, whose views regarding the essentials of the question of Khilafat do not coincide with those of the *Sunnis*, are intensely interested in the preservation of the Sultan's temporal power as they could possibly be in the welfare of *Iran* (Persia); and the entire *Sunni* population has as tender a feeling for Persia as any living *Shia* can possibly have. Whether it be the Musalmans of Turkey or of Persia, both *Sunnis* and *Shias* and all other followers of Islam, are equally interested in and own spiritual kinship with them, and that is why Indian Muslims are deeply affected by the Agreement, recently concluded between the British Government and *Iran*. The latter seems to have been the object of the former's attentions, on account of her (Persia's) being a neighbour of India, and those attentions have long been materialising in the form of a definite policy. Persia has been for years the object of English and Russian diplomacy, aiming at the extension or restriction of respective "sphere of influence" and as a consequence of this, all the hopes of a prosperous future, raised during the latest period of her evolutionary struggle, were dashed to the ground. A severe blow was dealt to the hope of her economic development by causing the resignation of Mr. Shuster, her well-wisher; her political freedom had been imperilled to the point of extinction by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1909. However, the great European War, whose painful aftermath is not over yet, resulted in the termination of the said agreement, because Kerensky's Government declared it unconscionable and invalid. Had the Russian withdrawal been followed by the British withdrawal, Persia would have been the recipient of blessing. But now it appears that responsible British statesmen were awaiting the end of war, and no sooner any favourable results made their appearance than they began to bestow attention upon Persia, finally securing the conclusion of the agreement under review.

We are now compelled to look upon Persia as the Egypt of Asia. We fully expect English capitalists to construct railways and

roads for motor services. And we may be sure to see the Finance Department completely overhauled, the audacity of men given to speculation materially pruned, agriculture largely improved, oil fields worked by more capable men, but it appears that in regard to the factors on which depends the evolutionary development of the Persian people, Persian's hands and feet are in danger of being bound. Persia may now cease to have any conception of political liberty, and despair of working the resources of the country or accomplishing any real economic development with the aid of the country's capital. Henceforth Persia will be obliged to maintain a very low standard of education, and will be so juxtaposed as to be obliged to relieve her officials of much of the burden of their responsibility, as a consequence of which their efficiency will be undermined, and she will be constrained to depend on some other Power for a supply of experts, and all these facts will contribute to the disappearance of her real freedom.

The Anglo-Persian Agreement.

A propos of the Anglo-Persian Agreement which is talked about in Europe and Asia to-day, I may give below the gist of some of the articles which throw light on the nature of this Agreement.

By article 1 of Part 1 of the Agreement, (in so far as the parchment is concerned on which the agreement is indited) the Government of Great Britain "reiterates in the most categorical manner possible" the undertaking "to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia," and thereby in a way incur a responsibility; and according to the second and the third articles it undertakes "to supply, at the cost of the Persian Government," advisers and experts "for the several departments of the Persian Administration," including, of course, Finance and Military Departments. These two articles vitally react on the first; for if the Persian Government is committed to entrusting her Military and Finance to British advisers and specialists, it is obvious that the agreement reaches down to the very root of Persia's independence otherwise guaranteed in the first article. The third article further stipulates, on behalf of Great Britain, the supply of "officers, munitions and equipment of modern type at the cost of the Persian Government," thereby relieving Persia of much of the difficulty she might otherwise have encountered. Then Persia was granted a loan of £2,000,000 from England on interest at 7% per annum, payable by instalments in 20 years, and by way of security of repayment she assigns to England the receipts of all the revenues and customs of various provinces; England also assumes the responsibility of co-operating with the Persian Government

in "encouraging Anglo-Persian enterprize" by means of "construction of railways and other forms of transport," thus enhancing the means of and facilitating communication. Further, Sir Percy Cox has secured the relinquishment by the Persian Government of any claim she might otherwise have made to be indemnified for the damage "caused by British troops during their presence in Persian territory" and, as a token of reciprocal return, the British Government has agreed to claim no "cost for the maintenance of the said troops sent to Persia owing to Persia's want of power to defend her neutrality."!!

If Persia, in her anxiety to defend her neutrality, requested the British Government to send British troops, she certainly cannot fairly claim any indemnity for any damage caused by the troops, and not to burden her exchequer with the cost of the maintenance of these troops must necessarily be regarded as an act of obliging generosity, but if the presence of British troops in Persia was a strategic and ineluctable necessity dictated by foresight in regard to the defence of India on the one hand and the provision against the enemy descending by way of Persia on the advanced troops in Mesopotamia on the other, I fear the securing of the relinquishment of her claim by Persia can hardly be based on fairness.

In fine, the complex problems connected with Turkey's present plight, and the virtual extinction of Persia's freedom, are some of the most fruitful and potent causes of the present unrest throughout the Muslim world, which, in my humble opinion does not derive sustenance from sources of a temporary nature, because it lies down in the depth of faith, and its temporary abatement should not be treated as a sign of its complete subsidence. It has, as we are all aware, brought the Khilafat Committee into temporary existence to voice the true Moslem feelings and to secure the just treatment of Turkey and the preservation of the integrity of Persian independence. It is hoped that they will continue to respect the ethical duty imposed upon them as subjects of the Government, whose protection they enjoy, while banishing all hesitancy and timidity, in giving fearless expression to their views—all within constitutional limits—during this crisis and after. May the Khilafat Committee succeed in achieving what they have come into existence for and may it not be found necessary to perpetuate or prolong their existence.

Non Participation in Peace Celebrations.

Gentlemen, allow me here to say a few words regarding the abstention of the Muslims from the official Peace Celebrations. The Muslims of India along with other Indians would have willingly and

enthusiastically participated in the celebration, whatever its form if the cessation of the war concluded in favour of the Allies had brought real peace and tranquility in its train. But at a time when the only surviving Muslim power appeared to be in imminent peril of being absorbed and the Muslim Holy Places had been weaned from Muslim custody, their abstention from the celebration could hardly be viewed as unjustified. Their religion forbade any participation in such a rejoicing; and whenever there is any conflict between the command of their faith and the wishes of the officials their first duty will be to obey the former which no earthly consideration can possibly override.

Gratefulness of the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi.

In this respect we, Musalmans, are deeply grateful to the Hindus for sharing our sorrow with sincere willingness, and giving enthusiastic expressions to their sympathetic feelings. The abstention of Hindus from peace celebrations (which included the suspension of business for some time in the evening for 3 or 4 days, and co-operating with Musalmans in observing the directions issued by the Anti-Peace-Celebrations Publicity Board), out of regard, among other things, for Moslem sentiments, has made a deep impression on the Musalmans, and I trust the spirit which has achieved this result will continue to operate in the interest of preserving the impression created. At the same time I confidently trust that the Musalmans will, in future, willingly co-operate with their fellow countrymen in all matters which may be of special and exclusive interest to the latter. I cannot at this stage help mentioning the revered name of Mahatma Gandhi, an acknowledged leader of our country, whose active sympathy springing as it did from the depth of unalloyed sincerity and a correct conception of righteous action, has won him the grateful and reverential affection of all Musalmans of India. If thankfulness can be expressed in words, let me in the name of the Indian Muslim community thank the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi from the bottom of my heart.

Permit me, now, to say a word about the unfortunate Muslim and other internees, whose sufferings in exile have not known abatement in spite of the termination of the war. It seems as if the question of the release of our *Pirwa* (revered guide), Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hussan, and our brothers, Messrs. Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, has ceased to engage the attention of the Government. The Musalmans after having done what was possible for them to do, and failed to secure the early release of

these devotees to the National cause, were hoping that after the cessation of the war the Government would, at any early date, turn its attention to the question of releasing the internees—a hope doomed to disappointment! If, however, this listlessness of the Government continues it will be time for a systematic public movement to draw the attention of the Government to this question. It is, however, devoutly hoped that such a necessity will not arise, and the Government will be found ready to reconsider the question of their release, and terminate the painful period of their separation from us.

Last Word.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sorry to have occupied much of your valuable time, but the singular gravity of the present crisis in the Muslim world, and the vital questions arising out of the Punjab situation compelled me to linger on the points dealt with in my address, even to the exclusion of some other important problems. I sincerely thank you for the patient hearing you have accorded me, and crave your indulgence for the omissions and shortcomings patent on the face of my humble although honest and sincere submission. I am aware that the exceptional nature of the events now happening in the Muslim world has led me to dwell at length on topics of exclusively Muslim interest, but I have done so advisedly and in the confident hope that it cannot, at this time of day, lead any one to doubt the vivid consciousness of the Mussalmans of the solemn duty they owe to their Motherland. As children of the soil, they know and fervently desire to fulfill their duty to the country of which they, in common with Hindus, Christians, Parsis and other communities are the proud inheritors. They have, I can assure all concerned, realised to the full the solemn call of the Motherland, and the sacred duty of patriotism. I am proud to declare that the time has come when the necessity for exhorting people to live up to the highest standards of patriotism is rapidly diminishing; for the mysterious tide of human progress is pushing its sweep forward, and the humblest being is becoming conscious of how to live and die for higher ideals. For India the unseen future holds a magnificence and splendour compared with which the most glorious grandeur of her past will be but small. Let all hands of men as well as of women join to unveil that vision.

The All-India Muslim League.

Proceedings of the 12th Session.

The 1919 Session opened on Dec. 29 in the Bande Mataram Hall, Amritsar. Dr. Kitchlew, who had been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee while suffering incarceration at the hands of Sir Michael O'Dowry, the Lieut.-Governor, and had since the Royal proclamation been released in time to be present, evoked a wild enthusiasm. Before the proceedings began it was announced that Messrs. Mohamed Ali and Saikat Ali had been released and would be in Amritsar the next morning. The news was received with acclamation. The proceedings commenced at 1-30 P. M. Most of the prominent Congressmen were present: Pundits Nehru and Malviya, Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Gandhi, Srinivasa Sastri, Bomanji, B. N. Sarma, Gokaran Misra, Bukshi Tek Chand, Ramaswami Iyer, and others. Dr. Kitchlew delivered his welcome address and Moulvi Sanaulla who had been elected acting Chairman while Dr. Kitchlew was in prison then read his speech in Urdu. Hakim Ajmal Khan was then elected President and he delivered his address. The first three resolutions were then passed and the league then adjourned.

Next day, Dec. 30, the League resumed its sitting and the Secretary, Mr. Syed Zahur Ahmed, read the annual report which was passed.

The revised draft constitution of the League was then taken into consideration and slight changes introduced. The next two or three resolutions were then passed and at that stage came Messrs. Mohamad Ali and Saikat Ali. At once the huge gathering stood upon their feet and greeted their beloved leaders now returned after long years of cruel internment with a reverberating chorus of joy. For the time resolutions were dropped and the great Ali Brothers were pressed to speak. They then addressed the meeting and the audience was moved to tears.

The League then adjourned and met again next day to pass the remaining resolutions. After the usual thanksgivings the sessions came to a close.

Resolutions.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Amritsar Session of the All India Muslim League 1919 :

1. The All India Muslim League tenders its homage to the person and Throne of His Majesty the King Emperor and assures him of the steadiest and continued loyalty of the Mussalman community of India.

2. That this meeting of All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of deep loss which the Community has sustained by the sad and untimely death of the late Sheik Mohammad Umar, Bar-at-Law of Amritsar, and Secretary Anjuman Taraqqi Talim Mussalman, Amritsar.

3. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its sense of deep grief at the sad and untimely demise of the late Nawab Syed Mohammad of Madras.

4. This session of the All-India Muslim League while thanking the Governor of Bombay for announcing in Council strict neutrality of the Government in religious matters and for issuing a public warning to the effect, strongly urges the necessity of a sifting enquiry by H. E. the Governor into the complaints of improper conduct of certain Sindh officials in connection with the Khilafat question.

5. That in view of a strong desire of the Muslim community to have definite provisions for the protection of its interest, this League urges upon Government that the following safe-guards be adopted in the forthcoming Reforms—(a) The Mussalmans should be adequately represented in the public services of the country ; (b) The Mussalmans should have representation in the administration in the same proportion as the representation accorded to the Mussalmans on the Legislative Council in the province concerned ; (c) The Urdu language and Persian character should be maintained in courts and public offices in those provinces where they are in vogue and Urdu should be employed as the medium of primary education in the aforesaid provinces ; (d) That the Mussalmans should be afforded facilities, protection and help in the observance and performance of their religious rites and ceremonies and usages without any restriction.

The All-India Moslem League resolves that the All-India Congress Committee be asked to appoint a Committee at an early date to confer with the Committee of the Council of the League in order to arrive at an understanding on questions arising out of the Reforms Act, 1919, and the demand for complete self-government.

6. Dr. Ansari next moved a resolution expressing the League's opinion that with a view to reciprocate the good feelings shown towards Mussalmans by their Hindu brethren and to strengthen the growing unity between them and the Mussalmans of India, the Mussalmans should on the occasion of Bakr-Id festival substitute as far as possible the sacrifice of other animals in place of cows.

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

7. The following resolution was then put from the chair : The All-India Muslim League representing eighty million Muslim subjects of His Imperial Majesty King George V., the Emperor of India, expresses its sense of gratitude for the spirit in which the Royal Proclamation had been addressed to the princes and people of India on the occasion of giving the Royal assent to the Government of India Act, 1919. The League trusts that the rights of the Indian people to direct their own affairs and safeguard their interests, without which the progress of the country cannot be consummated, will be secured ere long under His Majesty's loving sympathy, and earnestly joins in His Majesty's prayer that India may grow to the fulness of political freedom in the near future. Further the League feels confident that the Royal act of clemency in granting general amnesty to political prisoners and detenues would go far to remove the bitterness existing between the people and those responsible for government of the country, and lastly the League assure His Imperial Majesty of cordial and hearty welcome which the people of India would accord to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales during his visit to this country in the coming winter.

PUNJAB DISTURBANCES.

The Hon. Mr. Syed Raza Ali next moved the following resolution which was carried :—

8. In view of the fact that the enquiry in the Punjab disturbances is yet pending, this meeting of the All-India Moslem League refrains from expressing its opinion in the matter at this stage but cannot help drawing the serious attention of the British Parliament to the shocking disclosures made by General Dyer in his evidence before the Hunter Committee in the hope that Parliament will take early steps to see that justice and British reputation for fairness are fully vindicated.

IMPEACHMENT OF DYER AND O'DWYER.

9. The Hon. Maulvi Abul Kasim then moved :—

(1) This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in view of the admissions made by General Dyer in his statement before the Hunter Committee, he is not fit to remain in command and should be immediately relieved of his duty as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him.

(2) This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the entire policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is under enquiry and in view also of the fact that he approved of General Dyer's cold-blooded and calculated massacre in the Jallianwala Bagh, he should be relieved of his connection with the Army Commission as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him.

The resolution was agreed to.

VICEROY'S RECALL.

10. Mr. Muntaz Husain moved :—This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that H. E. Lord Chelmsford has forfeited the confidence of all sections of the Indian population and he should immediately be recalled from India.

The speaker said that the passing of the resolution was highly essential for the future welfare of the country. Lord Chelmsford's regime had been particularly noted for its reactionary attempts to suppress Indian aspirations. To give effect to the Reform Scheme the head of the Government ought to have more liberal ideals and it was doubtful whether Lord Chelmsford would really put Indians on the way to self-government. The indifference shown by His Excellency's Government to respect public opinion expressed by public leaders as a protest against the Rowlatt Act had shaken their faith in his Government. It was nothing but the flouting of public opinion.

GENERAL AMNESTY.

The following resolutions were then moved one after another and carried :—

11. " In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the gracious proclamation of His Majesty the King Emperor and that persons in the Punjab tried by Martial Law commissioners, summary courts, area officers and tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act, and detainees and deportees have not been released, this meeting of the All-India Moslem League expresses the earnest hope and trusts

that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal command."

DEVOTION TO KHALIFA.

12. "This meeting of the All-India Moslem League shares with the entire Moslem world the wide belief that His Imperial Ottoman Majesty, Sultan Waheeduddin, is the recognised Khalifa of Islam and places on record its deep-seated and unshakeable devotion to the sacred person of His Imperial Majesty as a successor of the Prophet and the head of Islam."

DISMEMBERMENT OF TURKEY.

13. "This meeting of the All-India Moslem League expresses its deep disappointment at the disregard shown by the British Government to the repeated representation made by Indian Mussalmans through their representatives in England and India regarding the question of Khilafat, holy places and Jazirat-ul-Arab and feels constrained to express that no settlement contemplating the dismemberment of Turkey would ever satisfy Indian Musalmans but keep them in a state of perpetual dissatisfaction and discontent, for the grave consequences of which they shall not be responsible. Under the circumstances the Mussalmans would be fully justified to carry on all possible methods of constitutional agitation open to them including a boycott of the British army if it is likely to be used outside India for Imperial or anti-Islamic purposes."

SYMPATHY WITH EGYPTIAN NATIONALISTS.

14. "The All-India Moslem League expresses its deep sympathy with the political aspirations of the nationalists of Egypt to get the principle of self-determination applied to their country in accordance with the terms of the Peace Conference and is grieved at the methods adopted to thwart their ambitions."

INADEQUACY OF REFORMS.

15. "While fully appreciating the labours of the Right Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in connection with the Government of India Act of 1919, the All-India Moslem League deeply regrets that full responsible government for which India is fit has been withheld both in the provinces and in the Central Government and that the principle of self-determination has not been applied to her in accordance with her demands. It, therefore, considers the Reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory and trusts that Parliament will establish full responsible govern-

ment of India at the earliest opportunity. In the meantime the League calls upon Indians to demonstrate their capacity for complete self-government by availing themselves of such opportunity as is now offered to them in reforms recently enacted which that League recognises to be a definite step towards the goal of full responsible government."

LIBERTY OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

16. "This meeting of the All-India Moslem League places on record its deep-seated belief that the new era ushered in by the gracious Royal Proclamation can not bear fruit unless and until full liberty of thought and expression is granted to the people of India, and the various restrictions placed on that liberty by the manner in which the Press Act has been and is being administered and the various other obstacles placed upon Indian journalism in general and Muslim journals in particular are immediately removed."

SEPARATE REPRESENTATION.

17. "That the All-India Moslem League voicing the Moslem public opinion adheres to the principle of separate representation for the Muslim community and strongly urges upon the Government the immediate necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in provinces where it has not yet been applied."

REPEAL OF REPRESSIVE ACTS.

18. "That this meeting of the All-India Moslem League urges on the attention of the Government the imperative necessity of repealing the Press Act, the Defence of India Act and the Rowlatt Act."

All India Khilafat Conference.

Amritsar, Jan. 1920.

The second session of the All-India Khilafat Conference opened on the 31st December 1919 in the Congress Pandal at Amritsar.

Maulvi Shaukat Ali, the great Muslim internee who was released only on the 30th December presided. Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Sharadhanand, Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib, Mrs. Besant, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Mohamed Ali, Dr. Ansari, Haziq-ul-mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulvi Zafarali Khan, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Saiyed Hussain, Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhury and others were present. The proceedings began with a recitation from the holy Quran.

The following resolutions were passed.

RESOLUTION 1.—This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Amritsar expresses on behalf of the Indian Mussalmans its profound devotion to the Commander of the Faithful, the successor to the holy prophet of the Islam; may peace and blessing of God be upon him, the servant of the holy places, the Sultan of Turkey; may his temporal and spiritual power last for ever, and hopes that his Imperial Majesty will deign to accept the expression of their faith and allegiance: This conference further requests its president to cable the message of the Indian Mussalmans to His Imperial Majesty.

The resolution was moved by Seth Ahmed Haji Siddiq Khatri supported by Moulana Mohamed Kakhir of Allahabad.

RESOLUTION No. 2.—Resolved that in accordance with the decisions of the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Delhi two representative deputations of the Mussalmans should proceed to England and America before 15th January or at the latest by the end of January and that H. E. the Viceroy be requested as early as possible to accord permission to the deputation and to forward to His Majesty the King Emperor and his Ministers by cablegram the request that the deputations be received by them and also to intimate their departure.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Saiyed Hussain and supported by Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew.

RESOLUTION No. 3.—Resolved that a deputation consisting of the following Muslim representatives of India should immediately wait upon H. E. the Viceory in order to obtain his permission for the deputations to proceed to England and America and that the president of the conference be requested to ascertain the date that will suit His Excellency's convenience for receiving the deputation : Seth Chotani Sahib, Sir Fazulbhoy Carimbhoy, Mirza Ali, Mohamed Khan, Haziqul-mulk H. M. Ajmal Khan, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mr. Mohamed Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Mr. Mumtaz Hussain, Hon'ble Saiyed Raza Ali, Mr. Saiyed Hussain, Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib, Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu, Agha Saïdar Sahib, and Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

RESOLUTION No. 4.—Resolved that a representative Muslim deputation be sent to Constantinople so that tendering on behalf of the Indian Mussalmans it may express humble devotion and sentiments of Islamic brotherhood before the Commander of the Faithful, the successor of the holy prophet, the Sultan of Turkey ; it also resolves that arrangements be made for sending this deputation so far as possible along with other deputations proceeding to England and America.

The resolution was moved by Maulvi Hazharuddin, Editor, *Dastoor* " and supported by Maulvi Mohamed Akram.

RESOLUTION No 5.—This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Amritsar expresses its extreme sorrow and regret that the demands of the Indian Mussalmans regarding the Khilafat Jaziratul Arab holy places and the preservation of the status quo anti belum of the Ottoman Empire have not yet been acceded to and that on the contrary utterances of the ministers of the British Crown from time to time give rise to strong suspicions that the representatives of the British Government do not desire that these demands should be acceded to, this conference therefore deems it absolutely essential to declare that the Indian Mussalmans still stand firmly by those demands which the law of the Islam made it incumbent upon them to formulate and express, and the Conference desire to declare in the clearest possible manner that if the British Government will accept terms in the peace conference as may be inconsistent with the requirements of our faith, in that case our attitude will be governed by the obligations vigorously imposed upon us by our faith, and for this the British Government alone will be responsible.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Mohamed Ali and supported by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan.

RESOLUTION No. 6.—Resolved that a Khilafat fund be immediately opened and the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay, be instructed to make the necessary arrangements for the collection of at least a sum of ten lacs of rupees from every part of India ; it also requests the Indian Mussalmans in general and the Khilafat committees in particular to render every possible assistance to the central Khilafat committee in this connection.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Mumtaz Hussain and supported by Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

RESOLUTION No. 7.—This Conference is of opinion that the attempt made by some of the Government officials in Sind against the objects of the All-India Khilafat conference held at Delhi call for special attention of the Bombay Government ; this conference therefore trusts that such officials will not only be warned for future but will be awarded power punishment to prevent the recurrence of such proceedings.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Abdul Majid, editor "Al-Amin," Hyderabad, Sind and supported by Hafiz Atmullah of Amritsar.

RESOLUTION No. 8.—That the constitution framed by the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay, be printed and circulated among the various district and provincial Khilafat committees of India and their opinions be invited thereon and that a session of the All-India Khilafat conference be held as soon as possible at Bombay at which the draft constitution may be discussed and approved from the chair.

Moulana Shaukat Ali sent the following telegram to H. E. the Viceroy.

"As president of the Amritsar session of the All-India Khilafat Conference I have been directed to request H. E. the Viceroy to be pleased to receive a small deputation consisting of the leading representative Mussalmans of India to lay before him the views and the religious sentiments of the Mussalmans in connection with the Turkish question. I trust H. E. will be pleased to receive such a deputation and that an early date in January may suit H. E.'s convenience. The names of the members of the deputation will be forwarded when desired for His Excellency's approval.

The Sikh League.

Amritsar, December 27.

A new Sikh League was inaugurated last year which opened its session on 27th Dec. 1919 in the Bande Mataram Hall. There was a large attendance of delegates and a number of ladies were present. The Hon. Sardar Gajan Singh presided. Almost all the leading Sikhs were present. The proceedings opened with a prayer. Mr. Santsingh, proposing the formal election of the President, said that though they were few, yet the assembly was fully representative. The new Sikh League was a triumph of the principle of democracy over the principle of favouritism followed in the past. They were passing through bitter circumstances and entering a new era promulgated by the Royal Proclamation. He hoped that the future would justify the action they were taking and he had no doubt that their President would lead the Sikh community along the path of democracy.

Sardar Naryansingh, pleader of Gujranwala, supporting the motion said that the tree of Self Government was planted on the highest summit of the Himalayas. The Sikhs in the past had thought that the fruits of the tree would come to them without any exertions. The Hindus and the Muslims were far ahead of them on that road. The road was slippery and they ought to march cautiously. The British Parliament had declared that they had only to show their rights to get the fruits of that tree. They had assembled therefore to claim their rights.

Sardar Gajjansingh, in the course of his Presidential Address said that their responsibility was great. The world was under reconstruction and a new era for India has been inaugurated by the announcement of 20th August and ratified by the Joint Committee's Report. He explained in detail the salient features of the Reform Scheme mentioning how the Government would be brought gradually under popular control. The Royal Proclamation issued the other day would be looked upon as a new Magna Charta of India. The President next touched upon the services rendered by the Panjab from time to time, particularly by the

Sikhs, and quoted from official statements the number of the Indian Army furnished by the Sikh community. The inauguration of the Reform Scheme was due, he thought, mostly to the services of the Indian Army's doings during the war. They were grateful to the Government for giving them special representation, but he made bold to say that it was inadequate. The Congress and the Muslim League divided among themselves the representation in the Councils, but ignored the claims of the Sikhs. He urged that one-third of the elected and nominated seats should be set apart for the Sikhs and one member out of three in the Governor-General's Executive Council should be given to the Sikhs. He next touched upon the question of the Land Settlement and said it was not looked upon as fair. Touching on the question of education he said the Government should come forward in giving an additional grant to the Sikh community. As regards the Canal Profits the Government should not be entitled to more than five per cent. In his opinion the new regulations under the Arms Act were now tightened than loosened and Indians should be trusted more and more, but the new rules did not indicate this. It was a matter of surprise that the Punjab should not be treated in the same way as the other provinces in the matter of exemption in the possession of non-firing arms. The next subjects touched by the President were King's Commission, the management of the Golden Temple, the inadequacy of Government appointments given to the Sikhs, specially in the case of the higher appointments, and the handling of the emigrants. In conclusion he prayed for the success of the League and the maintenance of unity among the small community.

After the conclusion of the Presidential Address the League passed a few resolutions.

Conference of European Chambers of Commerce.

Calcutta, January 8th, 1920.

Immediately after the Royal Proclamation giving to India a new Charter of Constitutional Reforms, the European Capitalists of the country, from Calcutta to Bombay and from Lahore to Ceylon, made a huge effort to combine ostensibly to save their own interests but really to overwhelm the nationalistic aspirations of the people to stand against the Imperialistic exploitation of the Motherland in the interests of foreigners. A Conference of all the European Chambers of Commerce from all over India and Ceylon was called in Calcutta and the Viceroy who was then on a visit to the place was invited to open it. The Hon. Mr. Crum, the president of the Bengal Chamber was the chief organiser. The first Conference of a like nature was held so long ago as in 1905 when Sir Edward Law, the then Finance Member of the Government of India, opened it.

The Conference was then intended to be held annually but since then a combination like this had not been found possible. The Viceroy, as was natural for a man of his frame of mind, extended a cordial hand of welcome to the union of European Chambers in India. The following is the—

Viceroy's Opening Address.

"Gentlemen, I am very glad to have this opportunity of attending the first meeting of your new Association of Chambers of Commerce, and to congratulate you on the spirit of co-operation which has brought your Association into being and to wish you a long useful career. I am quite sure that periodical meetings to discuss the numerous commercial problems which will always confront you, will be found of great value to yourselves; and, in those matters in which your difficulties arise out of Government regulations in commercial affairs, or which infringe on large questions of Government policy, it will always be greatly to the advantage of Gov-

ernment to have your united counsels before them, for as you must be aware, it has frequently happened that, in obtaining the views of the various Chambers, we have had the most divergent opinions presented to us. Perhaps in a number of matters I am unduly optimistic in hoping for united counsels; but at any rate, where opinions differ, a free discussion will, I am sure, often lead to a reasonable and practicable solution. Now you will not, I am sure, expect me to address you in any detail on the numerous problems which you many wish to raise with Government. I only want to touch very briefly on some of the wider questions which involved decisions of general policy.

After War Trade.

First, I will take the question which, I feel, is in the minds of you, namely, trade after the war. The war has made great changes in the course of Indian trade, and my Government feel that, after the awful upheaval of this world-wide war, some special measures are necessary to help our merchants and our manufacturers to adapt themselves to the new conditions. We are not going to allow ourselves to drift back to the position in which we were before the war. We are not going to allow our enemies forthwith to return to this country and resume business, as if no war had occurred. We propose, as you will all have been informed from a press communique which has recently been issued, altogether to exclude the Germans from India for a period of years. We want the Germans as our customers, for I do not suppose that anyone will seriously suggest that we are to do no trade with Germany—a policy of cutting off our nose to spite our face—but we are not prepared at the present time to allow the Germans to handle Indian trade in this country. Many of you, I know, would go further and would prevent all aliens from engaging in trade of any kind in this country, except under license. I think that it will clear the air if I say at once that this is no part of the policy of my Government. I am not going now to discuss the question of existing Treaties with foreign countries, but even if it were practical politics, which I do not admit, to insist on all foreigners being licensed to trade, it would mean, if it meant anything at all, that licenses would be granted in one case and refused in another. A policy of this kind would give rise to inevitable diplomatic difficulties to endless discussions and complications, and to serious danger of retaliation. I am convinced further that any attempt to strangle foreign trade in this way would in the long run be against our best interests.

It was not on a foundation of restrictions that the trade of India was built up, and it is not through restrictions that it will continue to develop. The welfare of our trade will, in future, as in the past, rest on the initiative and energy of our merchants and our manufacturers,—their adaptability to new conditions, their readiness to seize new opportunities and to develop fresh markets. It will not rest on the elimination of competition by means of Government action. Those who have gone before you have built up a magnificent structure. It lies with you, and I have full trust in your powers, to enlarge it.

There is one subject, however, which I trust you will allow me, though a layman in these matters, to mention to you. It has been brought home to me that one of the gravest defects in our commerce is our failure to study the machinery necessary to put our goods on the market. We may produce or import the best goods in the world, but unless we study how to market them, inferior goods produced by our rivals in trade will get the market. This defect, I remember, was pointed out to me by the British Trade Commissioner in Canada in 1914. He said that British goods, when once they got on to the market, maintained their position owing to their superiority, but as often as not they failed to get on to the market because the necessary machinery had not been studied or created. And here in India is not the same thing true? Take the little instance of matches. I have bought and continue to buy admirable matches from Rangoon but I never see them on the market and we know how everywhere quite inferior imported matches hold possession of the field. We cannot be content with relying on the intrinsic merit of our goods alone. We must look to the marketing machinery and in view of the hoped-for development of Indian Industries we should assuredly study this aspect of the question very carefully.

Restrictions on Aliens.

Though my Government then are generally opposed to a policy of restrictions on aliens, we feel that it is necessary to retain some of the restrictions with regard to certain minerals such as coal and oil. It will be necessary for our own safety and the safety of the Empire that we should retain a hold over minerals of essential national importance, but we shall endeavour to reduce these restrictions as far as is compatible with the interests of India and the Empire at large.

In connection with the alien problem generally. I should like

to mention briefly a matter which, I understand, will form part of your deliberations. I refer to the movement in favour of a Registration of Business Names Act on the lines of the English Statute. Such an Act if applied to India, would, I take it, not merely be designed to enable information to be obtained as to the true names of the aliens trading in this country, but would cover a wider ground and facilitate obtaining readily information as to the real names of the members of any firm trading under an assumed title. A measure of this kind might, I think, well make for a general improvement in commercial morality, especially in a country such as India where high sounding titles attract perhaps more attention than they deserve. But I must remind you that the question is an exceedingly thorny one. It is one on which commercial opinion in the United Kingdom was sharply divided for many years, and it was only the stress of war and the necessity for obtaining a knowledge about alien traders in the country which eventually enabled a sufficient unanimity of opinion to be obtained for the passing of the English Act. In a matter of this kind, a reasonable amount of unanimity in commercial opinion, both European and Indian, seems to me an essential preliminary to legislation. Meanwhile, provincial legislation is in fact contemplated in Burma, which, of course, is in the position of being more or less isolated from the rest of India and where the practical difficulties of the question, especially those which arise from the Hindu joint family, are not so acute.

Tariff Question.

I suppose that, when the subject of post bellum trade policy is discussed, many people's minds will turn naturally to questions of tariffs. Our Indian tariff has, as you all well know, always been framed on a revenue basis. It has been, in theory at any rate, a tariff of uniform duties for revenue purposes only, and we have traditionally accepted a policy of free trade. No doubt it is possible to find exceptions to this broad statement in some of the items of our tariff, and it is certainly true that at least one recent addition to our tariff has been frankly based on grounds of protection. But while this is so, we must not shut our eyes to what is going on around us, and I would specially direct your attention to expressions of opinion in the Press and elsewhere, not only in this country, but in the United Kingdom. The fact is that pre-conceived opinions have been somewhat shaken by the events of the past five years, and now a days we are not prepared to

accept the doctrines of our youth as something sacrosanct, inviolable, and capable of no exceptions whatsoever.

Imperial Preference.

Take for instance, the large question of Imperial Preference. The principle of preferential duties within the Empire has been accepted already in many of the Dominions and has recently been inaugurated in the tariff of the United Kingdom. Would it, broadly speaking, be to the advantage or the disadvantage of India to adopt it as part of our settled policy? I am not here going to attempt to answer the question or to pre-judge it in any way. It may be said that it has been pre-judged already by the rebate on the export duty on hides. With this I do not agree; there were special reasons in that case and those reasons were frankly stated in the Legislative Council last September. In fact, I may say that it is not the Government of India's intention to adopt a policy of preference as a general policy, without full discussion and full support from enlightened public opinion. But let the public be enlightened on the subject, and let no one express *a priori* ideas without a close examination of the statistics and of the conditions of the trade concerned. I should like to see the subject freely discussed, and I believe that you, gentlemen, could do a good deal to clarify ideas on the subject by a careful analysis of the effect of preferential duties on the trades in which you are severally interested. To the best of my recollection we invited you to do this some two or three years ago, but the replies we received did not reveal the careful examination of the statistics in respect of such different commodity which alone could give us the basis of sound decision. What we want to do is to weigh the advantages and the disadvantages, and strike the balance between the two. I am far from minimising the extreme difficulty and complexity of the subject; but a careful study of it from the point of view of each of our principle trades ought to result in some tangible conclusion which will enable us to decide which way our interests lie. Of course it is our interests, that is to say, the interests of India, which we have first to look to, but it would be unwise to take a wholly parochial point of view, and in developing the tariff policy of the future, we ought to be able to evolve some system which will be to the advantage not of ourselves alone, but also of the Empire of which we are a part. For instance, I know that there has been some difference of opinion as to the value to the tea trade on the preference recently introduced in the United Kingdom.

One would naturally be inclined to say *prima facie* that a preference given by the United Kingdom or by other parts of the Empire to certain articles produced in this country in which we compete with other countries, must have some advantage to us, but we can hardly expect assistance if we give nothing in return.

Labour Problem.

I see that the question of labour is on your agenda for discussion, and it is, I think, clear that considerable changes in this field lie before us in the near future. Labour in India has hitherto been almost entirely unorganised and without leaders. Labour in India has hitherto been cheap, but it has also been as a whole greatly lacking in efficiency, with the result that the cost of production in India has not been able, in spite of the cheapness of labour, to compare favourably with the cost of production in Europe or in the United States of America. If we are to hold our own in competition with the nations of the world we must have increased efficiency and with this end in view those of you who are large employers of labour will, I hope, take every step in your power to improve the condition of the labour you employ, especially with regard to housing. Some of you, I know, have already done much in this direction and realize to the full that improved conditions of labour are as much to your personal interest as to the interest of the country at large.

You all know that an International Labour Convention has just been sitting in Washington, and we were asked to send there a single representative of the employers of India and a single representative of the workers. This limited representation made our choice extremely embarrassing, but I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that the employers of India were well represented by Mr. A. R. Murray, whose great experience and sound judgment must have proved most valuable to his colleagues at the Conference. We had great difficulty also in selecting a representative of the workers. Unions are practically non-existent in India, and labour is at present almost entirely unorganised. In these circumstances we chose Mr. Joshi, a member of the Servants of India Society, who, though not a workman himself, has devoted an unselfish life to the furtherance of the interests of the workmen, and I feel sure that our choice will have justified itself at the Conference.

Railways.

Looking down your list of subjects for discussion I see that

there are several relating to railways. We realize, as fully as you, the vital necessity for railway development in India, and we have set aside an unprecedented sum to be spent on railways during the current financial year, but, as you are aware, there is much leeway to be made upon our existing lines in the way of general maintenance and in the provision of new rolling stock. Deficiencies in this respect will be made good as quickly as possible, and, as supplies arrive, no time will be lost in bringing them into operation. Moreover, we have found ourselves in a position to make a start with new construction, though on a very moderate scale, but I confidently look forward to considerable progress being made in this direction in the very near future. Recent experiences have shown that the State's borrowing powers are greater than could have been contemplated only a few years ago, but even with the increased amounts thus made available, we have thought it well to make proposals to the Secretary of State that the enquiry into railway matters of which notice has already been given, and which will be instituted in the course of the present year, should embrace an examination of means by which further funds can be economically raised for the development of India by means of new railways. India needs all the railways she can get. It is impossible at the present time, and it will probably be so for some time to come, for India to build the railways she requires out of budget allotments or the proceeds of direct borrowing. Does not this point to the probability that private enterprise will have to be invited to enter upon the field? This is a problem to which you might devote your serious consideration.

Rice Control.

The last specific question I shall touch on is that of Rice Control. The recent communique of the Government of India has no doubt attracted your attention. The question of rice control in Burma presents special problems. In 1919, India absorbed the greater part of the surplus available for export and we directed much of the balance to countries having a large Indian population. The Government of India considered that the interests of these consumers outweighed the claims of the Burma producer to make abnormal profits, and the control price was applied to all exports, whether in India or abroad. In the present year the situation is different, as India's requirements are likely to be much smaller, and the greater part of the surplus will go to foreign countries. It is still necessary for us to keep down internal prices in the interests

of our consumers, while at the same time it seems clearly desirable to obtain from our foreign customers a fair market price for the rice that we sell them. It is conceivable that these two objects might be obtained simply by the limitation of exports but if such a limitation proved effective in keeping down internal prices, the exporters would pocket the large difference between these and world prices, and would thus reap the whole of the profits which would otherwise be distributed between the cultivators, the dealers, the millers, the shippers and the various other interests concerned in the trade.

The Government of India have felt it incumbent on them to devise a method of intercepting a considerable share of these profits for the benefit of the general community. The scheme of the control in 1920, the details which have recently been made public, has thus been formulated with the threefold object of, firstly, preventing an undue rise in internal prices; secondly, obtaining a fair price for our exports, and thirdly, securing to the general community a share in the profits of the trade which would otherwise be concentrated in the hands of a comparatively small class. As the bulk of those profits will be taken from the Burma producer, it has been decided to make over the net proceeds, subject to a limit of a crore of rupees, to the local Government for expenditure for the benefit of the cultivator. Should the profits exceed this figure, their allocation will be a matter for future consideration. Measure of this kind is bound to conflict with some established interest, and the Rice Commissioner will be authorised to modify it in detail to meet hard cases, but I hope that it will be recognised to be equitable in its broad principles, and that all concerned will co-operate to make it successful in achieving the three objects which I have explained.

Industries.

I turn now to the question of Industries and you will appreciate the difficulty I have in expressing anything but what are common places on this subject. It is obvious that, in consequence of their different geographical situations, the Chambers of Commerce in India must necessarily differ greatly in their attitude to the apparently opposed interests of local industries and external trade. Superficially regarded, the interest of these two indigenous industries on the one hand and seaborne commerce on the other, seem to be opposed and competitive; and in specific lines this is literally true. But many members of the Chamber who are actively en-

gaged almost solely in external trade, have wisely recognized that their interests in the long run will be improved, not diminished, by healthy development of indigenous industries, and I appreciate very much the sympathy and foresight which have been shown by the old established commercial houses regarding our special efforts to stimulate in this country the manufacture of those articles which have hitherto been obtained only by importation from abroad.

One of the past Presidents of the Bengal Chamber, Sir Francis Stewart, generously devoted much valuable time to the detailed work of the Industrial Commission ; and in every province, maritime as well as inland, the Commission was given frankly and freely information and advice.

The attitude of the Chambers was wise as well as generous ; the development of local industries will naturally diminish the demands for certain imports ; the configuration of external trade may thus become modified and may necessitate a corresponding and often inconvenient modifications of the activities of many commercial firms ; but the development of internal industries must necessarily be followed by greater purchasing power and corresponding increase in the total value of imports. The importing firms may, therefore, I think, confidently look forward to enhanced trade as the result of the greater purchasing power of the community.

Apart from these purely economic considerations, there are strong national reasons for extending the field of indigenous manufactures. During the war we realized the military advantage of the few local industries previously established here, especially the textile industries of cotton, jute and wool, the indigenous manufacture of cement, the tanning of hides and the smelting of steel. But we felt also most acutely the absence of many other essential industries ; and it is our duty to see that the dangers due to such deficiencies are reduced, if not completely eliminated in future.

The industries which assisted so conspicuously in contributing to the output of war material were, however, the result of unaided private enterprise. The Government only stimulated them by the flow of Government orders. As you know, however, we have now decided to organize a special department of the Central Government and corresponding department in the provinces, to undertake that part of the work which cannot fairly be left to any individual firm, especially the research work on raw materials, staple and accessory, on which indigenous industries are based. It

will be the business of the new departments also to advise other departments regarding the subsidiary conditions essential for industrial development, the facilities for internal transport, the education of technical workers, the treatment of labour, and even, as may seem wise in the interests of the country as a whole, the fiscal conditions of trade.

In developing the activities of the new departments your co-operation and criticism will always be necessary to ensure a healthy well balanced growth ; to recognize in time the boundary between wholesome encouragement and enervating assistance ; to balance the relative national claims of external trade and local manufacture. In these matters your criticisms will be necessary and welcome ; and judging by the way in which you have received the new policy as well as the critical, not necessarily adversely critical, spirit always shown in your reviews of official activities Government can safely rely on the Chambers of Commerce for assistance.

It is impossible to enumerate the many ways in which your members individually and the Chambers as bodies assisted the war activities of Government departments, but your meeting at Calcutta reminds me especially of the valuable services rendered by the local Jute Mills Association. Through the voluntary co-operation of Mr. Murray, to whom I have already alluded in another connection, with Colonel Wilson, the Controller of Jute Manufactures, articles to the value of several crores of rupees were furnished to the Allies for direct war use and the essential functions of transporting foodstuffs. So far as our information goes, not a complaint was ever made regarding punctuality, quality or promptness of despatch whilst the distribution of orders among the mills resulted in effecting most substantial economies.

There are other subjects on which I should have liked to address you, as for instance, Aviation and the Indian Defence Force, and I would have done so if I had been in a position to state any thing definite with regard to them. But consultations are still proceeding on these matters, as many of you know, and I am most anxious that we should not, as a Government, put forward any concrete proposals until we have taken counsel with all the various interests concerned, and are in a position to put forward something like an agreed solution. Time spent in consultation is never time misspent.

Further, Currency is a question about which you would have liked me to inform you, but here again I am not yet in a position

to make any announcement beyond this, that we expect the Report in the middle of this month, and that arrangements are being made for its publication as soon as possible after receipt.

I have now finished. I have put before you my views on various questions which are engaging your attention. This is not a time, when so much is in the melting pot, to deal in hazardous prophecy, and I am sure that you, as business men, would be the last to desire that, but my object in attending your meeting will have been achieved if I have convinced you that I and my colleagues take a real interest in your Association; that we shall watch its enlargement with sympathy; that we wish to take you into our full confidence, and that we look forward to your co-operation with us in the future.

THE VICEROY THANKED.

Mr. J. F. Simpson of the Madras Chamber after thanking his Excellency for his sympathetic address in opening the conference made a reference to the isolation of his Excellency at Simla and at Delhi from the views of the Chambers of Commerce. Although he was surrounded by the best brains India contained, he was deprived of that warm personal contact with a great body of his fellow countrymen. He did not know whether the brains of the representative of commerce whom his Excellency met there were equal to the brains of those whom his Excellency met at Delhi or at Simla and he hoped that the attendance at that conference which included such a large body would assure his Excellency as to how intimate and warm their sympathy was. He did not think it would be out of place for him if he, on behalf of the chambers represented there, were to make a word of reference to the attacks made on his Excellency, the Viceroy, at the Indian National Congress at Amritsar. (Applause.) He did not pretend that his Excellency's policy had commended itself to all of them but when the commercial community fought they fought fairly. They did not hit below the belt. There had been a great deal of that at the last Indian National Congress and he was sure that every Britisher, apart altogether from the ordinary feelings of loyalty, would always rally round the Governor of the province or the Viceroy. They wanted his Excellency to feel that if they were subjected to things like that then the Governor or the Viceroy would have a much warmer feeling in their hearts and in their lives (Applause).

The European Association

Annual Meeting—Calcutta.

The Annual Meeting of the European Association was held at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, on 5th January, 1920 with Mr. George Morgan, President of the Association, in the Chair. In the course of his address Mr. Morgan said :—

THE PUNJAB DISORDERS.

I could say a great deal about this, but as it is now the subject of Enquiry by the Hunter Committee, and therefore *subjudice*, I will only mention that the Government of India invited me to serve on the Committee, but principally for reasons of health, I had to reluctantly decline. The Hon'ble Mr. T. Smith, who is Chairman of our Cawnpore Branch, accepted and he is doing excellent work on the Committee. When the Report comes out it will be carefully examined by your new Council and any action which may be considered necessary will no doubt be taken. As you are all aware, I visited Simla in the end of April and the result of my visit was sent in pamphlet form to each Member. I rather favour the opinion held in some quarters that this Committee of Enquiry should *now* be dissolved in view of what the King's Proclamation said with regard to the release of Political Offenders, and which has already been acted upon.

In this connection I should like to add, and I am sure you will all agree with me, that the references made on the public platforms and in the Indian Press about the Viceroy, General Dyer and Colonel Frank Johnson, are nothing short of scandalous.

The Enquiry is not yet finished. Indians should preserve some decency and wait for the Report before giving vent to their feelings.

THE REFORM BILL.

This Bill has been passed by both Houses of Parliament, has received the King's Assent, and is now the Law of the Land, passed, remember, by our own people. It would be hypocrisy on my part to say that I favoured the Bill entirely as it stands.

Honestly I do not. In many respects I think it is a dangerous experiment but, as it is one to which we are now committed, we must see that it is given a fair trial. The new Ministers must not be nursed too much by those who have already had experience in the art of Governing. The New Ministers must be made to feel their responsibility and they must stand or fall by their work, so that when the Commission is appointed 10 years hence to examine the result of the Bill, the members of that Commission may be able to judge fairly how the scheme has worked, especially with regard to Dyarchy, a hitherto untried system of governing. As no one, either out here or at Home, has been able to convince the Joint Committee that there was any other way of meeting the requirements of the announcement of 20th August 1917, Dyarchy has been accepted, and we will now have to see whether it is a workable proposition in practice, or not.

MR. MONTAGU'S METHODS.

As regards the methods adopted to secure the passage of the Bill I am sure that most of us consider they savoured too much of business politics. The preparation seems to have begun with Mr. Lionel Curtis' letter to Mr. B. N. Basu dated 6th April 1917. In that letter Mr. Curtis outlined a scheme which was more or less what the Bill now represents, and he said "If I advocate an Imperial declaration that self-government is the goal of Indian Policy it is merely a preface to taking some immediate steps for travelling in that direction." We know that on the 20th August of that same year, a declaration was made and on that declaration everything was based. Lord Selborne, the Chairman of the Joint Committee, said that the work of that Committee was not to make a Bill, but only to see that the Bill before them coincided with that famous declaration. Mr. Montagu was determined to get the Bill passed as quickly as possible and everything was arranged to that end. Adverse criticism was not tolerated, but everything in favour of the Bill was given wide publicity. We did our best through our Secretary, Mr. Welby, to publish our views at Home and Mr. Welby gave evidence before the Joint Committee on our behalf. He was subjected to very severe cross examination by Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu but was not shaken in his evidence. We have done everything we could to enlighten the British public as to the true conditions prevailing in India. The difficulty of interesting the British Public in Indian Affairs is set forth in the Secretary's note in the Annual Report. We

can do no more so far as the actual Bill is concerned, but, as there are Rules and Regulations yet to be made under the Bill, we shall have to watch very carefully that nothing objectionable creeps in under these Rules and Regulations. Personally I should have liked to have seen the scheme confined to the Provinces in the first instance and this was the view held by the Association and put forward in our statement on the Bill.

SOME CRITICISMS.

Considering that in the opinion of most thinking men the Reform Bill is in the nature of an experiment (Lord Curzon says "the boldest experiment in the history of the British Empire") it seems to me that it would have been wiser to have left the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Imperial Legislative Council untouched, until the New Provincial Ministers and Councils had proved themselves. I do not consider the compartmental working of the Viceroy's Executive Council an ideal system, far from it, but the inclusion of three Indian Members will not help matters. Unless that Executive Council meets regularly as a Cabinet, and exchanges views freely face to face on all subjects, I cannot see what particular benefit self-government is going to get by two more Indian members on that Council.

The composition of the Council of State as put forward by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report has not been favoured by the Joint Committee and I am not surprised, for it seemed to me an insult to any ordinary intelligence. But the change made by the Joint Committee, although more in keeping with the general idea, may be the cause of infinite trouble in the future. The only safeguard now is the "Veto," to be exercised by the Viceroy and the Governors. Frankly I do not envy them their task. It will be a very great burden for them to bear. In my opinion too great a burden, and one which may deter the best men from accepting posts in India. The Legislative Councils will probably only be pleased when the Viceroy and the Governors do *not* exercise the "Veto," when they *should* have done so.

THE CIVIL SERVICES.

Now with regard to the Civil Service. Everyone is appealing to the Civil Service to live up to their high traditions by doing their level best to make the new order a success. It will be comparatively easy for those members, whose service has only a year or two to run, to do this, but what about the young men just

beginning their career and how about new members. I think the position will be a very difficult one for them. Apart altogether from the work of the Service, there is one matter which I think will make it very difficult to secure good men from Home, and that is the social aspect. To anyone who knows the mofussil this presents a difficult problem and I certainly would not care to join a service which would probably doom me to live the best years of my life bereft of the society of my own fellow countrymen. Europeans and Indians have *not* the same social customs. It is very difficult for a European and an Indian to meet socially in the same way as a European, or an Indian, can meet one of their own race: I hope I shall not be misunderstood. By "socially" I do not mean a dinner at a club or a garden party, I mean the real home social life which we all know and which at present is impossible between Europeans and Indians, generally. That time will change this, is more than possible but many Indian customs will have to undergo complete revolution before it is possible.

THE EUROPEAN POSITION.

To turn to our position under the Reform Bill. In my opinion this Association has a very great future before it. Communal representation has been secured and it is up to us to see that we get the best men to represent our community. Our representatives will have to take a great part in the new Councils and will have to be prepared on *all* subjects. In order to enable our members to be in a position to take part in debates and to hold their own in all matters which arise, I expect the Central Office of this Association to be in a position to prepare briefs for our representatives on *any* subject. It is too much to expect our business men to be able to work up subjects in detail, and we have no leisured class in India who can devote their time to political life, as at Home. Therefore I want to see this work done for them by the Secretary of the Association, under the advice and guidance of the Council. It *must* be done, otherwise we are faced with the only other alternative namely, paid representatives. Do not think that you can ignore Politics. Politics influence our everyday life and we must study them. The man who wants to fight all reform, will be of no use to his community, nor is the man who says the day of the European in India is over, and then folds his hands and takes no further interest. I say we have nearly as much interest in India as the Indians themselves, and we mean to be as large a factor in the influencing of the Governing of India in the future

as we have been in the past, but with this marked difference : whereas the past factor was official, the future factor will be non-official.

A WORD TO THE MODERATES.

I am glad to see that the Indian Moderate Party is asserting itself, and that is all for good. If that party shows backbone and sets itself to work for the real good of India it will deserve, and it will get, our support. But no party which makes politics a game, and only wishes to gain power for its own ends, can expect any sympathy from the non-official European community. Sir B. C. Mitter in his speech at the Moderate Congress on 30th December said that he hoped we would co-operate with Indians in shouldering the new responsibilities and thus ensure the success of the New Act. As I said before, we are ready to give the Reforms a fair trial and, if the party to which Sir B. C. Mitter belongs, really means to stand up against the Extremist Section of Politicians and work for the good Government of India, I feel confident our community will co-operate. But we insist on being recognised as belonging to India and not as mere foreign exploiters and birds of passage.

WHAT IS THE BEST FOR INDIA.

With reference to what Mr. Montagu said about rousing the masses in India out of their pathetic contentment in order to confer upon them the inestimable boon of exercising the Vote, I would draw your attention to the remarks made by the President of the other Congress, Pandit Motilal Nehru, in the address. This is what he said :—" We do not wish to make of India a cheap and slavish imitation of the west. We have so far sought to liberalise our government on the western model. Whether that will satisfy us in the future, I cannot say. But let us bear in mind that western democracy has not proved a panacea for all ills ; it has not yet solved the problems which surround us." One of the points raised in our statement was that it could not be taken for granted that Reform on the lines of the Bill was the Reform best suited to India, and it looks as if the President of the Congress was himself now doubtful on that point."

The Reforms

Indian Constitutional Reforms

For the Original Reports and Papers issued on this matter in 1917-19, see the Register for 1919, Part III. The following pages give only the summary of the Govt. of India Despatches and of Reports of the Committees issued in 1919.

Historical Survey.

20 Aug. 1917—Declaration of Policy by His Majesty's Govt. in Parliament through the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu.

Sept. 1917—Mr. Montagu's Visit to India to confer with Viceroy and local bodies on Indian Reforms.

(Oct. 'Dec' 17—His reception of numerous deputations representing public bodies and conference with local Govts.

8 July 1918—The famous Montagu-Chelmsford Report issued.

March 1919—Lord Southborough's Report on Franchise issued.

5 March 1919—Govt. of India First Despatch on Reforms to the Sec. of State.

April 1919—Report of the Feetham Committee on Functions issued.

16 April 1919—Govt. of India 4th Despatch to the Sec. of State.

16 April 1919—The famous Minute of Dissent of Sir Sankara Nair issued.

23 April 1919—Govt. of India 5th Despatch to Sec. of State.

30 May 1919—Indian Reforms Bill Published by Parliament along with Sec. of State's memorandum—(See. Part II)—First Reading of the Govt. of India Bill 1919 in Parliament.

5 June 1919—Second Reading of the Govt. of India Bill in Parliament—Mr. Montagu's long speech and long and animated debate (See for full debate Part II pp. 140-234)

14 July 1919—Crew Committee Report on Home Administration of Indian affairs published (see Part II, pp. 113-140)

16 July 1919—Parliamentary Joint Committee on Indian Reform Bill held first sitting—Sir James Meston gives evidence on behalf of Govt. of India

21 Nov. 1919—Report of the Joint Committee with the Govt. of India Bill 1919 as amended by them published. (see Part II)

3 Dec. 1919—Govt of India Bill 1919 went to House of Commons in Committee (see Part II)

5. Dec. 1919—The Bill passed 3rd Reading in H. of C.

11. Dec. 1919—The Bill placed before H. of Lords by Lord Sinha.

12 " " —2nd Reading of the Bill in House of Lords passed

18 " " —3rd Reading in H. of L. passed.

25 " " —It receives Royal assent and becomes Law

25 " " —His Majesty's Message to India.

1st Despatch of the Govt. of India

On Constitutional Reforms

Simla, 5th March 1919.

This despatch opens with a description of the reception accorded to the Montford Report in India, dealing in turn with the views of India's non-official Europeans, officials and local Governments. Different types of Government are then considered. It says pointedly that no type of unified Government which would comply with the announcement of August 20, 1917, is practicable under present circumstances, though all local Governments except two declared for a unified system and a majority of the Heads of Provinces who met at Delhi in January 1919 embodied their proposals in a joint minute. These proposals are considered at length and after stating reasons for rejecting them, The Government of India declare themselves definitely in favour of a dual system, modified in certain respects.

The main features of the **Provincial Executive** proposed in the Montford Report are accepted, by the Govt., save that it is suggested that there should be no members without portfolios and that in cases where a Governor lacks Indian experience the council should include two official members. The Government of India understand that for the present Heads of Provinces other than the presidencies will be drawn from the services (I.C.S.) and they would provide by statute for the appointment of one official and one Indian member of council. Ministers should be appointed from the elected members of, and from the outset should be amenable to, the provincial legislature. Their number and pay should be fixed by the Governor in consultation with the prospective ministers and placed on the transferred estimates.

They take care to provide that the main rights and duties of the **Public Services** in India should be reduced to statutory form, and submit proposals for the necessary law. Classification of the services into Indian, provincial, and subordinate divisions is kept up though the chief criterion now is to be the appointing authority. Option of serving under ministers and proportionate pensions are not recommended, but the task of protecting the services is laid definitely upon the Governor: in extreme cases officers should be entitled to apply for proportionate pensions. Officers having duties in both reserved and transferred departments should, for purposes of posting, promotion and discipline, be under the control of that part of the Government which is concerned with the budget head from which their pay is met. There should be Provision in the Bill for the establishment of a Public Services Commission.

The Financial Proposals made by the Government of India involve two important variations from the M-C Report Scheme. In the first place, it is proposed to aim at a more equitable division among the provinces of the burden of Imperial finance. While the proposal in the Report are accepted as a basis for the initial provincial contributions to the Central Government, they propose that a committee on Financial Relations be appointed to fix a fairer scale of contributions for the future and to advise how it can be reached. In the second place, the M-C Report proposal whereby the revenues of the Provincial Governments will be treated as a whole and the amount to be allotted to each half of the Government will be decided yearly at budget time after consultation between the executive council and ministers is rejected. It is held that this system (1) renders impossible the regulation of overdrafts on balances, taxation and borrowing, (2) gives to each half of Government an indefensible power of interference with the other half, (3) will be productive of unnecessary friction, and (4) offer no incentive to either half to develop its own resources. Instead the system of separate purse is proposed, under which each half of the Government will be given a fixed share of the provincial balances, the receipts from its own heads of revenue and a share of the estimated normal surplus, and adjustments to provide for needs of either part of the Government will be made by the grant either of a fraction of some head of revenue or of a growing allotment in cash. The first division of resources would be temporary and thereafter the division would be adjusted periodically. Each half of the Government would be given separate powers of taxation and borrowing, all proposals of

this nature being first laid before the whole Government. The budget would however be a single one prepared by the Finance Department and would be discussed in the legislative Council but not voted upon by it. Resolutions would have effect as recommendations only, as now, but if carried against a minister he would have to consider whether they involve a vote of want of confidence. There would be a single Finance Department with a Joint Secretary to guard the interests of transferred subjects, and the legislature would be asked to appoint a committee on public accounts to advise on all surcharges and disallowances of the auditor and all serious departures from budget provisions.

The **Legislative arrangements** proposed in the M. C. Report are generally supported. The composition of the grand committee is reserved for further consideration and India Govt. recommend that there should be no right of appeal against the Governor's decision in the matter of certification. The proposals in the M-C Report regarding the Governor's powers of assent, dissolution, etc., are approved. It is also proposed that the Governor should have power to reserve certain acts for the assent of the Governor General. Govt. do not think it necessary to establish an Upper House. They agree that the Governor should be the President of the legislative council with power to nominate a Vice-President. For rules of business they propose that fundamental rules, affecting the powers of the different elements of the constitution, should be distinguished from standing orders of council to be framed by the local Governments and alterable by the council with the sanction of the Governor. The right of asking supplementary questions should be extended to all members, and official members should have freedom of speech and vote on any side on all subjects except where Government thinks it necessary to give them instructions to the contrary. The M-C Report proposals regarding the effect of resolutions are accepted, as are also, subject to certain conditions, those regarding standing committees and council under-secretaries.

The Govt. India propose that **Rules of Business** should be framed to regulate the disposal of cases in transferred subjects. The circumstances in which the Governor will be entitled to intervene in transferred subjects should be defined in the instrument of instructions to the Governor which should be a published document. If a minister finds himself unable to acquiesce in the action proposed by the Governor, the latter should be empowered to call on him to resign, and, if he is unable to find another minister immediately, to take over the control of the departments concerned himself.

If the Governor is unable within six months to find a minister, he should move the Secretary of State to re-transfer the portfolio to the Governor in Council.

When differences arise as to the disposal of a case affecting a reserved and a transferred department, the Governor should be able to intervene and, if he thinks fit, submit the case for consideration to other members and ministers than those concerned, but the final decision should remain with the department to which the case properly belongs. When it is doubtful to which department a case belongs, the decision should lie with the Governor. Orders of the two parts of the Government should be distinguished so as to make it clear from which side they emanate. Each half of the Government must refrain from opposition to the other half, but should not be expected to give active support to a policy which they have not endorsed.

They approve, the proposal to have periodic **Statutory Commissions** to enquire into the working of the Scheme but object to intermediate changes before the appointment of the first commission.

The Govt. of India also approve that two **Indian Members** should be on the Governor-General's executive council, also the abolition of the statutory restriction on the number of members of the council; but recommend that the appointment of two officials, one lawyer, and two Indians, should be secured by statute. Recommendations in regard to the constitution and powers of the Assembly and the Council of State are reserved pending the consideration of the franchise committee's proposals. The President of the Assembly should be an official nominated by the Governor-General, that powers of assent, reservation and disallowance to all acts of the Indian legislature should remain as at present, that the existing powers of making regulations and ordinance should be maintained, that the Governor-General should have power to return a Bill for reconsideration and to dissolve either the Assembly or the Council of State, and that in the matter of resolutions, questions, rules of business, etc, the Indian legislature should be on the same footing as provincial councils. The establishment of a Privy Council is approved but the proposals to appoint standing committees and council under-secretaries for the Indian legislature are declared to be premature.

Regarding the relaxation of the **Control of the Secretary of State and Parliament** and the transfer of the Secretary of State's salary to the Home Estimates, the Govt. of India are fully

in accord with the M-C proposals and the proposal to institute a committee of Parliament on Indian affairs is welcomed and the suggestion is made that the committee should include members of both Houses. Opinion on the recognition of the India Office is reserved pending the report of the India Office committee.

MINUTE BY THE VICEROY.

The following Minute by His Excellency the Viceroy, dated March 5, 1929 was appended to the despatch :—

I feel it right to append a minute to this despatch, not of dissent but by way of personal explanation.

In 1916 my Government forwarded a despatch to the Secretary of State framing an announcement of policy and the first steps to be taken in pursuance of the policy enunciated. The despatch was subjected to criticism—criticism which I accept as sound—that it failed to fix the enlarged Councils with responsibility. A mere increase in numbers it was said did not train Indians in self-government. It did not advance the object unless the Councils were at the same time fixed with some definite powers and with real responsibility for their actions.

It is to my mind evident that such criticism was the genesis of form of the announcement of policy made by the Secretary of State on behalf of His Majesty's Government on August 20th. That announcement had three outstanding features. First, the progressive realisation of responsible government is given the keynote and objective of British policy in India : secondly substantial steps are to be taken at once in this direction : and thirdly this policy is to be carried out by stages. I think I shall not be stating the basic principle of this policy unfairly when I sum it up as the gradual transfer of responsibility to Indians.

The Secretary of State was deputed by His Majesty's Government to proceed to India to discuss the whole question with myself and Government and the results of our discussion are embodied in the Joint Report which we presented to His Majesty's Government.

The Secretariat Criticism.—We took as our terms of reference the announcement of August 20th, and I confidently assert that in the proposals we have made we have not swerved from the terms of that announcement. The progressive realisation of responsible government is the basis of our proposals : substantial steps to be taken at once in this direction are formulated and we have provided through the machinery of the periodic commission for the achievement of the policy announced by successive stages.

We have not overlooked the very grave and real difficulties which lie in the path of the policy proposed. They are set out at length throughout the Report, but especially in the Chapter entitled the 'the Conditions of the Problem' and in my perusal of the criticisms of the Report I have seen no difficulties stated which we have not ourselves emphasised. As regards the proposals themselves no criticism which has been directed against them is more severe than our own statement of the case in paragraph 354 of our Report.

"As we have said already because it (the Report) contemplates transitional arrangements, it is open to the criticism which can always be effectively directed against all such plans. Hybrid executives, limited responsibility, assemblies partly elected and partly nominated, divisions of functions, reservations, general or particular, are devices that can have no permanent abiding place. They bear on their faces their transitional character ; and they can be worked only if it is clearly recognised that is their justification and their purpose. They cannot be so devised as to be logical. They must be charged with potentialities of friction. Hope of avoiding mischief lies in facing the fact that they are temporary expedients for training purposes, and in providing that the goal is not merely kept in sight, but made attainable, not by agitation but by the operation of machinery inherent in the scheme itself."

Meaning of Responsibility—I have quoted this passage to show that the Secretary of State and I did not shut our eyes to the very grave difficulties attendant on our scheme. But to what are these difficulties due ? They are not due to any perverse ingenuity on the part of the Secretary of State and myself in the framing of our proposals. They are inherent in the principle underlying the announcement to which we were bidden to give effect, *viz.*, the gradual transfer of responsibility to Indians. And I wish here to endeavour to define what I mean by responsibility. There has been much discussion as to what is meant by responsibility to constituents, responsibility to legislative councils and the like, and I cannot but think that there has been much talk and writing on this subject which is beside the mark, and perhaps our Report is equally guilty with others in this respect. What are we aiming at in our policy ? Surely this, that the decision of certain matters—I will not discuss what matters—shall rest with Indians : that in these matters it will be for them to say "Yes" or "No" and that our scheme shall provide as far as possible, for everybody knowing that the decision in any particular matter is their decision, that the "Yes" or "No" is their "Yes" or "No." This definition of the responsibility to be

attained by Indians is one to which, I believe, most people will subscribe, and I believe it to be the responsibility at which His Majesty's Government were aiming when they made their declaration of policy.

It is one thing however to enunciate a principle : it is another thing to translate the principle into practice. The Secretary of State and I have had the task imposed upon us of translating the principle of the gradual transfer of responsibility to Indians into practice. We explored every road, we followed up every path which seemed to lead to the goal we had in view, but we always came back to this, that if responsible Government is to be progressively realised through the gradual transfer of responsibility as defined above, the only method by which this can be attained is one which involves the division of the functions of Government between two different sets of authorities, a method which has been compendiously styled "dyarchy."

Objections to Unitary System—In a unitary government, short of unitary responsible government, you cannot fix responsibility upon Indians. You can associate Indians with the Government, but you cannot fix them with responsibility in the sense that anyone can see at a glance that the decision in any particular case is their decision. Moreover in a unitary government there is no room for the gradual transfer of responsibility. There is only one step from irresponsibility into the full responsibility which responsible government connotes. By the dyarchic method, however, you can insure full responsibility in certain subjects with machinery to extend that responsibility to other subjects as occasion permits. The division of subjects between the official portion of the Government and the Indian portion of the Government insures that each portion is fixed with responsibility for its actions in the sphere allotted to it. Such a division is full of difficulties as critics of our scheme have not failed to point out, but they are the price which we must be prepared to pay, if we are to translate the principle underlying the announcement of August into practice, and make the transfer gradual.

Provincial Govt's Scheme

I think I may bring out in greater relief the broad difference between the schemes of unitary government and dyarchy, if I analyse the scheme propounded by the five Heads of Local Governments which is forwarded with the despatch. I welcome the scheme because it is possible from a comparison between it and the scheme of the Report to appreciate the issue between a unitary and a dyarchic government.

In paragraph 3 of the minute it is said "While the announcement of His Majesty's Government in Parliament rightly placed the association of Indians with the Government in the foreground of the policy, the idea of association has been overshadowed and obscured by the idea of responsibility."

His Majesty's Government are the sole judges of what was meant by the announcement of August 20th. I have at the beginning of this minute discussed what I believe to be the genesis of the announcement of August 20th and what I regard as its main features and its underlying principle.

If I am wrong as to these, the foundation of the arguments in the preceding pages disappears, but I will examine the scheme of the Heads of Local Governments on the assumption that I am correct.

Local Governments' Proposals—The main features of their scheme may be said to be—

- (1) A Council of equal numbers of officials and non-officials, the latter selected from elected members.
- (2) No division of subjects.
- (3) Legislative Council to be as in the joint Report.
- (4) The Governor to have powers to overrule his Executive Council under section 50 of Government of India Act, 1915.
- (5) Legislation to be as in joint Report, Grand Committee to exist, but the Governor to have a free hand in the selection of members nominated for it and Governor to have powers of certification in the terms of section 50 mentioned above.
- (6) Budget to be voted by the Legislative Council, but Governor to have power to restore any item in terms of section 50.

It can, I think, be seen at once that the pith of the scheme lies in the constitution of the Executive and in the non-division of subjects. The other features are either those of the joint Report or modifications of it. Can it be said that in the Unitary Executive as proposed it will be possible to fix the Indian portion of the Executive with responsibility in the sense in which I have used it in this minute, *viz.*, that it will be for them to say "Yes" or "No" in certain matters and that everybody will know that the "Yes" or "No" is their "Yes" or "No." Their position will not be different from that enjoyed by Indian Members of Executive Councils at the present moment, under which the predominance of the British element always shields the Indian Member from any direct responsibility in respect of actions of the Government. He can always point to the majority against him as responsible for the action taken.

Again, on the assumption that "the gradual transfer of responsibility" is the basic principle of the announcement, I believe that under the scheme of the Heads of Local Governments, there can only be one step from a position of irresponsibility to one of full responsibility. Under this scheme advance can only be by an increase of numbers of Indian in the Executive Council and granted that the initial numbers of British and Indians are two and two, an increase of one to the Indians places them in full control. Let me quote from the minute of dissent of Lord Ronaldshay and Sir Edward Gait to the scheme under discussion, "It is true that if the scheme of the joint Report be adopted, there will be continued agitation for an increase in the number of transferred subjects. But under the alternative scheme there will be an equally strong agitation for an increase in the number of non-official Members of the Government; and concession to that agitation would be far more dangerous, as it would involve a sudden transfer of all power from the official to the non-official members, subject to the power vested in the Governor by section 50 of the Government of India Act, which however, he could exercise only on very special occasions."

The Legislative Councils.—It still remains for me to examine the position of the Legislative Councils under this scheme. The Heads of Local Governments rely on the machinery of the Grand Committee and the use of the certificate to carry their affirmative legislation. In so far as they find themselves able to use this machinery in the whole domain of government, they will reduce the Councils merely to bodies of irresponsible critics to whom no power is given, in whom no responsibility is fixed, but whose numbers are materially increased. In so far as they do not use the machinery they will reproduce the position of Canada described in the Durham Report—an irremovable executive and an irresponsible but supreme legislature. It might be said that this same argument recoils on my head in respect of our treatment of reserved subjects. But to this objection I would point out that we have advisedly not introduced the principle of responsibility into that sphere, while in the sphere of the transferred subjects the principle has full play.

The potentialities of friction, which are predicted for the dyarchic scheme, will thus, to my mind, be equal if not greater in their proposals and the saving grace of responsibility will find no place.

Once more,—I have seen schemes under which a combination of division of subjects with a unitary executive is proposed. I would ask those who suggest such schemes to test them by the two principles which I understand are basic in the announcement, of

fixation of responsibility and of gradual transfer of responsibility. I do not believe they will survive the test. But let me state the problem in another way. The division of subjects is incompatible with Unitary Government. The moment you divide subjects you necessarily divide the Government, otherwise there is no meaning in the division. You divide subjects in order to allocate those which are to be under the control of the Legislative Councils to Members of the Government who would owe allegiance to the Councils. By division of subjects then you at once introduce dualism into the Government, and have two portions of one Government owing allegiance to different authorities.

Need for Prompt Action.—I have confined myself in this minute to the one point whether or not the advance is to be by way of the gradual transfer of responsibility. This to my mind must be settled before it is profitable to discuss the details of the proposals. I have traced the history of the promulgation of this principle. It is for His Majesty's Government to decide whether I have traced it aright and whether I have correctly interpreted their announcement of August 20th. The idea of responsibility was, as I believe, introduced into that announcement deliberately and I have endeavoured loyally to carry it out in the proposals for which the Secretary of State and I were jointly responsible. I leave it then for the decision of His Majesty's Government, but I earnestly press upon them the imperative necessity of action in fulfilment of their announcement. I agree with the opinion expressed by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, in a note written to me in connection with the Conference of Heads of Provinces, that "time is a factor of vital importance in the consideration of the whole question of Reforms." "I am convinced" he says "that delay is a greater danger even than an imperfect scheme, and that those of us on whom must fall the heavy burden of putting reforms schemes into actual operation will be better able to work an imperfect scheme with the good-will and confidence of all concerned than to operate a more perfect scheme—if one can be devised—when confidence and good will have been broken and alienated by disappointment and delay."

One last word—The Secretary of State and I asked for publication of our Report because, as we said, "our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike." That criticism, so far as India is concerned, has been received and along with my colleagues in the Government of India. I have carefully weighed it. The results of

our consideration are embodied in the amendments suggested by us in our despatch. We have not departed from the underlying principle of the Report ; and I believe what we have done much to clarify and strengthen the proposals as a practical scheme.

CHELMSFORD

Viceroy and Gov. General.

SOUTHBOROUGH REPORT ON FRANCHISE

The Committees on Franchise and Subjects, foreshadowed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, were duly appointed under the Chairmanship of Lord Southbrough and their reports were issued in March, 1919.

The Franchise Committee's Report is summarised as follows :—

Provincial Councils—The committee recommend the retention of the existing general disqualifications of electors and the addition of a further disqualification based on nationality which would not, however, apply to subjects of Indian States. They decided that the social conditions of India make it premature to extend franchise to women.

It is proposed that the general franchise should be based on residence within the constituency and the possession of certain property qualifications as evidenced by the payment of land revenue, rent or local rates in rural areas, and of municipal rates in urban areas, and of income tax generally. An important exception of these general principles is the recommendation of the Indian Army. No attempt has been made to arrive at any uniform property qualification. The qualifications proposed vary not only from province to province ; but also of some cases, in different areas within the same province. An important point is that the same qualifications is proposed for all communities within the same area.

The number of electors, which the franchise proposed for the various provinces will give, is roughly estimated as follows :—

Madras	...	...	542,000
Bombay	...	...	653,000
Bengal	...	...	1,228,000
United Provinces			1,483,500
Panjab			237,000
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	576,500
Central Provinces	...	...	159,500
Assam	...	...	302,000

It is proposed to replace the existing system of indirect election to the provincial legislative councils by a system of direct election. The district will ordinarily be the electoral unit but in some provinces single cities with large populations and in other provinces smaller towns in groups will form urban constituencies. Single member constituencies are generally recommended but some latitude is left to local Governments in this matter. The committee are opposed to the introduction of elaborated system of voting, such as proportional representation, the limited vote, and the cumulative vote. They recommend that plural voting should be forbidden except where a constituency returns more than one member in which case each elector will have as many votes as there are members. Electors will also be allowed to vote in one general or communal constituency in addition to voting in a special constituency.

The average number of electors in the general and communal constituencies in the various provinces is estimated to be as follows :—

Madras	...	...	...	7,200
Bombay	...	...	...	8,900
Bengal	...	...	...	16,400
United Provinces	...	...	...	17,700
Punjab	...	...	...	4,900
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	...	9,100
Central Provinces	...	...	...	3,400
Assam	...	...	...	9,700

The size of individual constituencies will, however, vary enormously, from 500 electors in the Muhammadan constituency composed of the towns of Madura, Trichinopoly and Srirangam to 96,000 in the constituency of Almora in the United Provinces.

The size of the council which the Committee recommend for each province is as follows :—

Madras	...	...	...	118
Bombay	...	...	...	111
Bengal	...	...	...	12
United Provinces	...	...	...	11
Punjab	...	...	...	83
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	...	98
Central Provinces	...	...	...	70
Assam	...	...	...	53

In the Presidencies and the United Provinces the proportion of elected members proposed is from 78 to 80 per cent. of the total

membership, and in the remaining four provinces from 73 to 75 per cent. The proportion of officials proposed is 15 per cent. in the United Provinces, 16 per cent. in the three presidencies and Bihar and Orissa, 17 per cent. in the Central Provinces and Assam and 19 per cent. in the Punjab. The interests to be represented by nomination are :—

- (i) the depressed classes in all provinces, except the Punjab ;
- (ii) Anglo-Indians in all provinces, except Madras and Bengal, where representation will be by election ;
- (iii) Indian Christians in all provinces, except Madras, where they will have a special electorate, and the Central Provinces ;
- (iv) labour in Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam ;
- (v) excluded tracts in Madras and the Central Provinces ;
- (vi) military interests in the Punjab ;
- (vii) (viii) aborigines and domiciled ;
- (ix) Bengalis, all in Bihar.

The number of nominated non-official members proposed varies from 4 in Bengal and the United Provinces to 9 in Bihar and Orissa and Assam.

Special electorates are proposed for the following interests :—

- (i) universities, in all provinces except Assam ;
- (ii) landholders and
- (iii) commerce and industry, both in all provinces.

The number of landholding members varies from 2 in Assam to 7 in Madras and of representatives of commerce and industry from 2 in the Punjab and the Central Provinces to 15 in Bengal. In the representation of commerce and industry the following special interests share :

- (i) planting in Madras, Bihar and Orissa and Assam ;
- (ii) mining in Bengal, Behar and Orissa and the Central Provinces ;
- (iii) European Chambers of Commerce in Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces ;
- (iv) Indian Chambers of Commerce in the same four provinces ;
- (v) Trades' Associations in the three Presidencies ;
- (vi) and (viii) Millowners' Association and cotton trade in Bombay ;
- (vii) (ix) (x) and (xi) the jute trade, the tea trade, Indian Associations and Inland Water Transport Board in Bengal ;

(xii) general industrial interests in the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Assam.

The extension of **communal electorates** is proposed in the interests of (1) Indian Christians to whom three seats are given in Madras ; (2) Anglo-Indians who are given one seat each in Madras and Bengal ; (3) Europeans who are given two seats in Bombay and Bengal and one seat in Madras, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa ; and (4) Sikhs to whom eight seats are given in the Punjab. In the case of Muhammadans, the existing system of communal election is retained and following the Congress League agreement the committee propose to give Muslims the following proportion of Indian elected seats :—

					per cent.
Madras	...	..	...	...	15
Bombay	...	...	...	...	34
Bengal	...	...	...	...	40
United Provinces	...	...	...	...	30
Punjab	...	...	...	...	50
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	...	...	25
Central Provinces	...	...	...	...	14

The claims to separate electorates of the following minor communities are not supported. Mahishyas of Bengal and Assam, Marwaris of Calcutta, Bengali domiciled community of Bihar and Orissa, Ahoms of Assam, Mahars of the Central Provinces, Uriyas of Madras and Parsis of Bombay. The majority of the committee would also reject the claims of the Mahrattas. In regard to non-Brahmans of Madras, the committee observe that they were deprived of the opportunity of examining the non-Brahman leaders and of testing their views since they refused to appear before the committee. The communications from Dr. Nair and other non-Brahman leaders, are included in an appendix (XV) to the report. The committee regret that the refusal of these leaders to appear at the enquiry made a settlement by consent impossible. They considered certain solutions of the non-Brahman problem ; but in the end decided to make no difference between Brahmans and non-Brahmans ; but they add a suggestion that the matter may be further considered hereafter if the non-Brahmans make a move.

Few changes are proposed in regard to the **qualifications of the candidates.**

The most important are :—

(1) the removal of the disqualification of subjects of Indian States.

(2) the limitation of the disqualifications of dismissal from Government service and imprisonment

(3) the withdrawal of the Governor's power to declare the election of a candidate as contrary to public interests ; and

(4) the addition of a new qualification of residence within the constituency in the provinces of Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces.

The Indian Legislature—The committee recommend that the Assembly should have a total strength of 125 members, or including the Governor-General in Council 121. 80 members should be elected, distributed among various provinces as follows :—

Madras	...	...	...	12
Bombay	...	...	...	12
Bengal	...	...	...	13
United Provinces	...	...	...	12
Panjab	...	...	...	9
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	...	9
Central Provinces	...	...	...	5
Assam	...	...	...	3
Burma	...	...	...	4
Delhi	...	...	...	1

Of these 80 members 36 will represent general non-Muslim interests, 19 general Muslim interests, 1 general Sikh interests, 5 non-Muslim landholding interest, 4 Muslim landholding interests, 1 Sikh landholding interest, 6 European commerce and planting and 4 Indian commerce. To these will be added 14 members appointed by nomination and 26 officials. The committee hold that a system of direct election is not feasible, except in the case of the landholding and commercial interests, and recommend that the general representatives should be returned by the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils voting on a communal basis.

It is proposed that the **Council of State** should consist of 56 members, exclusive of Governor-General, of whom 24 should be elected. The 24 elected seats are distributed as follows :—

General	...	...	...	...	11
Mahomedans	...	...	...	...	7
Sikhs	...	...	...	...	1
Landholders	...	...	...	...	2
European Chamber of Commerce	...	...	...	...	2
Burma	...	...	...	...	1

The elected members, with the exception of the two representatives of European commerce, will be returned by the non-official members of the various provincial councils, the distribution of seats among the provinces being as follows :

Madras	...	...	...	3
Bombay	...	...	...	3
Bengal	...	...	...	3½*
United Provinces	...	...	...	3
Punjab	...	...	...	3
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	...	2½†
Central Provinces	...	...	...	1½†
Assam	...	...	...	1½†

* One landholding seat to be filled alternately from Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa.

† One Muhammadan seat to be filled alternately from the Central Provinces and Assam.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON FRANCHISE.

The following is a brief summary of the Government of India despatch of April 23, 1919, (See A. R. 1919 Part III.) giving the Government's views on the Franchise Report.

The Government of India accept the Committee's recommendations with the following exceptions. They would not admit subjects of Native States as electors or candidates. They object to any franchise qualifications other than those based on property. They would enlarge the electorate proposed for Madras and reduce those for Bengal, United Provinces and Assam, and would reduce size of larger constituencies. They consider provision for representation of backward classes inadequate and propose considerable increase in some provinces. They see no need for special University constituencies and propose to re-examine proposals for landholding constituencies in Madras, Punjab and Assam, and to re-distribute seats allotted to landholders of United Provinces. They accept proposals for Muslim representation except in Bengal where they would give Muslims 24 seats instead of 34. They propose tentatively to allot to non-Brahmans 30 out of 61 non-Muslim seats in Madras but without special electorate and would consult Bombay Government regarding Mahrattas. They would ask for further consideration of distribution of seats between town and country. In regard to the Indian Legislature they agree generally as to the size of both chambers but criticise the distribution of seats in the Assembly with special

reference to omission of urban representation and amount of representation proposed for landholders and European and Indian commerce. They would prefer a system of direct election to the Assembly but are prepared to accept indirect election provided elections to Council of State are direct.

DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS.

The following is a summary of the Report of the Feetham Committee on Division of Functions :—

The report is in six sections. The important sections are no. II, which deals with provincial functions and relations between the provinces and the Government of India, no. III in which the transfer of functions and the powers of the Governor-in-Council in relation to transferred subjects are discussed, and nos. IV and V in which proposal regarding the Public Services and Finance respectively are put forward. Much of the report does not lend itself readily to summary being of a technical and complicated nature but the main proposals are :—

Section II.—The committee have prepared two lists showing (i) all-India subjects and (ii) provincial subjects. Among the most important subjects proposed for inclusion in the all-India list are. naval, military and aerial matters, foreign relations and relations with native states, railways (with certain exceptions), communications of military importance, posts and telegraphs, currency and coinage, sources of imperial revenue, law of status, property, civil rights, etc., commerce, shipping and major ports, criminal law, central police organisation and railway police, possession and use of arms, central institutions of scientific and industrial research, ecclesiastic administration and all-India services. In the provincial list the most important items are local self-government, medical administration and education, sanitation, education (with certain exceptions), provincial buildings, communications other than those of military importance, light and feeder railway in certain cases, irrigation and canals, land revenue administration, agriculture, civil veterinary department, fisheries, cooperative societies, forests, excise, administration of justice, development of industries, police prisons and reformatories, control of newspapers and presses, provincial borrowing.

The provincial subjects will be divided into reserved and transferred and it is proposed that the powers of the Government of India in regard to provincial subjects should vary according to this division.

The committee recommend that intervention in transferred subjects should be allowed only for two purposes, *viz.*—

- (1) To safeguard the administration of all-India subjects.
- (2) To decide questions arising between two or more provinces, failing agreement between the provinces concerned :

In respect, however, of certain special subjects they retain a certain power of control in the hands of the Government of India by making the subjects "provincial subjects to Indian legislation." In the case of reserved subjects the committee recognise that no specific restrictions can be imposed on the Government of India's general powers of control but feel that the control should vary according as the subjects are administered by provincial government as agents of the Government of India or as provincial functions properly so called. In respect of the former the Government of India's powers of control must remain absolute, but in regard to the latter they propose to secure that the Governor General in Council shall exercise his power of control with due regard to the purpose of the new Government of India Act.

Effect of the proposals.—The general effect of the proposals will be to leave the provinces free to legislate on provincial subjects, reserved and transferred, which are not specially made subjects to Indian legislation, except in cases where the proposed Bills affected powers expressly reserved to the Government of India by statute, or amend any provision of certain specified all-India Acts, or amend any section of an Act which by the terms of the Act itself is specially protected. They also propose that the Governor shall have power to reserve for the consideration of the Governor-General provincial Bills, which appear to him to affect any matter specially committed to his charge, any all-India subject or the interests of any other province, and shall be required similarly to reserve Bills which affect the religion or religious rights and usages of any class, university Bills, Bills shifting boundaries of reserved and transferred subjects, and railway or tramway Bills.

Section III.—The committee preface their discussion of the transfer of subjects with a statement of reservations which accompanied the proposals of local Governments. The Madras Government were wholly opposed to any scheme involving dualism, the Governments of Bombay and the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Assam proposed alternative schemes involving no division of functions and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces desired a period of training before the introduction of the Report scheme. The

most important subjects proposed for transfer are local self-government, medical administration and education, sanitation, education (with certain exceptions), provincial buildings, communication other than those of military importance, light and feeder railways and tramways (in certain cases), agriculture, civil veterinary department, fisheries (except in Assam), co-operative societies, forests in Bombay, Excise (except in Assam) subject to certain safeguards and the development of industries. Mr. Couchman is unable to recommend the transfer of any subject in Madras as he feels that the proposals of the Franchise Committee will result in the return of a large majority of Brahmans in whose hands the interests of the masses will not be safe !

Intervention of the Government.—The committee recommend that the Governor should be free to intervene in the administration of transferred subjects.

(i) In defence of reserved subjects,

(ii) In defence of his special responsibilities under the instrument of instructions.

In cases of the former description if the Governor fails to get ministers concerned to agree, he will himself decide the point in issue and will be empowered to call on the minister to resign in cases of necessity. If the case is an emergent one requiring immediate action, the Governor will be able to certify it as such, whereupon the Governor-in-Council will take action. Rules are suggested for regulating the relation between the two portions of the Government and defining the authority of the Governor. The gist of these is (1) each side is not to interfere unduly with the other, (2) the Governor shall decide which side has jurisdiction when that is in doubt, (3) the Governor shall see that all orders of the Governor-General-in-Council are carried out, (4) the Governor shall call joint meetings in cases where reserved and transferred departments are concerned and shall decide in cases of disagreement, (5) the Governor-in-Council can administer a transferred subject in an emergency in the absence of a minister.

In defence of his special responsibilities under the instrument of instructions the Governor should have similar powers. Draft clauses defining the Governor's special responsibilities are included in the report ; the matters covered by them are the maintenance of peace and tranquillity and prevention of religious and racial conflict, the grant of monopolies or special privileges to private undertakings contrary to the public interests and unfair discrimination in commercial and industrial matters, the protection of the interests of the

Anglo-Indian or Domiciled Community and of the public services, and the protection of the special educational interests of Muslims, religious institutions, and depressed and backward classes.

Public Services—Section IV.—The committee recommend that the public services employed under provincial governments be classified into three divisions, namely, Indian, provincial and subordinate. The chief criterion will be the appointing authority. The Indian services will be recruited according to methods laid down in statutory orders by the Secretary of State and appointments to these services will be made by the Secretary of State, who will also fix rates of pay, sanction all new appointments, and secure pensions by statutory orders under the new Government of India Bill. The committee recommend that statutory rules should provide that no orders affecting adversely emoluments or pensions shall be passed in regard to officers of all-India services in transferred departments without the concurrence of the Governor. As a special measure of protection in the case of the Indian Medical Service propose that the medical department is transferred, statutory orders should provide that the private practice of officers of the Indian Medical Service will be regulated only by the Secretary of State. They further recommend that the Governor should be charged with the protection of the public services and with the duty of seeing that no orders affecting adversely the pension or emoluments of any officer are passed before they have been considered by both parts of the government. Appeal against such orders should lie to the Government of India and the Secretary of State and no officer of all-India service should be liable to dismissal except by order of the Secretary of State. Questions of promotion, posting and discipline of officers with duties in both reserved and transferred departments should be treated in the manner explained above in connection with the relations of Governor in Council and ministers.

Provincial Division : Pending legislation which will regulate recruitment, training, discipline, and the general conditions of service of the provincial services it is proposed that the existing rules should *mutatis mutandis* be binding on ministers as regards transferred departments. In regard to pay, allowances, leave, etc., local Governments will be granted wide powers. In the matter of discipline, the main features of the procedure proposed for all-India service should apply to existing members of provincial services. In case of future entrants all orders affecting emoluments and pensions, and orders of dismissal, should require the personal concurrence of the Governor.

Subordinate Division : The rights and privileges of present incumbents should be maintained by means of directions to the Governor in Council as regards reserved subjects and instructions to the Governor in respect of transferred subjects. So far as future entrants are concerned the Governor in Council and Governor and ministers must be left to regulate the entire working of the services.

In conclusion the committee suggest that as far as possible members of all-India services should be secured in the benefits of the conditions under which they were recruited. The principle that alterations shall not press hardly on members of the services should be formally recognised in the future.

Finance.—Section. V.

Under this head the most important proposals are—

(1) That a strong audit system independent of the Governor in Council and ministers be established and that audit reports be laid before provincial legislature ;

(2) That the provincial finance departments should be reserved and that in relation to transferred subjects the duties of the department should be to advise and criticise, final decision resting with the minister subject to assent of the Governor.

(3) That a list of taxes which local Governments may impose without previous sanction of the Governments of India should be included in a schedule to be provided for by rule ;

(4) That provincial governments should ordinarily borrow through the Government of India, but, subject to approval of that Government as to time and method of borrowing, should be free to borrow in Indian market in certain circumstances.

(5) That subject to certain simple regulations provincial governments should be left to their own responsibility in the disposal of their balances ;

(6) That a schedule of municipal and local taxation should be prescribed by the Governor-General in Council and previous sanction should only be required in case of tax not included in schedule.

REMARKS BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The following is a summary of the Government of India Despatch of April 26, 1919, dealing with the report on the division of functions.

The Government of India accept generally the lists of all-India and provincial subjects ; changes proposed are for the most part additions to make lists more specific or complete. They also accept

general principles for regulation of intervention by the Government of India in provincial subjects, while suggesting somewhat different procedure in matter of provincial legislation in interests of simplicity. Principal changes in this respect are: (1) to give Government of India right to legislate in provincial matters where uniformity is desirable instead of marking transferred subjects as subject to Indian legislation, and (2) to give the Governor greater freedom in matter of reserving bills by omitting provision for compulsory reservation. Government of India also agree with committee as to Governor's powers of intervention in transferred subjects though they would vary slightly the procedure in emergency cases where (a) minister is unable to accept Governor's decision; they generally approve proposals regarding rules of executive business and instrument of instructions, of which a draft is appended to the despatch. They regard the list of transferred subjects as generally suitable but are unable to agree to transfer of higher education and development of industries.

DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS.

The following are the revised lists of All-India, Provincial and Transferred subjects, as proposed by the Government of India.

The paragraphs in brackets are the Government of India's remarks.

ALL-INDIA SUBJECTS.

1. All questions connected with His Majesty's naval, military and air forces in India, including the Royal Indian Marine, volunteers, cadets, and armed forces other than military and armed police maintained by provincial Governments.

1a. Ordnance, munitions, censorship, compulsory purchases, requisitioning, prize courts, registration of mechanical transport, etc., for naval and military purposes.

2. External relations, including naturalisation and aliens.

3. Relations with Native States.

3a. Political charges.

3b. Regulation of ceremonial, including titles and others, precedence and darbars, and civil uniforms.

4. Any territory in British India other than provinces mentioned in the schedule.

(The schedule will include the eight provinces to which the reform scheme applies.)

4a. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

4b. Territorial changes other than intra-provincial, and declaration of laws.

5. Excluded areas. (This entry is included provisionally and subject to any recommendations for the treatment of those areas which may be made in a subsequent despatch).

(These are the backward areas referred to in paragraph 199 of the Joint Report which it is suggested should be administered by the Governor under the control of the Government of India.)

6 Communications—to the extent described under the following heads :—

(a) Railways and tramways, except (i) tramways within municipal areas and (ii) light and feeder railways and tramways.

(b) Such roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, causeways, and other means of communication as are declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be of military importance.

(c) Aircraft, aircraft factories, aerodromes and landing places.

(d) Inland waterways, to an extent to be declared by the Governor-General-in-Council.

(7) Shipping and Navigation (including shipping and navigation on inland waterways in so far as declared by the Governor-General-in-Council under 6 (d)).

(It is suggested that wide powers should be delegated to local Governments to enable them to regulate local shipping traffic, e. g., coasting vessels plying between ports in the same province, especially as regards accommodation provided for passengers).

8. Lightships, beacons, buoys and light-houses (including their approaches.

9. Port quarantine and marine hospitals.

10. Ports declared to be major ports by the Governor-General-in-Council.

11. Posts, telegraphs and telephones and wireless installations.

12. Sources of imperial revenue, including customs, cotton excise duties, taxes on income, salt, stamps (non-judicial).

13. Currency and coinage.

14. Public debt of India.

15. Savings banks.

16. Department of the Comptroller and Auditor-General.

17. Civil Law, including laws regarding status, property, civil rights and liabilities and civil procedure.

18. Commerce, including banking and insurance.

19. Trading companies and other associations.
 - 19a. Regulation of food supply, fodder, fuel and trade generally between provinces in times of scarcity.
 20. Control of production, supply and distribution of any articles in respect of which control by a central authority is declared by the Governor-General-in-Council essential in the public interests.
 - 20a. Control of cultivation and manufacture of opium and sales of opium for export.
 - 20b. Stores and Stationery.
 - (Subject to the introduction as soon as possible of such measures of decentralization as are found by the Governor-General in Council to be advisable).
 21. Control of petroleum and explosives.
 - (The law regarding petroleum and explosives is at present under the direct control of the Government of India and uniformity of law and administration is desirable).
 22. Geological survey.
 - 22a. The development of industries including industrial research.
 - (*Vide* 24, Provincial. The fact that the development of any industry or any industrial research is being taken up by the Government of India will not prevent local Governments from also taking it up).
 23. Control of mineral development, in so far as such control is reserved to the Governor-General in Council under rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and regulation of mines.
 - (The rules regulating the grant of licenses to prospect for minerals and the grant of leases of mines and minerals are made by the Governor-General in Council and sanctioned by the Secretary of State in Council).
- Mining administration is now controlled by the Government of India and there is a small expert department of Inspectors working freely all over India. It would be impossible without great extravagance and loss of efficiency for each province to have its own expert staff.
24. Inventions and designs.
 25. Copyrights.
 26. Emigration and immigration and interprovincial migration.
 - (It is considered desirable to make interprovincial migration an All-India subject to be administered by the provincial Governments as agents).

26a. Pilgrimages beyond British India.

27. Criminal Law, including criminal procedure.

(The insertion of penal clauses in a provincial Bill will not bring the Bill within the scope of this entry).

27a. State prisoners

28. Central police organization and railway police so far as jurisdiction and cost are concerned.

29. Control of possession and use of arms.

30. Central agency for medical research and central institutions of scientific and industrial research, including observatories, and central institutions for professional or technical training,

30a. Government of India records and the Imperial Library.

30b. Government of India buildings.

31. Ecclesiastical administration.

(The expenditure is incurred entirely by the Government of India. The Bishops and clergy are under the administrative control of the local Governments, except that the Bishop of Calcutta, as Metropolitan, is under the control of the Government of India. As a large portion of the expenditure is on behalf of the army, the subject must be an All-India one).

31a. Higher language examinations to an extent to be declared by the Governor-General in council.

32. Survey of India.

33. Archæology.

Provisionally included : *vide* para. 39 of the despatch.

34. Zoological survey.

35. Meteorology.

36. Census and Statistics.

37. All-India Services.

37a. Government servants' conduct rules.

38. Legislation in regard to any provincial subject, in so far as such subject is stated in the Provincial List to be subject to Indian legislation, and any powers relating to each subject reserved by legislation to the Governor General in council.

39. All matters expressly excepted from inclusion in the list of provincial subjects.

40. All other matters not included in the list of provincial subjects.

Provincial Subjects.—1. Local self-government, that is to say, matters relating to the constitution and powers of municipal

corporations, Improvement trusts, district boards, mining, boards of health and other local authorities established in the province for purposes of local self-government, exclusive of matters arising under the Cantonments Act.

2. Medical administration, including hospitals, dispensaries and asylums.

(Legislation regarding the status and civil rights and liabilities of lunatics is an all-India subject. The question of medical registration falls under head 42).

3. Public health and sanitation and vital statistics.

3a. Pilgrimages within British India.

4. Education, excluding—

(1) the Benares Hindu University and such other new university as may be declared to be all-Indian by the Governor-General in Council.

(2) Chiefs' colleges and any educational institutions maintained by the Government of India, subject to Indian legislation.

(a) controlling the establishment, and regulating the constitutions and functions of new universities ; and

(b) defining the jurisdiction of any university outside its own province ;

And, in the case of Bengal, up till the time when the recommendations of the first statutory commission are carried into effect, subject to Indian legislation with regard to the Calcutta University and the control and organisation of secondary education. (*Vide* paragraph 58 of fourth despatch.) If higher education is reserved there will be less need for this provision.

5. Public Works included under the following heads :—

(a) Provincial buildings.

(b) Roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, canseways, and other means of communication other than such as are declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of military importance.

(c) Tramways within municipal areas ;

(d) Light and feeder railways and tramways.

6. Control of water supplied in rivers, streams and lakes, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and water power subject to such rules in regard to technical scrutiny and financial sanction as may be prescribed.

7. Land Revenue administration, as described under the following heads :—

- (a) Assessment and collection of land revenue ;
- (b) Maintenance of land records, survey for revenue purposes, records of rights ;
- (c) Laws regarding land tenures, relations of landlords and tenants, collection of rent ;
- (d) Court of Wards, encumbered and attached estates ;
- (e) Land improvement and agricultural loans ;
- (f) Colonization and disposal of Crown lands and alienation of land revenue.

Vide para 61 of the fourth despatch.

7a. Management of State properties.

8. Famine relief.

9. Agriculture, including research institutes, experimental and demonstration farms, introduction of improved methods, provision for agricultural education, protection against destructive insects and pests and prevention of plant diseases,

10. Civil Veterinary Department, including provision for veterinary training, improvement of stock, and prevention of animal diseases.

11. Fisheries.

12. Co-operative Societies.

13. Forests, including preservation of game therein.

14. Land acquisition, subject to Indian legislation as regards acquisition of land for public purposes.

15. Excise, that is to say, the control of production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs, and the levying of excise duties and license fees on or in relation to such articles, but excluding, in the case of opium, control of cultivation, manufacture and sale for export.

16. Administration of justice, including the constitution, maintenance and organization of courts of justice in the province, both of civil and criminal jurisdiction, other than a High Court, a Chief Court, or the Court of a Judicial Commissioner, but subject to Indian legislation as regard courts of criminal jurisdiction.

17. Provincial law reports.

18. Administrator-General and Official Trustee, subject to Indian legislation.

19. Judicial stamps, subject to Indian legislation.

20. Registration of deeds and documents,

21. Registration of births, deaths and marriages.

Existing Indian legislation provides for the following classes, *viz.* members of every race, sect or tribe to which the Indian Succession Act, 1865, applies, and all persons professing the Christian religion.

22. Religious and charitable endowments.

(This entry is provisional on the contemplated Indian Act on this subject being secured from alteration by rules under the proposed section 79 (3) (i) of the Government of India Act).

23. Development of mineral resources which are Government property, subject to rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, but not including the regulation of mines.

24. Development of industries, including industrial research.

Vide 22a. All-India.

1. Industrial matters included under the following heads :—

- (a) Factories ;
- (b) Settlement of labour disputes ;
- (c) Electricity ;
- (d) Boilers ;
- (e) Gas.

(Inspectors of Factories, Electricity and Boilers are provincial officers under the control of the local Governments, but we consider that there are strong grounds for maintaining uniformity in regard to the four matters which are made subject to Indian legislation. As regards the other subjects, especially those included under "Welfare of labour," it is desirable to give the provinces freedom of initiative).

(f) Smoke nuisances ; and

(g) Welfare of labour, including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health and accident) and housing :
subject as to (a), (b), (c) and (d) to Indian legislation.

26. Adulteration of food-stuffs and other articles.

27. Weights and measures.

28. Ports, except such ports as may be declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be major ports.

29. Inland waterways, including shipping and navigation thereon so far as not declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be under control of the Government of India ; but Subject as regards inland steam vessels to Indian legislation.

30. Police, other than the jurisdiction and cost of railway police.

31. Miscellaneous matters :—

- (a) regulation of betting and gambling ;
- (b) prevention of cruelty to animals ;
- (c) protection of wild birds and animals ;
- (d) control of poisons, subject to Indian legislation ;
- (e) control of motor vehicles, subject to Indian legislation as regards licenses valid throughout British India ; and
- (f) control of dramatic performances, and cinematographs subject in the case of the latter to Indian legislation in regard to certification.

32. Control of newspapers, books and printing presses, subject to Indian legislation.

33. Coroners.

34. Criminal tribes, subject to Indian legislation.

35. European vagrancy, subject to Indian legislation.

36. Prisons, prisoners and reformatories, subject to Indian legislation.

37. Pounds and cattle-trespass.

38. Treasure trove.

39. Museums (except the Indian Museum, Imperial War Museum and the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta), and zoological gardens.

39a. Provincial records and libraries.

39b. European cemeteries and historical monuments and memorials.

40. Government Press.

41. Franchise and elections for Indian and provincial legislatures.

(vide para. 76 of fourth despatch, and para. 2 of fifth despatch).

42. Regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards, subject to Indian legislation and provision for medical education.

Under this head will fall the administration of the existing provincial Medical Registration Acts. Power is reserved to the Indian legislature in order to secure uniformity and maintain the standards of professional qualifications.

43. Control of the public services other than the All-Indian services serving within the province, subject to Indian legislation.

44. Sources of provincial taxation not included under previous heads, whether (a) taxes included in the schedule of additional provincial taxes or (b) taxes outside this schedule in the case of which the prior sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council has been obtained to the necessary legislation.

45. Borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province subject to such rules as are made by the Secretary of State in Council.

4. Any matter which, though falling within an all-India subject is declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province.

Provincial Subjects for Transfer :—The list of provincial subjects for transfer is as follows, the smaller paragraphs are the Government of India's remarks :—

In all Provinces.

Local self-government, that is to say, matters relating to the constitution and powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, district boards, mining, boards of health and other local authorities established in the province for purposes of local self-government exclusive of matters arising under the Cantonments act.

The question of control, if any, to be exercised over policemen or watchmen by local authorities should be left to be determined by provincial legislation relating to local self-government.

Pounds, where they are managed by local authorities, will come under local self-government.

Medical administration, including hospitals, dispensaries and asylums.

It will be noted that it is proposed to reserve "Regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards," and to make this matter subject to Indian legislation (*vide* Provincial List item 42). The administration of the Medical Registration Acts will thus be reserved, and the power of securing uniformity of standards will remain with the Indian legislature.

The Sanitary Department will be responsible for the compilation of vital statistics, but at present in most provinces will have to rely on the services of other departments for their collection.

Pilgrimages within British India.

Primary and middle vernacular education.

It is suggested that the Governor shall be required to have special regard to certain interest in education (*vide* paragraph 67).

In all Provinces except Assam.

Public Works included under the following heads :—

- (a) Provincial buildings connected with transferred departments :
- (b) Roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, ropeways, causeways and other means of communication other than such as are declared by the Governor-General-in-Council to be of military importance :
- (c) Tramways within municipal areas.

In all Provinces.

Agriculture, including research institutes, experimental and demonstration farms, introduction of improved methods, provision for agricultural education, protection against destructive insects and pests and prevention of plant disease.

Civil Veterinary Department, including provision for veterinary training, improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases.

In all Provinces except Assam

Fisheries.

In Assam the restrictive measures taken for the protection of fish have been unpopular, and the administration of fisheries is closely connected with the Land Revenue Department.

In all Provinces.

Co-operative Societies.

In Bombay only.

Forests, including preservation of game therein.

The existing power of the Governor-General in Council under the Forest Act will remain ; and any provincial legislation affecting them will be subject to previous sanction.

IN ALL PROVINCES EXCEPT ASSAM.

Excise, that is to say the control of production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of alcoholic liquor and intoxicating drugs, and the levying of excise duties and license fees on or in relation to such articles, but excluding, in the case of opium, control of cultivation, manufacture and sale for export.

With reference to the proposed restriction of the purposes for which the Government of India will exercise their power to intervene in transferred subjects (*vide* para. 4 of the despatch), the following points affecting Excise require special mention :—

- (1) The power of the Government of India to safeguard the administration of customs revenue will involve power to control the

incidence of excise revenue : (i) on any liquor which is likely to compete directly with imported liquor : and (ii) on any article imported into British India which is liable on importation to the payment of customs duty.

(2) With regard to provincial action restricting the introduction into a province of excisable articles the position will be as follows :—

The Government of India will be entitled to intervene, in the case of excisable article imported from outside British India, to protect their custom duties, and, in the case of excisable articles in transit from or to other provinces, territories and States of India, for the purpose of protecting the interests of such other provinces, territories or States.

(3) The Government of India will be entitled to intervene in matters affecting the supply of excisable articles to His Majesty's forces.

In Madras and Bombay, Excise, Salt and Customs are dealt with under a unified system of administration. Salt and Customs are all-India subjects, and the question of making arrangements for the separate administration of these subjects when the transfer of Excise takes effect will be considered by the Government of India.

In all Provinces.

Registration of deeds and documents.

Registration of births, deaths and marriages.

Idé note to item 21, provincial list.

Religious and charitable endowments.

Adulteration of foodstuffs and other articles.

Weights and measures.

Museums (except the Indian Museum, the Imperial War Museum and the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta) and Zoological gardens.

REPORT OF LORD CREWE'S COMMITTEE

ON INDIA OFFICE REFORMS

July 14,—1919.

Summary of Recommendations.

The following is the official summary of the proposals made by the Committee on Home Administration of Indian affairs over which Lord Crewe presided.

Relations between the English and Indian administration.

(1) Save in the case of absolute necessity, legislation should not be certified for enactment by the Council of State without the previous approval of its substance by the Secretary of State on the ground that its enactment is essential in the interests of peace, order and good Government of India.

(2) Where the Government of India are in agreement with a majority of non-official members of the Legislative Assembly either in regard to legislation, or in regard to resolutions on the budget, or on matters of general administration, assent to their joint decision should only be withheld in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to the Parliament for peace, order, and good Government of India, of paramount consultations of Imperial policy, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly.

(3) As a basis of delegations the principle of previous consultation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India would be substituted in all cases in which previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council has hitherto been required.

(4) In the relations between the Secretary of State and the Local Governments the principle should as far as possible be applied that, where the Government are in agreement with a conclusion of the legislature, their joint decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail.

(5) Assent to or disallowance of Indian legislation by the Crown should be signified by His Majesty in Council.

The administration of India.

(6) The powers and authority now vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council should be transferred to the Secretary of State.

(7) The Secretary of State should be assisted by an Advisory Committee to which he shall refer such matters as he may determine and he may provide by regulations for the conduct of the business of the Committee.

(8) The Advisory Committee should consist of not more than 12 and not less than six members, appointed by the Secretary of State.

(9) Not less than one-third of the members of the Committee should be persons domiciled in India selected by the Secretary of State from a panel of names submitted by non-official members of the Indian Legislature.

(10) The tenure of office of a member of the Committee should be 5 years.

(11) The members of either House of Parliament should be ineligible for appointment to the Committee.

(12) The salary of the members of the Committee should be £1200 a year.

(13) The Indian members of the Committee should receive a subsistence allowance of £600 a year in addition to salary, in respect of their domicile.

(14) Statutory provision should be made for recommendations (6) to (13) inclusive.

(15) The Secretary of State should regulate by executive orders the conduct of correspondence between India Office and the Governments in India.

The Organisation of the India Office Establishment.

(16) Action should be taken with a view to the transfer of the agency work of the India Office to a High Commissioner for India or some similar Indian Governmental representative in London.

(17) No formal system of interchange of appointments between a member of India Office and Indian services can be recommended, but a deputation between the two countries should be encouraged.

(18) Occasion should be taken now and then to appoint an Indian to one of the posts intermediate between the Secretary of State and heads of departments.

(19) The charges on account of political and administrative work of the India Office should be placed on the Estimates, those on account of agency work of the office being detracted from Indian revenues, the apportionment to be determined by agreement between the India Office and the Treasury.

(20) The Committee are not in favour of the proposal to establish a select committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, and Sir James Brunyate, Prof. Keith and Mr. Basu have stated their views in separate memoranda (See Part II)

REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT ON THE GOVT. OF INDIA BILL, 1919.

The reference of the Government of India Bill to the Select Committee of both Houses, recommended in the course of the second reading debate in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State, was formally made in both Chambers early in July, 1919, and after discussing procedure in private and hearing a statement from the India Office, the Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Selborne held their first public sitting on 16 July. The members of the Committee—7 from each House—were the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Crewe, Viscount Middleton, Lord Islington, Lord Sydenham, and Lord Sinha from the Lords, and Mr. T. J. Bennett, Sir Henry Craik, Major Ormsby-Gore, Sir D. Maclean, Sir J. D. Rees, and Mr. Ben Spoor from the Commons. Sir Donald Maclean subsequently resigned and his place was taken by Mr. F. D. Acland.

The Committee pursued their task with great assiduity, receiving and acting upon the special authority of both Houses to sit during the summer recess. Many Indian deputations went to London to lay documents before the Committee and tender evidence. In all 70 witnesses were heard, sometimes in groups of two or three at a time, but usually separately, and the Minutes of Evidence extend to 580 closely printed foolscap pages. The work of public examination ended on October 15, and the subsequent private deliberations, suspended on two occasions for preparing or revising the draft report, ended on 17th November. The Report was issued two days later, as a White paper, accompanied by the Bill as amended. (See Next Part).

Immense importance attaches to the Report for since the Bill is to be little more than a frame-work if there is to be due flexibility and adaptation in the new Indian constitution, it may be regarded as the foundation of the Rules to be subsequently made. The extent to which the recommendations and interpretations are accepted will

form an authoritative standard of the intentions of Parliament in regard to the details and practical working of the new Constitution. They resolve doubts justly entertained in view of repeated breaches of faith in the past as to the policy of Parliament, and by including the limiting as well as the operative sentences of the pronouncement of 30th August, 1917, in the preamble to the Bill, they demonstrate that the responsibility for deciding the further stages of development rests on Parliament alone "and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly elected legislatures of India."

The recommendations and the accompanying revised Bill were received almost universally as making distinct improvements on the measure as read a second time in the Commons. Their general effect is to simplify the machinery, while materially enlarging the reality, of the first instalment towards the goal of giving India an autonomous system comparable with those possessed by the self-governing Dominions. Stress is laid upon the importance of the Governor fostering in every way free consultation between the two halves of his Government without obscuring their separate distinctive responsibilities. In many ways the dangers of friction and deadlock arising from the original scheme are mitigated, while the reality of growing degrees of autonomy is more clearly defined.

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT.

The main recommendations of the Joint Committee's report were officially summarised as follows :—

(1) The Committee endorse the general scheme of the Bill as an accurate interpretation of the announcement of the 30th of August, 1917, and are of the opinion, after considering all the suggested alternatives, that the partitions of the domain of provincial government into two fields, with the consequent division of responsibility, is the best way of giving effect to the spirit of the declared policy of Government.

(2) While laying great stress on the necessity of clearly demarcating and fixing the responsibility of each half of the executive for its own sphere, the Committee regard it as of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both halves and that he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest.

(3) The Committee believe that the revised Bill secures to the Governor-in-Council on the one hand, and to the Government of India on the other, the possession of unquestioned means of dis-

charging their respective responsibilities to Parliament, the maintenance of which, except in so far as they are released from that responsibility by the changes made under the Bill, the Committee regard as an essential feature of the policy of His Majesty's Government.

(4) The Committee recommend the immediate constitution of a Standing Joint Committee of both Houses for the purpose of securing closer Parliamentary touch with Indian affairs. One of the most important points on which consultation with this Committee will be required is for the examination of draft rules under the Bill and for the examination of the first rules. They recommend that the present Committee should be re-appointed.

(5) The scheme of the Bill, which leaves much to be carried out by rules, is endorsed as necessary and right. From this point the order of the recommendations follows for the most part the arrangement of the revised Bill. The whole of the announcement is included in the preamble in order to dissipate doubts as to the authority of the different parts.

(6) **Functions Committees.**—The lists of subjects as revised after consultation at the India Office and put in as evidence by Mr. Feetham are accepted. This involves the recommendation that the whole of education, subject to reservations about Universities and the development of industries, should be (a) transferred subject.

(7) **Rules for Allocation of Revenue** between the two halves of Government.—The Committee do not endorse the suggested separation of the sources of revenue, but recommend that the Governor be empowered if the joint purse is found to produce friction at any time to make an allocation of a definite proportion of the revenue and balances to continue in force for at least the whole life or the existing Legislative Council. If the Governor requires assistance in making the allocations, he should be allowed at his discretion to refer the matter for decision to an authority to be appointed by the Governor-General. Until a mutual agreement between both halves of the Government has been reached, or until the allocation has been made by the Governor, the total provision of the different heads of expenditure in the provincial budgets of the preceding financial year is to hold good.

(8) There is no cause at present for disturbing the existing relations between the Local Government of India and the Secretary of State. The question whether and in what manner Local Governments should correspond with the Secretary of State should be left

to the latter to decide. Now intervention by the Government of India in provincial matters will require a corresponding change in the Secretary of State's control. India is not yet ripe for a Federal system, and while an extensive delegation to the Provincial Governments of some of the powers and duties now in the hands of the Government of India is essential, the Central Government cannot be relegated to the functions of mere inspection and advice.

(9) **Relations of Governor and Ministers.**—Ministers will have the option of resigning if their advice is not accepted by the Governor, and the Governor will have the right of dismissing a Minister whose policy he believes to be seriously wrong, or out of accord with the views of the Legislature. If the Governor resorts to dissolution to find new Ministers, the Committee hope that he will be able to accept the view of the new ministers regarding the issue which forced the dissolution. The Ministers will certainly be at least two in number in every province, and the fact that they undoubtedly will act together has been recognised and provided for as a desirable position. The Governor should never hesitate to point out to his Ministers what he thinks is the right course, or to warn if he thinks their proposed course is wrong, but if the Ministers decide not to adopt his advice the Governor should ordinarily allow the Ministers to have their way. Mistakes will doubtless follow but they will bring experience. The status of Ministers should be similar to that of a member of the executive Council.

(10) Normally the Executive Council is expected to consist of two members. If in any case the Council includes two members of the Civil Service, neither of whom is an Indian, the Committee think it should also include two non-official Indians.

(11) **Franchise Recommendations.**—The following recommendations relate to the Franchise Reports.—

(a) The Government of India to adjust the allocation of seats so as to secure a larger representation of the rural population, as distinct from the urban and a better representation of the urban wage-earning classes, and an effort should be made to remedy as far as possible the disparity between the size of the electorates in the different provinces. The adjustment, however, must in all cases be by increasing and not by diminishing, the representation already proposed by the Southborough Report.

(b) **Depressed Classes.**—The Government of India should be instructed after consultation with the Local Governments to provide a larger share of real representation by nomination, having regard to

the number in each province, to increase and not to diminish the general electorate, and the nominees are to be taken if suitable, and if not otherwise available, from the ranks of the public services, without thereby increasing the prescribed ratio of official members.

(c) The non-Brahmins in Madras must be provided with separate representation by means of the reservation of seats. The Brahmins and non-Brahmins to be invited to settle the number of seats to be reserved and the method of reservation, and failing an agreement a decision to be made by an arbitrator appointed by the Government of India.

(d) The Mahrattas in Bombay are recommended for a similar treatment.

(e) The Electoral Rules to be so framed that if any Provincial Legislative Council decides by a resolution in favour of women's franchise, women should be put on the register of that province.

(f) With the one exception named in the preceding head the franchise not to be altered for the first ten years and Legislative Councils to be unable to make alterations.

(g) The special representation of landholders in the provinces to be reconsidered by the Government of India in consultation with the local Governments.

(h) The franchise for University seats to be extended to all graduates of over seven year's standing.

(i) European representation is accepted except for Bengal. The Government of India should consider with the Bengal Government its readjustment in that province.

(j) The eligibility of the rules and subjects of Native States to vote or stand for election to be settled for each province by the local Government.

(k) Dismissal from Government service not to be a disqualification for election, but a criminal conviction involving a sentence of more than six months' imprisonment to disqualify for five years from the date of the expiry of the sentence.

(l) The Franchise Committee's proposal for a residential qualification and the maintenance of the Lucknow Compact is endorsed.

(m) The Committee advise the full exploration of the principle of proportional representation with a view to its consideration by a Statutory Commission.

(n) A complete and stringent Corrupt Practices Act to be passed and brought into operation before the first elections.

(12) Great importance is attached to the question of the selection of the first Presidents of the Legislative Councils and to the necessity of imbuing the Councils from the start with the spirit and convention of Parliamentary procedure.

(13) **Voting the Provincial Budget**—When the Council reduces, or fail to vote a Budget demand for a transferred subject, the Committee consider the Governor will be justified if so advised by his Ministers, in re-submitting the vote to the Council for the purpose of reviewing the decision. The Governor's power of the restoration of reduced reserved votes must be regarded as real and its exercise is not arbitrary. All proposals for taxation should be considered and agreed upon by both halves of the Government before submission to the Legislative Council.

(14) The Committee reject the **Grand Committee Procedure** as failing in a crisis to secure the object in view and as perpetuating the disadvantages of the official *bloc*. The responsibility for reserved legislation is with the Governor-in-Council, and no advantage is gained by attempting to conceal this. The Governor's power is to be exercised only after opportunity for full discussion in the Legislature and the Standing Committee of Parliament should be specially consulted on acts of this kind by the Secretary of State.

(15) **Indian Legislature**—The scheme of the Report and the original Bill for the operation of the Council of State is rejected for much the same reason as is the Grand Committee. The Council of State is to be constituted as a true revising Chamber from the start. The Franchise Committee's proposal for election to the Council of State is rejected, and Government is to be instructed to propose a different system immediately to be elaborated before the inauguration of the new constitution of the Legislative Assembly. The views in paragraph 39 of the Franchise Despatch are endorsed, and the Government of India is to be instructed to propose a better scheme of election at the earliest possible moment.

(16) The first President of the Legislative Assembly should be qualified by experience of the House of Commons and knowledge of Parliamentary procedure and should be chosen with a view to the influence which he may be expected to exert on the whole of Parliamentary procedure in India.

(17) The voting of the Indian Budget is not introduced as establishing any measure of responsible Government in the Central Administration, and the power of the Governor-General to disregard adverse votes is to be understood to be real and intended to be used if

and when necessary. The clause is passed on the understanding that the Assembly will be reasonably representative in character and directly elected.

(18) The Committee recommend that in future not less than three members of the Governor-General's Executive Council should be Indians.

(19) All costs of the India Office not being agency charges should be placed on the British estimates.

(20) The Council of India is retained without change in its statutory position with all its advantages of tradition and authority but a re-adjustment of work is desirable so as to provide a less rigid procedure and to enable the introduction of the portfolio system to be made. More Indians should be introduced, and the period of tenure of office should be reduced to five years with this object in view and in order to secure a continual flow of fresh experience from India.

(21) No statutory change in the relations between the Government of India and the Secretary of State is possible so long as the former remains wholly responsible to Parliament but the conventions governing these relations may be wisely modified to meet the fresh circumstances caused by a large elected majority in the Legislative Assembly. Thus the Secretary of State, in the exercise of his responsibility to Parliament, which he cannot delegate, may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called on to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest in which the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement. A particular instance of this convention would be tariff arrangements. Fiscal autonomy cannot be guaranteed by Statute without the unconstitutional result of limiting the ultimate control by Parliament of the Crown's power of veto. It can only be assured by the acknowledgment of a convention that the Secretary of State should, so far as possible, abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature agree and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which his Majesty's Government is a party. The relations between the Secretary of State and the local Governments as regards intervention in respect of reserved subjects of purely provincial interest should be governed by similar principles. Over transferred provincial subjects the control of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State should be confined to the limits defined under clause 13 of the Bill.

(22) The **Public Services** changes made in part 14 of the Bill indicate generally the Committee's views on this matter. If there are members of a service whose doubts as to the changes to be made are so deeply rooted that they feel they cannot usefully endeavour to take part, the Committee think it would be fair if possible to offer them an equivalent career elsewhere or, as a last resort, that they should be allowed to retire on such pension as the Secretary of State may consider suitable to the length of service.

23. The appointment of a **Statutory Commission** at the end of ten years is endorsed. The Commission should include the Government of India in the scope of the enquiry, and consider generally what further advance can be made. Meanwhile no substantive changes should be introduced.

24. The Committee do not advise the inclusion of **Burma** in the scope of the scheme, and while not doubting that the Burmese have deserved and should receive an analogous Constitution, they are impressed with the essential difference between Burma and India.

25. The institution of **Standing Committees** as a general rule in Provinces is strongly recommended, and in such departments of the Government of India as the Governor-General may decide.

26. The principles governing the revision of assessment of **Land Revenue** should be brought under closer regulation by statute as soon as possible as part of a general policy, bringing within the purview of legislation the imposition of new burdens.

27. Importance is attached to Sir Michael Sadler's recommendations of **Education Boards** and the Committee hope that Ministers will see their way to constitute them from the outset. The advisability of creating Local Government departments in every Province is also commended to Ministers.

The policy endorsed in paragraph 326 of the Joint Report is strongly endorsed. In conclusion the Committee repudiate any suggestion that the changes made by the Bill imply any condemnation of the present system of Government in India. The present form of Government arises out of the fact that Parliament has held the Government of India responsible to itself for every action ; and that there has hitherto been no constitutional self-Government effort. The welfare of the masses of the peoples of India has everywhere and always been the spirit of Government.
